CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

594

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Later Chola Temples

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

1. Four Chola Temples
   BHULABHAI DESAI MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, BOMBAY
2. Early Chola Art—Part I
   ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, BOMBAY
3. Kopperunjingan (in Tamil)
   PAARI NILAYAM, MADRAS
4. Solar Kalai Pani (in Tamil)
   PAARI NILAYAM, MADRAS
5. Early Chola Art and Architecture (in Tamil)
   BUREAU OF TAMIL PUBLICATIONS, TAMIL NADU GOVERNMENT, MADRAS
6. Early Chola Temples (A.D. 907-985)
   ORIENT LONGMAN LTD., NEW DELHI
7. Middle Chola Temples (A.D. 985–1070)
   THOMSON PRESS (INDIA) LTD., NEW DELHI

BOOKS OF RELATED INTEREST

1. Laddigam by B. Venkataraman
   ORIENT LONGMAN LTD., NEW DELHI
2. The City of the Cosmic Dance (Chidambaram) by B. Natarajan
   ORIENT LONGMAN LTD., NEW DELHI
3. Temple Art under the Chola Queens by B. Venkataraman
   THOMSON PRESS (INDIA) LTD., NEW DELHI
4. Rajarajesvaram by B. Venkataraman (in press)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Later Chola Temples

Kulottunga I to Rajendra III

(A.D. 1070–1280)

by

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam

assisted by
his sons

B. Natarajan

B. Venkataraman

and

B. Ramachandran

MUDGALA TRUST

1979

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

© Copyright 1979 by Asha Ramachandran

The publication of this book was facilitated
by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

PRINTED IN INDIA

BY H. K. MEHTA AT THOMSON PRESS (INDIA) LTD., FARIDABAD, HARYANA.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Dedicated
to the
Sacred Memory
of my
parents
Sirkali Ramaswamy Ayyar
and
Mangalam
and
to our ancestors
The Maudgalyas

सर्वे जना: सुखिनो भवन्तु ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Introduction

"The ever-new weaveth the ever-old,
Ever telling the never-told."

Just as Egypt is called the Gift of the Nile, so also Chola culture and art may be called the Gift of the Kaveri—a glorious heritage we should be proud of.

In 1910, some thirteen distinguished British art critics declared that they "find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotions of the people and of the deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine." A.K. Coomaraswamy has said, "Everything manmade must have a deeply religious meaning, it must be made with the gods in mind and in their image, it must face towards the gods, reach towards the gods and symbolize the gods." And it is this aspect of art that fascinated the Cholas—and it is their survivals we are dealing with here.

Chola—and Pandyan—temples have had no systematic and scientific survey of them made so far. Neither the Central nor the State government, nor any South Indian university, nor any endowed research body has carried out such a survey thus far. For any such comprehensive survey, it will take at least about twenty-five years and cost about twenty-five lakhs of rupees. There will also be a race against time since the temples are not all in a good state of repair and are also in danger of irreparable damage at the hands of zealous renovators. The area to be covered is vast and the task is enormous and utterly beyond the scope of an individual working without resources or facilities. I, therefore, seek the indulgence of the reader for any shortcomings.

The Cholas were the greatest temple-builders of South India—one might say, even of India as a whole. Hundreds of temples of their age have been visited by us, but our attention has been confined here to dated and dateable ones which have inscriptions or other source material to help in their documentation. Nearly four hundred temples have been covered by us in this manner in our series, of which this is the fourth and the last. In a scientific survey, we must select the proper source material, interpret it properly and make correct deductions. Local legends have their value and they should be carefully studied and judiciously used. Literature is also an important source, though, again, it

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

should be used with caution. Every attempt has been made to live up to these guidelines, and it is for the reader to judge how far we have succeeded in this endeavour.

Standard works on Indian Art and Architecture cover only about half a dozen South Indian temples, and these too are treated scrappily and in isolation, without sufficient historical background. What we have attempted in these four volumes has been described by critics as a "major project requiring a whole battery of resources" and as a "monumental documentation" of Chola temples; accounts of about four hundred such temples have been presented in a chronological setting, incidentally providing fairly scientific data for the formulation of canons and the evolution of style in Architecture and Sculpture.

In this volume, we cover the last phase of Chola Art and Architecture, spanning the reigns of Kulottunga I and his successors, ending with the last of them, Rajendra III. With that, the curtain is rung down on a grand period, classic in its stature, magnitude and innovativeness.

We have divided the period of Chola rule into three major phases in relation to temple-building activity, Art and Architecture. Over these three phases, a tiny structure like the temples at Kaliyapatti and Panangudi grows forth into a temple-city of gigantic porportions as we see at Tanjavur, Tiruvarur, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Tiruvanaikka and many others. It was a period of galloping growth in Indian Art.

Hasty generalizations and erroneous views on style have been formulated by some early scholars and blindly repeated and accepted by succeeding generations. We have attempted in these volumes to indicate such of them as need reconsideration. These volumes may be considered a complement (devoted to assessing the Chola achievement in art) to K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's classic, *The Colas*, which deals primarily with their history.

There are only a few books on the history of Temple Art and Architecture in South India, and even these deal with only a few temples and perfunctorily at that. On questions of Chola style, wild guesses and vague speculations have been very much in vogue. Even G.J. Dubreuil defined Chola style as covering the period A.D. 850–1100 and as characterised by 'grand *vimanas*'. This is too much of a simplification of the Chola achievement during this period. And, whereas Chola rule itself extended upto A.D. 1280, he defined the period A.D. 1100–1350 as the Pandyan period, characterized by 'grand *gopurams*'. There are only three Pandyan temples built in the traditional Chola country during the period of the Pandyan hegemony—Viranarayana vinnagar at Kattumannargudi (a temple of the days of Parantaka I, rebuilt), Bhaktavatsala temple at Tirukkalukkunram, and the Amman temple at the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur. A few trophies from conquered lands such as the Nolamba pillars at the Ten Kailasam in Tiruvaiyaru, the Later Chalukyan *dvarapalaka* from Kalyani (till recently installed at Darasuram but now housed in the Tanjavur Art Gallery) and the Pala metallic image of Nataraja dancing on Nandi at

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Melakkadambur (near Kattumannargudi) fall outside the purview of any discussion of Chola Art styles. H. Goetz, a foreign Indologist who had a long and distinguished career in Northern India, writes in his book *India* that the Darasuram temple (erected by Rajaraja II, A.D. 1146–72) was built entirely with the icons and other material looted during the Kalyani raids of Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1018–54); this ascription is an atrocious anachronism.

I welcome the publication of *Early Cola Architecture and Sculpture* by Douglas Barrett. He has, however, done scant justice to the brilliant work and achievement of the founder of the Chola empire, Vijayalaya, for a brief account of which see my *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 344–7. As regards the period of Adiyta I, Barrett discusses the two temples of Tiruchchendurai and Kilaiyur. The former of these was built by a member of the royal family. There is an inscription of the 23rd year of a Rajakesarivarman (to be identified with Aditya I), mentioning a grant to that temple. It is described as a *karrali* (stone temple) in inscriptions of the second and third years of Parantaka I. Barrett concludes from this description that the temple was built of brick in the 23rd year of Aditya I and rebuilt of stone in the second year of Parantaka I. The Anbil plates of Sundara Chola proclaim that the process of converting brick temples into stone was in full swing in the period of Aditya I, and it is highly improbable that a new temple would be built of brick as late as in the 23rd year of Aditya I only to be rebuilt of stone within fifteen years. As for the temple at Kilaiyur, called Avani kandarpa Isvara griham, my *Four Chola Temples* contains the first comprehensive account of the twin-shrine complex and my *Early Chola Art—Part I* also a detailed account of the same; both the shrines belong to the same age, and the earliest of the inscriptions here are three in number, one of the *thirteenth* and two of the *twenty-second* year of a Rajakesarivarman to be identified with Aditya I; all three refer to gifts of lamps made to each of the twin-shrines, using the words: "*iru tali oro(r) nanda vilakku.*" Next, in an inscription of the age of Gandaraditya, the twin shrines are referred to as *Ten tali* and *Vada tali* (the southern and the northern shrines)—incidentally phrases wrongly interpreted by the Government Epigraphist as 'gateways', there being in fact only one gateway and that too in the west: only the word '*tali*' is used, though each shrine was of stone then itself and thus a *karrali:* thus, Barrett's conclusion on the Tiruchchendurai temple based merely on a narrow interpretation of the word '*tali*' has to be discarded.

The Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur has been hitherto considered a typical Parantaka I structure by students of Chola art. I discovered a 26th year Rajakesarivarman inscription on the southern wall of the central shrine; so it really belongs to the period of Aditya I. It was in ruins and has been renovated in the 19th century, and cannot be taken as the prototype of any particular style.

I have to agree with Barrett when he writes that his and my "interpretations of chronology and development of Chola religious art diverge so widely".

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

After a careful study of his views and conclusions, I see no alternative to our continuing to differ. To cover all the points of difference between our viewpoints will take up much more space and time than an Introduction would allow. I shall therefore confine myself to a few main points among them. I apply the term "Early Chola" to the period A.D. 850–985, while Barrett and a few others would extend this period upto A.D. 1014, the end of the reign of Rajaraja I. All such divisions of course are only tentative and merely convenient break-ups of time. The Sembiyan Mahadevi style is in evidence throughout the reign of Uttama Chola (A.D. 969–985) and the first sixteen years of the reign of Rajaraja I, i.e., till A.D. 1,000, and during the latter period, we already discover the deterioration from the true Sembiyan spirit. The temples at Tiruppurambiyam and Karandai have suffered much at the hands of unbalanced enthusiasts for the Sembiyan spirit, who installed a large number of additional sculptures in newly made niches, even destroying valuable inscriptions in the process. This thoughtless vandalism must surely have offended the soul of Sembiyan Mahadevi herself, who took elaborate care to preserve all old inscriptions, such as at Tiruvidaimarudur (4th year, 325th day of the reign of Uttama Chola: p. 256 of my *Early Chola Temples*) and at Tirukkodikkaval (p. 257, *ibid*). At Tiruppurambiyam, the original niche sculptures are of Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma; as many as nine others have been inserted into improvised niches. These are wrongly described by Barrett as inclusive of the *Ashta Parivara devatas* installed in the tenth year of Rajaraja I. These *Parivara devatas* are properly those installed in eight *sub-shrines* rather than in the niches of a temple (see *Early Chola Art, Part I*, pp. 185–6 and Barrett's *Early Cola Art and Sculpture*, p. 105). Again at Karandai *(Early Chola Temples*, pp. 183–5 and p. 269), sixteen sculptures are found installed, of which only five are original and the rest, including sculptures of the Tamil Saivite saints, Appar and Sambandar, are later insertions by the exuberant followers of the Sembiyan spirit.

Further, much as Rajaraja I was a faithful and admiring follower of Sembiyan Mahadevi, his reign saw the introduction of 'cathedral temples' as a grand new experiment in temple architecture: the Rajarajesvaram of his at Tanjavur (A.D. 1004–10) was immediately followed by his son's Gangaikondasolisvaram, and in the Later Chola period by temples at Darasuram and Tribhuvanam. It must have taken easily a decade to conceive the plan and choose proper men and material for the execution of the grand design. The Sembiyan phase may thus be stretched even as far as A.D. 1000; but the year A.D. 1014, while marking the demise of Rajaraja I, does not mark off an epoch in *Chola art history*, since the structures of his son's period are modelled on those of his. Hence I would place the beginning of the Early Chola period at A.D. 850 and its end at A.D. 985, covering among others the reigns of Vijayalaya, Aditya I and Parantaka I.

Owing to the absence of a scientific survey of Chola temples, erroneous views have been expressed even by eminent modern historians. J.N. Banerjea opines that Nataraja icons appear only after the 14th or 15th century or even later.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vincent A. Smith held the view that "after A.D. 300, Indian sculpture properly so called hardly deserves to be recognized as art." A reviewer of my *Middle Chola Temples* observes: "The Chola empire *declined rapidly* after Kulottunga I's time" (italics mine). Such a statement ignores Chola history and achievement over as long a span as 210 years (A.D. 1070–1280), which is in fact the subject-matter of the present volume. I have covered in this volume about a hundred and sixty temples built, rebuilt of stone or enlarged during this period; the various stylistic developments in architecture and sculpture taking place in this period are quite significant. An elementary account of this period has already been published as the last chapter of my *Four Chola Temples*.

Just as, in the Early Chola period (especially in the age of Parantaka I), the *Lingodbhavar* cult was frequently invoked by way of expressing Siva's supremacy over Vishnu and Brahma, so in the present period the *Sarabhamurti* cult, with the same objective, is found introduced at Tukkachchi, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam.

Incidentally, I would hesitate to accept—nay, I even reject—the postulation of a 'second phase' in the Early Chola period, beginning right in the middle of the reign of Parantaka I, namely during A.D. 940 to 970, as made out by Barrett: for my views and related arguments on this subject, see my *Early Chola Art—Part I*, pp. 254–5, and my *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 254–264.

There are many erroneous views on the dates of *mandapas* and *gopurams*. The *Nritta sabha* at Chidambaram belonging to the days of Kulottunga I, like the temple at Melakkadambur, has been attributed by some authors to the 17th century. The independent Amman temple, the hundred-pillared hall, the thousand-pillared hall, and the three walls of enclosure of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, with seven-tiered *gopurams* in the third wall (called the Rajakkal Tambiran *tirumaligai*) all belong to the Later Chola period—and *not* to the Pandyan or Vijayanagara age. There is no Pandyan *gopuram* at all in the Chidambaram temple (see *The City of the Cosmic Dance* by B. Natarajan, pp. 65–83). The *srivimana* and *gopuram* at the Tribhuvanam temple belong to the same period. But, because of the *ribbed kumudam* on the *gopuram*-basement, some scholars have come to the conclusion that the *gopuram* belongs to the 16th century A.D. and the main temple to the 13th. *Ribbed kumudams* are to be found in temples of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries (as at Takkolam, Tondaimanadu *alias* Tondaiman Arrur, and Melakkadambur respectively). Thus, on questions of style, one has to draw conclusions or make generalizations with great care.

The expansion of temple campuses (in particular by the addition of independent Amman shrines) and the creation of temple-cities, *ratha-vimanas* and *ratha-mandapas* are some of the characteristic features of the Later Chola period.

At Tirukkalukkunram, there is a hill called Vedagiri considered to be itself an embodiment of the Vedas and thus of God Himself. There are two temples at the foot of the hill, a rock-cut cave temple midway up the hill, and a structural stone temple at the top of the hill. There has been a lot of confusion in the matter

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of identification and dating of these temples. Of these four, the oldest (according to me) is the ruined apsidal temple without *sikhara*, now used as a strong room, in the northern *prakara* of the present Bhaktavatsala temple. This structure has its walls covered with two hundred years of inscriptions from the ninth century A.D. and has fine *devakoshta* images assignable to that century. This temple is referred to in inscriptions as that of *Tiru Mulasthanam Udaiyar* at *Tirukkalukkunram*. The earliest inscription, of the 27th year of Aditya I, mentions that the temple was originally built by Skanda Sishya (Pallava) and a grant of land was made to it and that this grant was reaffirmed by Vatapi-konda Narasimha and again by Aditya I after his conquest of Tondaimandalam. So this is obviously the oldest temple structure here. The Bhaktavatsala temple, of which the above now forms part, is of the 13th century and was built by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I.

We next take up the rock-cut cave temple midway up the hill. It was excavated during the days of Vatapi-konda Narasimha and contains an inscription of his, making a grant for worship in this temple—called that of *Malai-mel* Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar (the '*mulasthana temple on the hill*'). It is thus to be distinguished from the 'Tiru Mulasthanam Udaiyar temple' at the *bottom* of the hill associated with Skanda Sishya, Pallava Narasimha and Aditya I.

The temple at the top of the hill is a structural stone-temple of the days of Rajasimha II of the eighth century A.D. Thus the oldest temple here is the apsidal temple at the foot of the hill mentioned above and now in the northern *prakara* of the (later) Bhaktavatsala temple.

The Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur has been yet another controversial temple. Some authors speak of a southern or Pandyan influence in the structure of the temple. In my *Early Chola Temples*, I have adduced evidence to show that the temple was built in the days of Sundara Chola by a feudatory called Bhuti Vikramakesari, in his own name and in those of his two queens. This conclusion has also been accepted by Barrett and appears to have generally set at rest earlier controversies. (See the footnote on p. xx).

K.V. Soundararajan has suggested that the Muvarkoyil has been the inspiration behind the temple at Kilaiyur. In view of what has been stated above, it is clear that this suggestion is a chronological impossibility.

I am glad that Barrett's views are in consonance with mine on the dating of some of the Early Chola temples. He has been generous in calling me "the first scholar to take (the claim of the Anbil plates regarding the building of stone temples by Aditya I) seriously" and notes that I have "listed no less than thirty-eight temple-sites in Tiruchchirapalli and Tanjavur districts alone as of the age of Aditya I". "At a few sites....., no fabric of the period remains; at many others, the fabric, I shall argue, is later than he claims, nevertheless the great value of his original work remains" (p. 49, *op. cit.*).

On Lalgudy, accepting my conclusions, he states: "It seems there is nothing in the style of architecture or sculpture to prevent us from accepting the date of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the reconstruction of Lalgudy in or about year 27 of Aditya I (A.D. 897)." On page 59, *op. cit.*, he says: ".....the evidence of the inscriptions on the Odavanesvarar temple...has been admirably presented by Balasubrahmanyam and G.V. Srinivasa Rao." At another point, he writes: "Rajakesari inscriptions 13, 14, 17, 23 and 25 may be confidently ascribed to Aditya I", contradicting his own view (as also of K.V. Soundararajan) that no Rajakesari inscriptions earlier than of the 15th year should be ascribed to Aditya I.

On the Tiruverumbur temple, he observes: "It poses a nice problem of date and style; the evidence of the no less than twenty-one Rajakesari inscriptions is most confusing. Balasubrahmanyan has untangled these inscriptions brilliantly. He has shown that the inscription of the year 19 may be given to Aditya I. He further believes—here I follow more reluctantly—that inscriptions (of years) 4, 5, 6 and 18—with low regnal years—and another (of year) 19 may be referred to the same king". But his conclusion that "Tattan Sandi built a temple of *brick* in or about year 18 of Aditya I (A.D. 889). All that remains are the surviving *Parivara devatas*. In or about year 3 of Gandaraditya (about A.D. 952), *Velan Viranarayanan rebuilt the temple of stone*, and his temple is the surviving fabric" appears untenable. I assert that the surviving fabric is of the age of Aditya I. All the Rajakesari inscriptions accepted by Barrett as of the age of Aditya I are original ones and intact, as confirmed by the Government Epigraphist. It is fantastic to suggest that an earlier structure was built of brick on top of a hill where stone is available aplenty. Apart from the physical incongruity involved, this also goes against the spirit of the Anbil plates according to which even existing brick structures were converted into stone by Aditya I's time. The *garbhagriha* is original and of his age.

I take this occasion to quote the verdict of Karl Khandalavala on my dating of temples. In his preface to the third volume in this series, he writes: "Reconstructions, renovations and additions further complicate the problem of dating many a shrine, but by far and large it may be said that the material on which the author has based his conclusions is adequate and correctly interpreted with the full consciousness that there are bound to be shrines in each classification on which the last word has yet to be spoken. This nondogmatic approach, so essential in a subject such as Chola temple chronology, is a most admirable feature of the text. The author leads the reader to an understanding of his viewpoint without any jarring notes or arbitrary pronouncements. Epigraphy is necessarily the basis of all studies in relation to South Indian temples and Sri Balasubrahmanyam who is one of the greatest Tamil epigraphists of our time has collected and interpreted a vast amount of material which will ever remain the basis on which further studies can be founded." I shall rest content with this judgement of a great art critic.

Some new light has been thrown recently on the twilight period marking the transition from Pallava to Chola rule. On top of a hill about two kilometres from Tiruttani, there is an ancient temple dedicated to Lord Subrahmanya, but

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

its exact antiquity was shrouded in darkness till recently. The present temple on the hill bears an inscription of the Vijayanagara ruler Krishnadeva raya dated in about A.D. 1525. Therefore, the present structure could be a renovation of a more ancient structure that was of brick and stone. But a recent set of finds of copper plates and icons at the village of Velanjeri, about two kilometres from Tiruttani, has not only thrown light on the ancient history of this temple but also given much valuable historical data about the Pallava rulers during the closing days of the dynasty. The finds made in the last months of 1977 were (a) a set of copper plates dated in the reign of the Pallava king Aparajita (*circa* A.D. 900), (b) a set of copper plates dated in A.D. 927, corresponding to the 20th regnal year of the Chola king Parantaka I, and (c) a bronze image of Siva with Parvati on His mount Nandi with a *prabha* over the entire set.

The Aparajita copper plates, five in number, are bilingual (in Tamil and Sanskrit) and are fastened together by a ring and sealed by the Pallava royal insignia; they bear a seated bull, the emblem of the Pallavas, topped by the *ashta mangalas*, a parasol and two *chowris*. Along the circumference of the seal is an inscription mentioning that the plates record a royal order of Aparajita *(Aparajita varmanaha)*. Dated in his ninth regnal year, the grant mentions that two villages, Pudur and Melirunjeru, were combined into one revenue unit and the combined village was directed to measure out 1,000 *kadis* of paddy annually for offerings to Lord Subrahmanya on the Tiruttani hill. The village is now known as Velanjeri, a corruption of Melirunjeru.

The record commences with a recital of the mythical ancestry of the Pallavas and comes down to the days of Kampavarman. It mentions that Kampavarman defeated Nripatunga in battle and captured the powerful Pallava throne; his queen was the Ganga princess Vijaya and Aparajita was their first-born; we are aware that Nripatunga and Kampavarman were the two sons of Nandivarman III but they fought among themselves and finally Kampavarman usurped the throne of the Pallavas from Nripatunga; after Kampavarman, Aparajita ascended the Pallava throne keeping Nripatunga out; Aparajita claims victories over the Bana ruler and the Cholas at the battle of Chirrarrur, and to have reduced the Pandya city of Kaaranai. Aparajita on the mother's side came of Ganga lineage and this explains the fact that at the battle of Sripurambiyam, the Ganga ruler Prithivipati I fought as an ally of Aparajita and won for him a great victory losing his own life in it.

From our angle, the Chola copper plates are more important for the information they yield in our study of Chola art history; it is the *earliest* copper plate charter relating to this dynasty so far discovered. It bears the Chola dynastic crest—a seated tiger, two fish on a bow, topped by an umbrella and a *chamara* (*chowri*). The circumferential inscription mentions that the grant was the order of 'Parakesarivarmanah' Parantaka I. This charter which is bilingual (in Sanskrit and Tamil), records the gift of three villages near Tiruttani as a *brahmadeya* gift to the *brahmana* residents of Melirunjeru (Velanjeri). A

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

piece of historical information of much value is the mention of a Kochchenganan, a Chola king of whom was born Orriyuran; of the latter was born in turn the warrior Vijayalaya, whose son was the king Aditya. It thus pushes back the genealogy of the Vijayalaya house of Cholas by two generations and mentions a Kochchenganan who could have lived in the late eighth century. We are yet to know what relationship he bore to the more famous Kochchenganan of the *Sangam* age.

Another interesting piece of information this grant yields on the activities of Parantaka I is that he performed a *tulabhara* ceremony at Srirangam and gilded the temple of Sri Ranganathar there, just as he gilded the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. Thus he was a devotee of Sriranganatha as well as of Nataraja.

The bronzes are coeval with the grants and can be attributed to the transition period from Pallava rule to Chola rule in the Tondaimandalam region (A.D. 900 to 925). Their publication is awaited with interest.

In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Cholas conquered and ruled the Pandya country, and during their rule, they built a number of temples there which may be classified as of the Chola-Pandya idiom of the Dravidian style. So also, in the 13th century, the Hoysalas and the Later Pallavas built temples in the Chola-desa, the former at Kannanur koppam, Srirangam and Tiru Anaikka, and the latter at Sendamangalam and Tiruvennainallur (a Vishnu temple called Alagiya Pallava Vinnagaram). These may be classified as *Chola-Hoysala* and *Chola-Later Pallava* idioms.

The entire edifice of this series of four volumes is based on epigraphy—a sheet-anchor without which any attempt at surveying South Indian art would end up as a rudderless drift in unchartered oceans. Aid is certainly taken of many other corroborative factors and evidence—very often vital; but let us emphasise that where epigraphy fails we hesitate to speculate, and where we do so speculate, we do so with great caution.

In this volume, as in the earlier ones, we have followed the same technique of handling our theme; we have found no reasons to alter it; we date a monument on epigraphical grounds and delineate its features; the fund of inscriptional material is analysed briefly and chronologically for the light it throws on the growth of art. Traditions and legends are given their legitimate share and noteworthy art and architectural characteristics are highlighted.

Time and place determine style, and bereft of a survey in a chronological sequence, an art work will tend to be a picture album. We do not boast of a host of outstanding plates; our illustrations serve a purpose—to trace evolution. Ours is not an art book, but it deals with a more fundamental theme—the growth of art and architecture, and style. Such growth happens in a time-trellis. We are concerned with that. Our plates, plans and sketches illustrate a point in this time-frame.

We have given massive inscriptional references for future scholars to go deep

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

into individual monuments. South India presents a vast ocean of scope for such delineation.

We have added notes and appendices wherever necessary to amplify points that find only brief mention in the text. We hope they would widen the knowledge of the lover of our art, culture and traditions, hagiology and religion, and our pantheon and their relevance to art and architecture.

Recently, some healthy developments have taken place in Tamil Nadu, thanks to the activities of the State Department of Archaeology under its dynamic Director, Dr. R. Nagaswamy. A drive is on to keep temples clean, and to preserve inscriptions, sculptures and paintings. Whitewashing or coating with drab and vulgar colours has been prohibited. Renovation of temples involving destruction of inscriptions and ancient sculptures and structures has been prohibited by a Government order. These Government orders have to be strictly enforced. Students from neighbourhood colleges and schools have been rightly involved in the preservation and conservation of ancient and venerable monuments and made to take interest and pride in the local history of the homeland. Training is imparted in evening courses of a year's duration and the trainees undertake annual tours for on-the-spot studies of the Pallava, Chola, Pandya, Vijayanagara and Nayak monuments. Annual conferences and exhibitions are special features of interest in making Archaeology attractive and interesting and almost a mass movement, instead of being the close preserve of the scholars alone. Some valuable labelled bronzes have been recently discovered and preserved. A new age is dawning in South Indian Archaeology.

The efflorescence of interest in South Indian studies and in our ancient monuments is amply illustrated by the recent formation, and, what is more, the enthusiastic activity, of the Society for Archaeological, Historical and Epigraphical Research. Their publications are scholarly and valuable in the understanding of South India and its ancient culture.

A recent phenomenon of interest is the entry of a businessman into the field of Archaeology. Sri N. Sethuraman of Raman & Raman, Kumbakonam, started with a study of the Pallavarayanpettai inscription and has made valuable contributions to South Indian history, packing into a brief span of six months what most professionals usually do not achieve in a lifetime.

My association with Pondicherry has been long and intimate. In the twenties, G.-J. Dubreuil, Professor at the College of Pondicherry, was at the height of his powers as a Dravidian archaeologist—he was the first to scientifically survey the Pallava temples of South India and laid the foundations of Dravidian Archaeology. I was fortunate in being close to him and in receiving an autographed set of his publications, which I value highly and which form a precious part of my small library. I sent him one of my reprints on the two stone inscriptions of the days of Vijayalaya and Parantaka I, found by me on the *bund* of a tank at Munisandai in Tirumayam taluk of Pudukkottai district. They revealed the existence of a sea-faring Tamil mercantile corporation called the *Nanadesis*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and an article on them was published by me in the Journal of the Dutch Society in Batavia, in modern Indonesia. At my request, the inscribed stones under reference have since been moved to the Pudukkottai Museum. (Incidentally, the dates of these records as given in the Annual Report of the Pudukkottah Museum are erroneous). Dr. Dubreuil congratulated me and called the above Guild the Tamil (forerunner of the) East India Company (of the Westerners). Mr. P.Z. Pattabiramin was his *chela* and in turn he too became a cordial friend of mine. After some time, the French Institute of Indology was founded with Dr. J. Filliozat as its Director, and is doing valuable work in Indological and Tamil studies. The offices of the Ecole Francaise d' extreme-Orient were shifted from Hanoi to, and housed in, the premises of the above Institute at Pondicherry. At Dr. Filliozat's instance, all the publications of the Institute (and, recently, of the Ecole as well) have been regularly made available to me, and the privilege of joining the Institute staff on some of their tours to South Indian temples has been warmly extended to me. The Institute has also provided me (unlike the Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay) with the bulk of the photographs used as illustrations in all the four volumes of this series, on easy terms. I am indebted to Dr. Filliozat, Dr. F. Gros, Mlle. F. L'Hernault, Mr. V. Srinivasan, in particular the late Mr. P.Z. Pattabiramin, and the other members of the staff of the Institute for their various acts of co-operation in the matter of publication of these volumes.

Dr. Pramod Chandra, Professor of Indology at the University of Chicago and Director of the American Institute of Indian Studies at Varanasi, has been a source of encouragement in the publication of these volumes, along with his late father, Dr. Moti Chandra, formerly Director of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. He was good enough to suggest my participation as a delegate in the Conference on Indian Architecture held at the Varanasi Institute.

The Ford Foundation and its successive representatives in India—Dr. Douglas Ensminger, Dr. Henry E. Wilhelm and Mr. Staples—have extended to me valuable help, which is gratefully acknowledged here.

Shri Karl Khandalavala, Editor of *Lalit Kala*, has been a constant friend and well-wisher in all my publication endeavours. I owe him a deep debt of gratitude.

I am beholden for their ready help to Dr. R. Nagaswamy, Director of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu; Sri N. Sethuraman of Raman & Raman of Kumbakonam; the Secretary of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Board of the Tamil Nadu Government; Dr. M.N. Deshpande, Director-General of Archaeology of the Government of India, Mr. H. Sarkar, Temple Survey Officer, and the Superintending Assistant, Southern Circle, also of the Archaeological Survey of India; Dr. B.G.L. Swami of the Presidency College, Madras; Mr. Sadasiva Gorakshar of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; and Messrs. P.R. Srinivasan and K.G. Krishnan of the Department of Epigraphy, Mysore. There are others, like Mr. N.S. Ramaswamy of the *Indian Express* and Messrs. Natana Kasinathan and Gandhi of the Tamil Nadu State

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Archaeology Department to whom I am indebted. I am thankful to all those who have helped me to complete this great project.

In 1920, I had the good luck to get a footing in the Educational Trust of the Late Dr. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad. He was a great and distinguished personality, a sound financier and an industrialist, an able administrator and an educational benefactor, and above all a gentleman. I served his Trust both as a teacher and as an educational administrator, especially during the crucial period of the conversion of the Sri Meenakshi College and the allied institutions of his Trust as the nucleus of the Annamalai University. The College and the University situated so close to the ancient religious and cultural centre of Chidambaram, the home of Nataraja, gave me the necessary background for my academic development. The Nataraja temple is the key to the treasures of Chola art and architecture. I utilised the temple and the facilities of the college and university to the fullest in my self-growth in archaeology. The Rajah Sahib has by his charities, educational and cultural, become immortal. I pay my tribute to his great memory. I am glad that his worthy son, Dr. Rajah Sir M.A. Muthiah Chettiar, closely follows his illustrious father's footsteps. He has a warm corner for me and my family.

It was also my good fortune to enjoy the love and friendship of the late Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Srinivasa Sastri who was the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University for five years from 1935 to 1940. He called me his 'dearest friend and well-wisher'. I delivered a lecture in the University under his presidentship on the Oldest Chidambaram Inscriptions discovered by me. Often he entrusted to me the guidance of distinguished visitors to the University interested in the study of Chola art and architecture in the Nataraja temple. He was greatly interested in my archaeological studies and exhorted me to devote myself exclusively to it. Had he been alive he would have rejoiced at the completion of my project on the Chola temples. He was my hero and exemplar. I pay my homage to his sweet and sacred memory.

Another great friend of the family and a deep devotee of Tyagesa of Tiruvarur, Mr. V.S. Tyagaraja Mudaliar, the industrialist and philanthropist of that place, has helped me and my project in many ways. I am beholden to him.

As this volume goes to the Press, the happy tidings have come of the "Federation of Indian Publishers" in association with the "Authors' Guild of India" giving me the "AWARD FOR EXCELLENCE IN WRITING" in the category of Art and Travel for my earlier volume *Middle Chola Temples* for the year 1977. I am grateful to them for this recognition.

Mr. Aroon Purie of the Thomson Press (India) Ltd. has gone out of his way to help me with the publication of this book. Without his generous accommodation in many ways, this book will have remained unpublished. No less has been the help and encouragement received from Mr. R.S. Rawal, Senior Sales Manager of the Thomson Press and Messrs. Mehta and Ganju of their Publication Department in taking on themselves more than their due share

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of strain and responsibility in bringing out this publication. I am deeply indebted to them.

The successive enlightened Tamil Nadu Governments have taken a keen and continuing interest in my project over these two decades and have been a source of great help and inspiration to me.

My thanks are also due to Messrs. D. Kannan, V. Balasubrahmanyan, K.V. Sankaranarayanan, Sankaran, N. Chellappan, P.G.K. Kutty, M.K. Gandhi and other close associates for their help in various ways in getting the text ready for the Press.

Above all I am deeply beholden to the Acharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitham whose deep knowledge of the culture and art of the Cholas and keen interest in my project of compiling and tracing the growth of art and architecture under their inspiration has sustained me through my moments of doubt in my ability to stand up to the staggering strain of the task I had undertaken. I pay my deep homage not only to him but to Adisankara and all his successor Pontiffs who have adorned that Pitham at Kanchi and other centres. A few weeks back, when I had gone to Kanchi to seek the blessings of the great Acharya, he comforted me and assured me of success in the fulfilment of this endeavour.

When I started on this multi-volume series on Chola art history and temple survey, I was a lone man; as the work progressed, my sons and daughters-in-law and later on my grand-children gathered round me and lightened my burden considerably; my eldest son, Sri B. Natarajan, has been a tower of strength to me in this great project; the brunt of the load, however, fell on my second son, Dr. Venkataraman and his wife Leela, who both put up with a great deal of strain and odd hours of work to help me complete this series. The efforts of my third son, Dr. Ramachandran, in meticulously editing the texts with a microscopic eye combined with an incisive mind and typing out many complicated portions must also find mention here.

This sort of a gigantic venture is not for an individual or even a dedicated family but for well-established, well-cushioned Institutions or Government Departments to take up. I would not have embarked on this stupendous task had some effort been made by any such agency. In their absence, I stepped in to fill a vacuum. It has been a great struggle spread over six decades.

I am nearing the end of my life's journey and I have a sense of fulfilment with the satisfaction of my life's ambition—a chronological survey, however far from comprehensive it be, of Chola Temple Art and Architecture, to the studying of which I have devoted most of my life and the limited resources I could call my own.

The Chola kings are no more but they will live in the minds and hearts of discerning men as long as (in the picturesque language of their inscriptions) "the sun and the moon endure."

Let me conclude by saying, as did the mighty Chola kings of old, that all I

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

desire is to be "a bee, partaking of the honey of Divine Grace, at the Lotus Feet of the Lord of the Cosmic Dance" and to ultimately merge in Him.

S.R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

"KAVERI"
12, Fourth Cross Street,
Ramakrishna Nagar,
Madras
23rd April, 1978

Note on the Muvarkoyil: Douglas Barrett has suggested a 'southern source' for the evolution of the style of the Muvarkoyil shrines. This 'southern source' can only be Pandyan. But the fact that there are fine *devakoshta* sculptures in these shrines while the *devakoshtas* of Pandyan temples are nominal and devoid of sculptures will disprove his contention, and we must rule out any Pandyan influence at Muvarkoyil. Even R. Nagaswamy seems to reconsider his original agreement with the assignment of the Muvarkoyil shrines to the tenth century A.D.: *vide* his article, "New light on Pallava-Pandya art links" in *South Indian Studies* (No. 1, Soc. Arch. Hist. & Epig. Res., Madras). Two inscriptions: one of the fifth year of Sadaiyan Maran (Tiruppattur) and the other of the fifth year of Maranjadaiyan (Kuttalam: Maranjadaiyan is identified as Varaguna II) are cited as evidence for a Vira Pandya in the ninth century A.D. These are not applicable to the builder of the temples at Kilmathur. There was no Chola King to kill in about A.D. 869 and no Vira Pandya then to earn the title of '*Cholantaka*'. The only Vira Pandya who could claim to be a *Cholantaka* would be a contemporary of that name of Bhuti Vikrama Kesari and thus of the period of Sundara Chola and Aditya II (tenth century A.D.)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Contents

Introduction	vii
Contents	xxi
List of Later Chola temples	xxiii
Illustrations in Colour	xxix
1. Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070–1125)	1
2. Temples of Kulottunga I's Time	19
3. Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1118–1135)	160
4. Temples of Vikrama Chola's Time	163
5. Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133–1150)	207
6. Temples of Kulottunga II's Time	210
7. Rajaraja II (A.D. 1146–1172)	221
8. Temples of Rajaraja II's Time	225
9. Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1166–1182)	263
10. Temples of Rajadhiraja II's Time	272
11. Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178–1218)	287
12. Temples of Kulottunga III's Time	300
13. Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216–1246)	359
14. Temples of Rajaraja III's Time	366
15. Rajendra III (A.D. 1246–1279/80)	379
16. Temples of Rajendra III's Time	385
17. Chola-Pallava phase	395
18. Chola-Hoysala phase	406

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

19. Supplement 414

Epilogue 430

List of illustrations in black and white 433

Illustrations in black and white

Map, plans and sketch

Index

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LIST OF LATER CHOLA TEMPLES

Sl. No.	Sec. No.	Name of place	Name of temple(s)	Year
		TEMPLES OF KULOTTUNGA I'S TIME		
1	1	Chidambaram	Nataraja temple	(Expansion)
2	2	Sirkali	Brahmapurisvarar temple	(,,)
3	3	Tiruvalangadu	Vataranyesvarar temple	3 yr.
4	4	Neyvennai	Svarnaghatesvarar (Vennai-appar) temple	3 yr.
5	5	Tiruppulivanam	Vyaghrapurisvarar temple	3 yr.
6	6	Srirangam	Ranganathasvamin temple	5 yr.
7	7	Tirukkannapuram	Ramanandisvaram & Souriraja Perumal temples	5 yr.
8	8	Tiruvottur	Vedanathesvarar temple & Chidambaresvarar shrine	6 yr.
9	9	Nandalur	Chokkanatha Perumal temple	8 yr.
10	10	Edayarpakkam	Tirup-padak-kadudaiya Mahadevar temple	12 yr.
11	11	Nangupatti	Madattuk-koyil (Tirup-peruman-anda Nayanar temple)	14 yr.
12	12	Tiruk-kadaiyur (Tiruk-kadavur)	Amritaghatesvarar temple	14 yr.
13	13	Kadapperi	Svetaranyesvarar temple	15 yr.
14	14	Ambar-Makalam	Makalanathar temple, Amman shrine	16 yr.
15	15	Siddhalingamadam	Vyaghrapurisvarar temple	16 yr.
16	16	Laddigam	Nilakanthesvarar temple	16 yr.
17	17	Udaiyarkoyil	Kulottungasola vinnagaram	18 yr.
18	18	Rajendrasolagan	Somanathesvarar temple	30 yr.
19	19	Srimushnam	Nityesvarar temple	31 yr.
20	20	Palur	Patangesvarar temple	32 yr.
21	21	Arakandanallur	Oppilamanisvarar temple	32 yr.
22	22	Tiruvaigavur	Vilvanathesvarar temple	33 yr.
23	23	Nandavana (Karnataka)	Chennakesava temple (Sri-Kulottunga-sola-Nanadesi-vinnagar)	

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sl. No.	Sec. No.	Name of place	Name of temple(s)	Year
24	24	Tirumanikkuli	Manikyavaradar temple	34 yr.
25	25	Narasingapuram (Kuvam)	Lakshmi-Narasimha Perumal temple (Nachchiyar shrine)	35 yr.
26	26	Trisulam	Dharmapurisvarar temple	36 yr.
27	27	Solapuram	(i) Kasi-Visvanathar temple	38 yr.
28			(ii) Bhairavar temple	
29			(iii) Kailasanathar temple	
30	28	Sindhuvalli (Kar.)	Sankaresvara (Mulasthanam Udaiyar) temple	38 yr
31	29	Chilakalanerpu	Gangaikondasolisvaram Udaiya Devar temple	39 yr.
32	30	Chelluru (A.P.)	Vishnu temple	40 yr.
33	31	Yannagumba (Kar.)	Ramesvara (Ramesvaram Udaiyar) temple	40 yr.
34	32	Melakkadambur	Amritaghatesvarar temple	41 yr.
35	33	Perambakkam	Cholisvarar temple	42 yr.
36	34	Tiruppalaitturai	Palaivananathar temple	43 yr.
37	35	Madivala (Kar.)	Gangadharesvara (Gangaikondasola Isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar) temple	43 yr.
38	36	Suryanarkoyil	Surya temple	44 yr.
39	37	Perungalur	Vamsoddharakanathar temple	45 yr.
40	38	Kannambadi (Kar.)	Kanvesvara (Kannesvara) temple	45 yr.
41	39	Nidur	Somanathesvarar temple	46 yr.
42	40	Tirundu-Devangudi	Nandan Koyil (Aru-marundu-devar temple)	47 yr.
43	41	Kovilangulam	Ambalappasvami temple	48 yr.
44	42	Kallaperumbur	Kailasanathar temple	49 yr.
45	43	Udaiyalur	Kailasanathar (Kulottunga-solisvaram) temple	49 yr.
46	44	Kanchipuram	Sri Varadaraja Perumal temple	(Expansion)
47	45	Kaniyamur	Kanaka-solisvarar temple	(date lost)
48	46	Elavanasur	Ardhanarisvarar temple	(recons-truction)
49	47	Chintamani Agaram	Vaidyanathisvarar or Isvarar (Kulottunga-solisvaram Udaiyar) temple	(Last years)
50	48	Alavely	Vishnu temple	
51	49	Paundarikapuram	Siva temple	

TEMPLES OF VIKRAMA CHOLA'S TIME

52	1	Tiruppugalur	Agnisvarar (Pugalur devar) temple	2 yr.
53	2	Sugatur (Kar.)	Somisvarar temple	2 yr.
54	3	Perumukkil	Mukyachalesvarar temple	3 yr.
55	4	Tukkachchi	Apatsahayesvarar (Vikramasolisvaram) temple	4 yr.
56	5	Tirunaraiyur	Siddhanathasvamin temple	5 yr.
57	6	Melaperumpallam	Dakshinapurisvarar temple	6 yr.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sl. No.	Sec. No.	Name of place	Name of temple(s)	Year
58	7	Tillaiyadi	Saranagata-rakshakar temple	6 yr.
59	8	Tiruppachchur	Pachchisvarar temple	9 yr.
60	9	Sivankudal	Sivakkolundisvarar temple	9 yr.
61	10	Gudimallam	Parasuramesvarar temple	9 yr.
62	11	Madivala-bechirak (Kar.)	Isvara (Ulagisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar) temple	10 yr.
63	12	Alangudi	Apatsahayesvarar temple	10 yr.
64	13	Chidambaram	Nataraja temple	10 yr.
65	14	Rajarajan-Tirumangalam	Bhulokanathasvamin (Vikramasolisvaram) temple	10 yr.
66	15	Kanchipuram (Tiruvattiyur)	Varadaraja (Arulala) Perumal temple, Karumanikka Varadar shrine	11 yr. (Expansion)
67	16	Tiruvoymur	Tyagarajasvamin (Voymurnathar) temple	12 yr.
68	17	Sarkar Periyapalayam	Varadaraja Perumal (Vikramasola vinnagaram) temple	14 yr.
69	18	Madarvelur	Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar temple	19 yr.
70	19	Tirukkodikkaval	Tirukkotisvarar temple	(Expansion)
71	20	Chidambaram (Parakesarinallur)	Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar temple	
72	21	Kumbakonam	Sar(a)ngapani temple	
73	22	Palaiyaru	Somanathar temple	
		TEMPLES OF KULOTTUNGA II'S TIME		
74	1	Chidambaram	Nataraja temple	(Expansion)
75	2	Uttattur	Cholisvarar temple	11–13 yr.
76	3	Magaral	Agastisvaram temple	11 yr.
77	4	Munnur	Adavallisvarar temple	11 yr.
		TEMPLES OF RAJARAJA II'S TIME		
78	1	Darasuram	Airavatesvarar temple	7 yr.
79	2	Kendatti (Kar.)	Chandramallesvara temple	8 yr.
80	3	Ponnamaravati	Cholisvarar temple	10 yr.
81	4	Pallavarayanpettai	Sundaresvarar (Rajarajesvaram) temple	18 yr.
82	5	Tiruvanchiyam	Vanchisvarar temple, Amman shrine	
		TEMPLES OF RAJADHIRAJA II'S TIME		
83	1	Tiruvengaivasal	Vyaghrapurisvarar temple, Sadira Vitanka Nayakar and Nachchiyar shrines	5 yr.
84	2	Arpakkam	Tiruvalisvaram temple	5 yr.
85	3	Nagar	Apratisvarar (Piridivalichcharam Udaiyar) temple	6 yr.
86	4	Ilambayangottur	Devanayakasvamin temple	12 yr.
87	5	Atti	Agastisvaram (Edirilisolisvaram Udaiya Nayanar) temple	18 yr.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sl. No.	Sec. No.	Name of place	Name of temple(s)	Year
88	6	Atti	Kariyaperumal (Edirilisola vinnagar Emperuman) temple	
89	7	Pattisvaram	Pattisvaranathar temple	
90	8	Tirusattimuttam	Sivakkolundunathar temple	
		TEMPLES OF KULOTTUNGA III'S TIME		
91	1	Tiruvakkarai	Chandramoulisvarar temple	2 yr.
92	2	Tirumananjeri	Madhyannesvarar temple	3 yr.
93	3	Tiruvennainallur	Kripapurisvarar (Arul-turai Nayanar) temple	3 yr.
94	4	Valuvur	Tiru-Virattanam Udaiyar temple, Amman shrine	5 yr.
95	5	Achyutamangalam	Somanathesvarar temple	5 yr.
96	6	Tidaavur	Ekambranathar temple	5 yr.
97	7	Kugaiyur	Svarnapurisvarar temple	6 yr.
98	8	Kalahasti	Manikanthesvarar temple	11 yr.
99	9	Chengama	Rishabhesvarar temple	13 yr.
100	10	Aragal(ur)	Tiru-Kamisvaram Udaiya Nayanar temple	13 yr.
101	11	Avarani	Anantanarayana Perumal (Pallikondar) temple	15 yr.
102	12	Tiruppalaivanam	Tiruppalesvarar temple	15 yr.
103	13	Ten-Tiruvalangadu	Vataranyesvarar temple	15 yr.
104	14	Papanasam	Srinivasa Perumal (Visvesvarar) temple	19 yr.
105	15	Korukkai	Kulottungasolisvaram temple	21 yr.
106	16	Tribhuvanam	Kampaharesvarar temple	24–30 yr.
107	17	Kuttalam	Omkaresvaram Udaiyar temple	25 yr.
108	18	Kuttalam	Cholesvarar temple	25 yr.
109	19	Mayuram	Panchanadisvarar temple	25 yr.
110	20	Kulikkarai	Kalahastisvarar temple	28 yr.
111	21	Seranur	Vamsoddharakanathar (Kulottungasolisvaram) temple	31 yr.
112	22	Toludur	Madhurantakasolisvaram	32 yr.
113	23	Achchapuram	Tirupperumanam Udaiyar temple, Amman shrine	32 yr.
114	24	Tirupperundurai	Pranesvarar temple	?
115	25	Kanchipuram	Arulala (Varadaraja) Perumal temple (Anantalvar shrine)	35 yr.
116	26	Nattamangudi	Adimula Perumal temple	38 yr.
117	27	Allur	Panchanadesvarar temple, Amman shrine	
118	28	Palangur	Kailasanathar temple	38 yr.
119	29	Tiruvarangulam	Haratirthesvarar temple, Brihadambal shrine	39 yr.
120	30	Salukki	Vishnu temple	

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sl. No.	Sec. No.	Name of place	Name of temple(s)	Year
		TEMPLES OF RAJARAJA III'S TIME		
121	1	Vaniyambadi	Atithisvarar temple	5 yr.
122	2	Nallur	Vinayaka Pillaiyar shrine	5 yr.
123	3	Tirumananjeri	Udvahanathasvamin temple, Amman shrine	7 yr.
124	4	Tummuru	Karumanikkap Perumal temple	13 yr.
125	5	Mayuram	Mayuranathasvamin temple, Avayambal (Amman) shrine	14 yr.
126 & 127	6	Arumbavur	(i) Kailasanathasvamin temple (ii) Kulottungasola Vinnagara Emperuman temple	14 yr.
128	7	Alangudi	Apatsahayesvarar temple	15 yr.
129	8	Nellore	Manumasiddhisvaram temple	15 yr.
130	9	Kovilur (Usattanam)	Mantrapurisvarar temple, Amman shrine	20 yr.
131	10	Kandaraviruppettai	Kalamegha Perumal temple	22 yr.
132	11	Pulivay	Mahamunisvarar temple	23 yr.
133	12	Neyyadippakkam	Siva temple	27 yr.
134	13	Vayalaikkavur	Siva temple	27 yr.
135 & 136	14	Magaral	(i) Vaikuntha Perumal temple (ii) Tayar shrine	28 yr.
137 & 138 & 139	15	Turaiyur	(i) Nandikesvarasvamin temple (ii) Kasi Visvanathasvamin temple (iii) Venugopalasvamin temple	
		TEMPLES OF RAJENDRA III'S TIME		
140	1	Kovilur (Usattanam)	Mantrapurisvarar temple	(Expansion)
141	2	Narttamalai	Tiru Anaikka Udaiya Nayanar- and other temples	7 yr.
142	3	Chennur	Channakesava temple	12 yr.
143	4	Krishnapatnam	Siddhesvara temple	14 yr.
144	5	Mannargudi	Kailasanathasvamin temple, Amman shrine	18 yr.
145	6	Manur	Cholisvarar temple	?
		TEMPLES OF THE CHOLA-PALLAVA PHASE		
146	1	Sendamangalam	Apatsahayesvarar (Valnilaikandisvaram Udaiyar) temple	
147	2	Tiruvennainallur	Vaikuntha Perumal temple	
148	3	Omampuliyur	Pranava Vyaghrapurisvarar temple	
		TEMPLES OF THE CHOLA-HOYSALA PHASE		
149	1	Tiruvanaikka(val)	Vallalisvaram temple	

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sl. No.	Sec. No.	Name of place	Name of temple(s)	Year
150	2	Tiruvanaikka(val)	Padumalisvaram temple	
151	3	Purisaikkudi	Somalisvaram temple	
152	4	Jambukesvaram	Tyagavinodisvaram shrine	
153	5	Tiruvanaikka(val)	Prasannisvaram temple	
154	6	Kannanur	Posalisvaram temple	
155	7	Srirangam	Venugopalasvamin shrine	
			SUPPLEMENT	
156	1	Tiruvenkadu	Svetaranyesvarar temple	
157	2	Mel-sevur	Vrishabhapurisvarar temple	
158	3	Amangudi	Rajarajesvaram	
159	4	Tiruvallam	Bilvanathesvarar temple	
160	5	Manambadi	Naganathasvamin temple	
161	6	Manimangalam	Rajagopala Perumal temple	
162	7	Kadagodi	Kasivisvesvara temple	

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Illustrations in Colour

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sl. No.	Sec. No.	Name of place	Name of temple(s)	Year
150	2	Tiruvanaikka(val)	Padumalisvaram temple	
151	3	Purisaikkudi	Somalisvaram temple	
152	4	Jambukesvaram	Tyagavinodisvaram shrine	
153	5	Tiruvanaikka(val)	Prasannisvaram temple	
154	6	Kannanur	Posalisvaram temple	
155	7	Srirangam	Venugopalasvamin shrine	
			SUPPLEMENT	
156	1	Tiruvenkadu	Svetaranyesvarar temple	
157	2	Mel-sevur	Vrishabhapurisvarar temple	
158	3	Amangudi	Rajarajesvaram	
159	4	Tiruvallam	Bilvanathesvarar temple	
160	5	Manambadi	Naganathasvamin temple	
161	6	Manimangalam	Rajagopala Perumal temple	
162	7	Kadagodi	Kasivisvesvara temple	

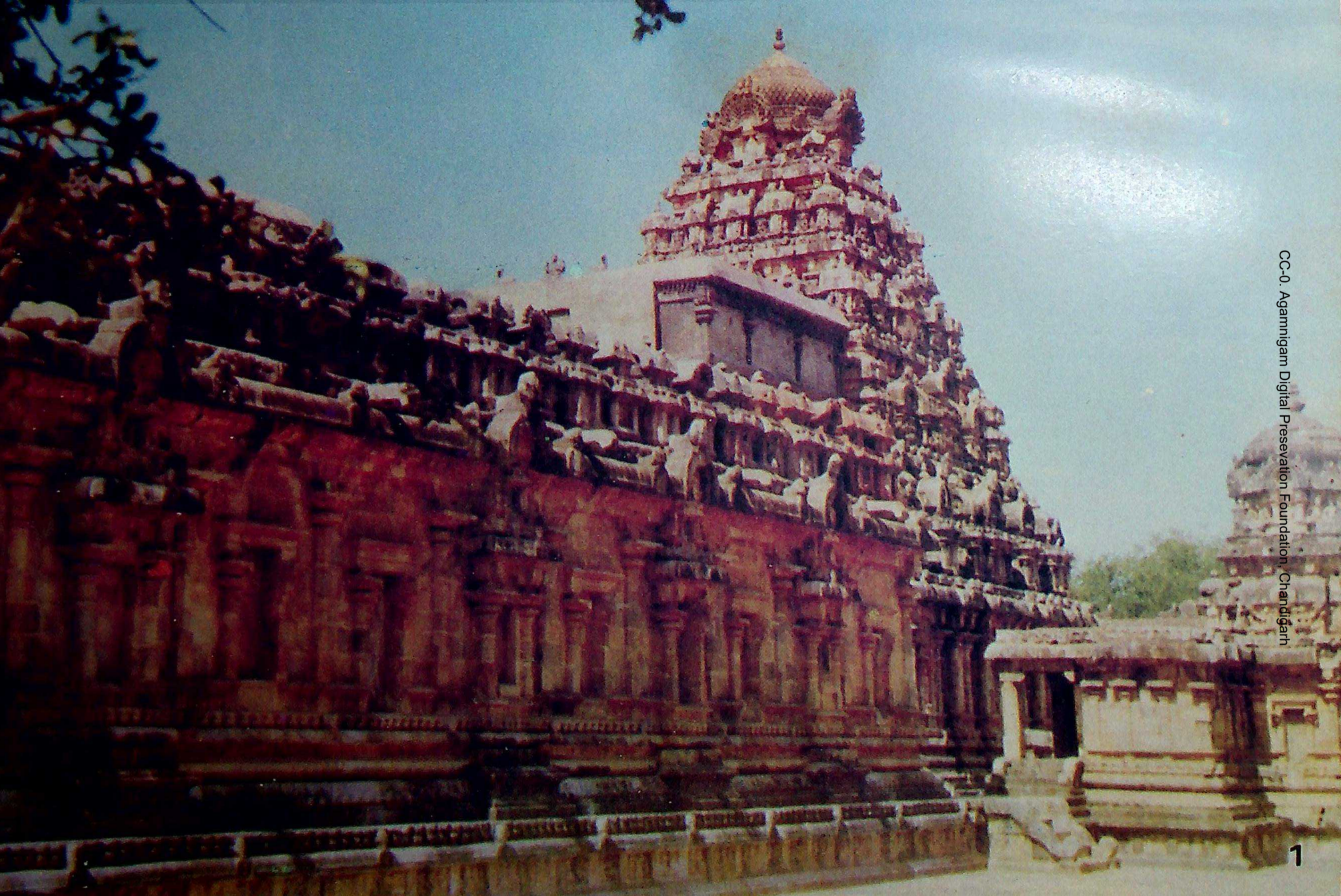
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Illustrations in Colour

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

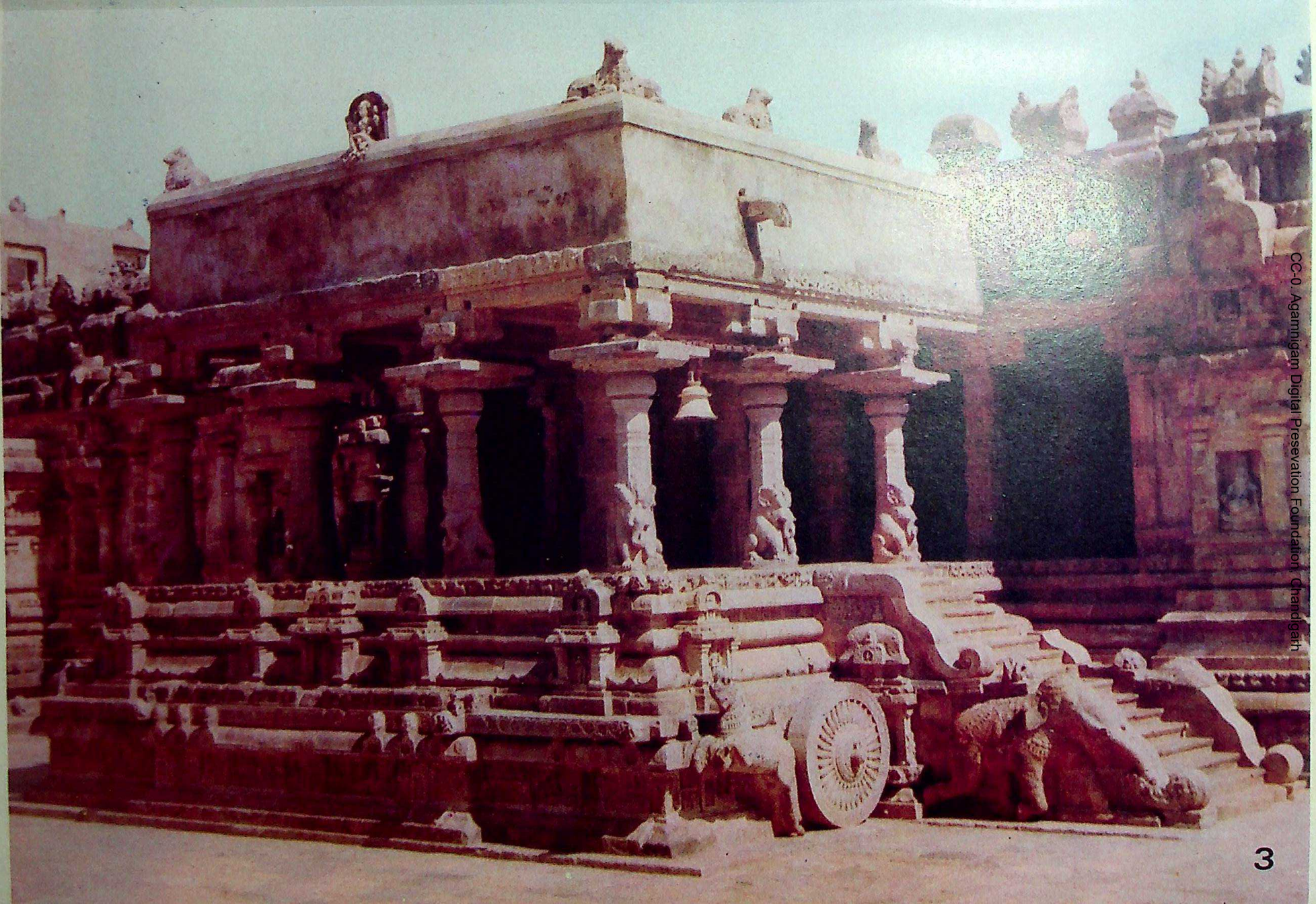
List of illustrations in colour

1 Darasuram, Airavatesvarar temple, general view, north-east. (Courtesy: Kembu Studio, Thiruverumbur)
2 Darasuram, Airavatesvarar temple, *Srivimana*, south face. (Courtesy: Kembu Studio, Thiruverumbur).
3 Darasuram, Airavatesvarar temple, *Ratha mandapa*, south view. (Courtesy: Kembu Studio, Thiruverumbur).
4 Chidambaram, Nataraja temple, Adhikara Nandi.
5 Chidambaram, Nataraja temple, Sivakamasundari.
6 Chidambaram, Nataraja temple, Parvati, front view.
7 Chidambaram, Nataraja temple, Parvati, rear view.
8 Kilakkadambur, Gajasamharamurti.
9 Darasuram, Airavatesvarar temple, Aghoramurti. (Courtesy: Kembu Studio, Thiruverumbur).
10 Darasuram, Airavatesvarar temple, Ardhanarisvarar. (Courtesy: Kembu Studio, Thiruverumbur).
11 Melakkadambur, Amritaghatesvarar temple, Nandikesvarar.
12 Melakkadambur, Amritaghatesvarar temple, Pala Nataraja.
13 Melakkadambur, Amritaghatesvarar temple, Bhikshatanar.
14 Melakkadambur, Amritaghatesvarar temple, Ardhanarisvarar.
15 Melakkadambur, Amritaghatesvarar temple, Ardhanarisvarar, close-up.
16 Melakkadambur, Amritaghatesvarar temple, *Gopuram* (superstructure portion). (Courtesy: Kembu Studio, Thiruverumbur).
17 Tiruvarur, Tyagarajasvamin temple, Processional car. (Courtesy: Sri V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar, Tiruvarur).



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

8

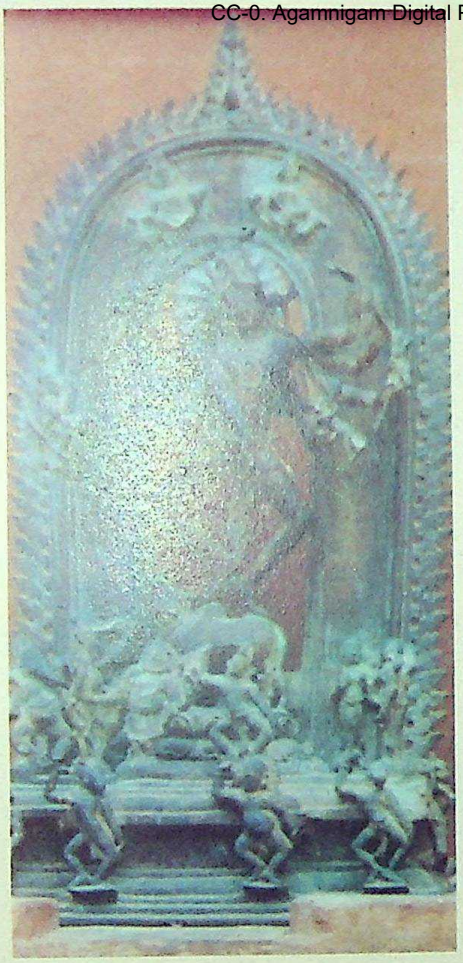
9

10

11

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

12



13

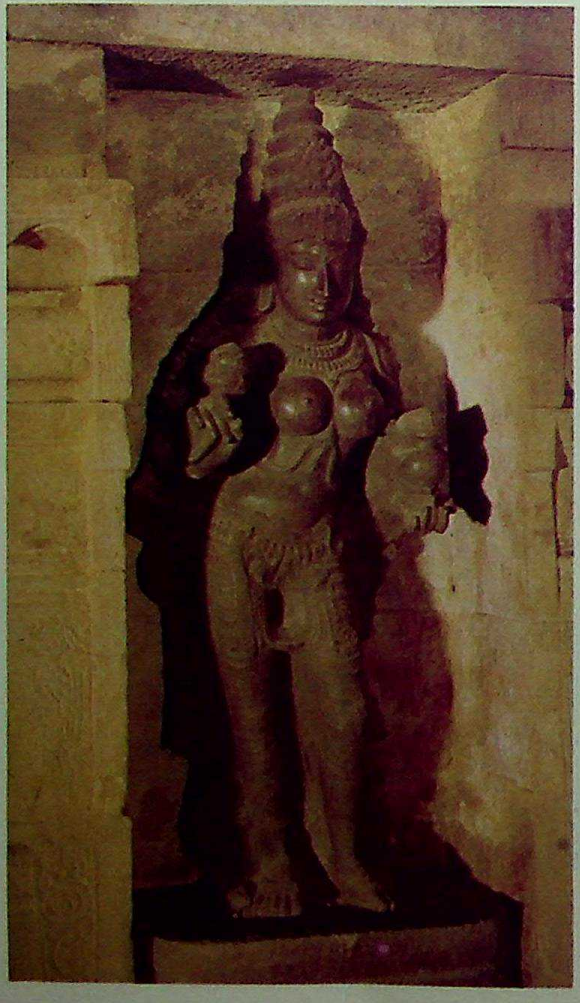
14

15

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

8

9

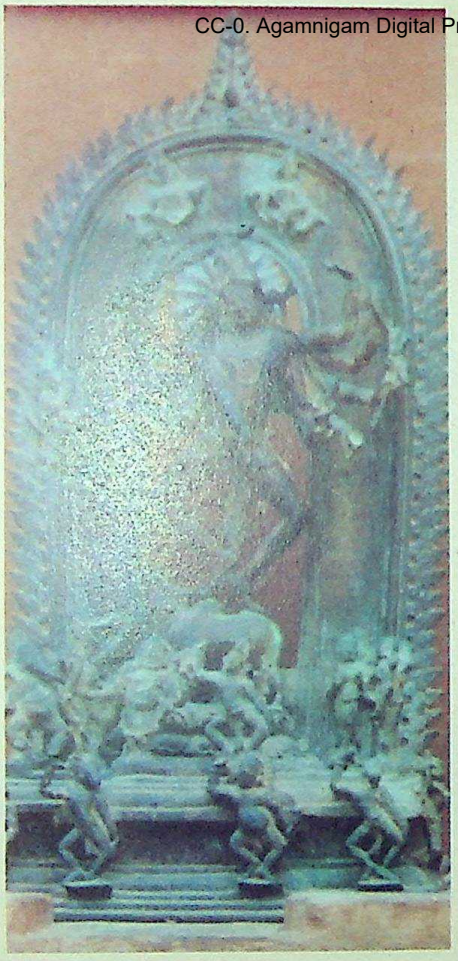


10

11

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

12



13

14

15

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

16

17

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

1

Kulottunga I

(A.D. 1070 to 1125)

The last phase of Chola history as well as of Chola art and architecture begins with the accession of Kulottunga I, a Chalukya-Chola prince, to the throne at Gangaikonda Cholapuram. It is a strange pattern of destiny that the mighty Chola Empire, that bestrode like a Colossus the southern peninsula and even the lands across the seas, should have had three successive generations of great kings, the last comprising three brilliant brothers, all tough soldiers and able rulers, but then that two of them should have died without male successors and the third left a shortlived one. Rajadhiraja I apparently had no male progeny to succeed him to the Chola throne, and Rajamahendra, Crown Prince for three years under Rajendra II, predeceased the father. Adhirajendra, the son of Vira Rajendra, died in confusing circumstances, hardly a few months after he had succeeded his father. In the result, Dame Fortune Who had smiled on the Chola Empire for three great generations seemed suddenly to frown upon it.

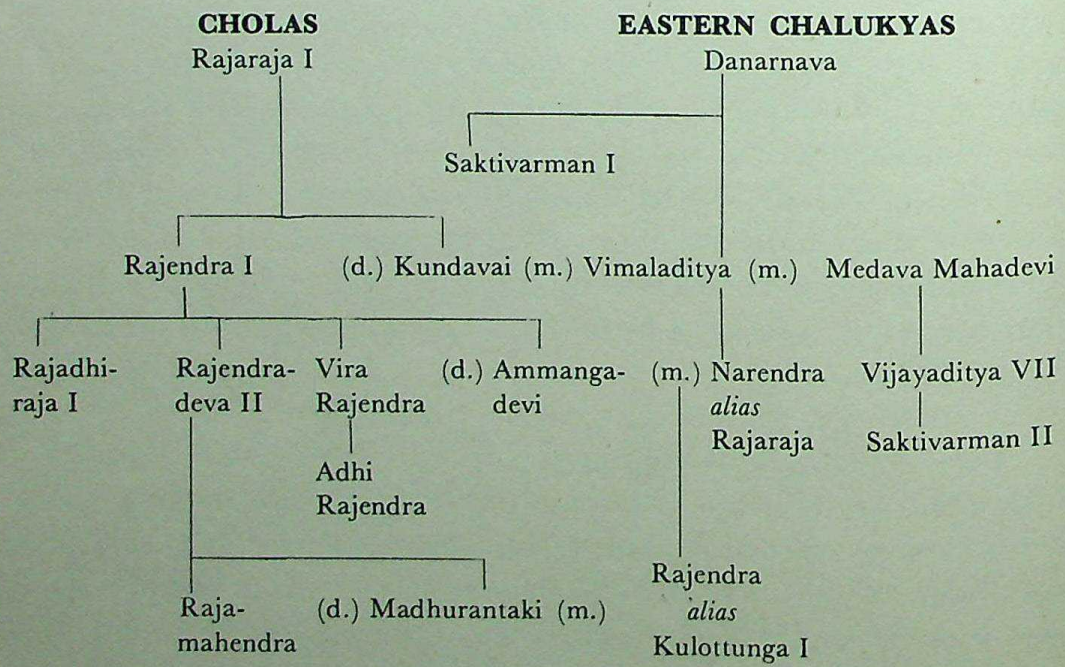
Vira Rajendra, ascending the throne late in life, had very little time to consolidate his position, and a succession of wars kept him busy. As a far-sighted ruler, he saw the wisdom of building up alliances with his erstwhile enemies to keep his frontiers free of war or the threat of it. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukyas and by this alliance he wrested from Somesvara II, the hostile Suzerain of Kalyani, half of the Chalukyan Empire for his son-in-law; thus, in one stroke, he weakened that empire and ensured a friendly neighbour on his

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

north-western borders. This also enabled him to have Western Chalukyan support for his ruling peacefully over Vengi, whose western frontier was virtually guaranteed by his son-in-law.

He gave another daughter Rajasundari in marriage to the Eastern Ganga king Rajaraja, ruling over Southern Kalinga, and thus protected the northern borders of Vengi from the inroads they had been so frequently subjected to.

Thus, towards the closing years of his reign, by these diplomatic marital alliances, he had consolidated the empire, and all was set for a grand epoch, when the cruel hand of fate struck the empire. In A.D. 1069–70, Vira Rajendra died and soon thereafter, his son, whatever his qualities and potentialities were, met with an early death, resulting in a period of confusion and claims and counter-claims, that ultimately was terminated by the able Eastern Chalukyan Prince Rajiga, who, on the maternal side, had inherited Chola blood over two generations (and was himself married to a daughter of Chola Rajendradeva II) as shown by the genealogical table below:



Here a word may be said of Vengi-Chola relations. The earliest Chola king who interfered in the affairs of the Eastern Chalukyan country was Rajaraja I. From his inscriptions, we know that he

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

conquered Vengi in the 14th year of his reign (= A.D. 999–1000). Evidently, Rajaraja I placed Saktivarman (I) *alias* Chalukya-Chandra on the Eastern Chalukya throne the same year, who presumably accepted a status of dependence on the Chola emperor as inferred from the Ranastipundi grant of Vimaladitya, the brother and successor of Saktivarman. Rajaraja I cemented the relationship by an inter-dynastic marital alliance, his daughter Kundavai being given in marriage to Vimaladitya.

Kulottunga I's reign began sometime about June in A.D. 1070 and lasted at least fifty-two* years. He was born under the asterism *Pushya*. His youth had not been spent on a bed of roses. The death of Kulottunga's (then called Rajendra) father Rajaraja Narendra of Vengi in A.D. 1061 triggered off trouble in Vengi that had its repercussions on the Chola-Western Chalukya relations, which subsided only with the death of the Western Chalukyan ruler Somesvara I. Vijayaditya VII, the step-brother of Rajaraja Narendra, seized the Vengi throne on the latter's death and bestowed it on his own son Saktivarman II, and in this Somesvara I was of great assistance to Vijayaditya. This led to a natural Chola reaction: Vira Rajendra endeavoured to set right the situation resulting from his brothers' neglect of this region. The policy followed by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I towards the newly acquired dominion of Vengi was not vigorously pursued by Rajadhiraja I and Rajendradeva II, but was resumed by Vira Rajendra as mentioned in so many words in his Kanyakumari inscription (*Travancore Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 57, v. 77):

> "The Vengi and Kalinga countries which had come into the family of the Cholas for generations, having been left uncared for by his (Vira Rajendra's) two brothers and having been encroached upon by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha-Vallabha (i.e., Vira Rajendra) conquered these highly powerful foes, leaving only those that were frightened, and ruled over the country".

He invaded the Vengi country and killed Saktivarman II

*Pd. 127. According to recently-discovered inscriptions, it appears that his reign might have indeed lasted for fifty-five years (A.D. 1070–1125).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in battle, but this produced no lasting realignments among the powers. Vijayaditya VII sought the help of Somesvara I and remained on the Vengi throne, much to the discomfiture of Vira Rajendra. This happy state of affairs for Vijayaditya would have continued but for the sudden death of Somesvara I (A.D. 1068); the marriage of Vira Rajendra's daughter to Vikramaditya VI, son of Somesvara I, also brought about a *volte face* in Chalukyan relations with the Cholas, Vikramaditya claiming the southern portion of the kingdom of Somesvara I, while his elder brother Somesvara II had to be content with the northern half; this had its consequential realignment among the southern powers, resulting in Vijayaditya getting the support of Somesvara II, and Vikramaditya supporting the cause of Vengi's integration with the Chola empire. Thus, with the growing power of Vikramaditya and the waning influence of Somesvara II (with a further enemy in Rajaraja of Kalinga), Vijayaditya of Vengi was subdued; hardly a year had passed after Vira Rajendra had established a state of equilibrium by his farsighted marital alliances and diplomatic moves, when it collapsed with his death. Of this, more later.

The years of Vijayaditya's ascendancy in Vengi were years of wandering and adventure for the disinherited prince Rajendra. Perhaps then only in his teens, Rajendra at his father's death left for the northern regions and, unaided, won a victory over the king Dharavarsha of Chakrakuta (the region of modern Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh) and possibly even ruled as a petty prince over that area, known as Purvadesam. Thus, Rajendra was in virtual exile from the Vengi country for over six to seven years when the death of Adhirajendra at Gangaikondasolapuram brought him hastily to the Chola capital as it did Vikramaditya VI, who was interested in his wife's brother's kingdom for himself. In a treatise on Art history, we have no concern with the intriguing events covering the clouded days from the death of Vira Rajendra to the accession of Kulottunga I; suffice it to say that the available material, literary and epigraphical, is too scanty to enable us to draw a cogent picture of the sequence of events.

Considerable information, often conflicting, is provided by

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Bilhana's *Vikramanka Charitam*, Jayangondar's *Kalingattupparani* and numerous Chola and less numerous Western Chalukyan inscriptions, in regard to these eventful years. With the death of Adhirajendra and the consequent snapping of any bonds of love that might have existed between the two dynasties, Vikramaditya set about systematically to build up an empire for himself at least as large as his father's and in the process gathered around him a number of allies and vassals, like the Yadava king of Devagiri, the Hoysala Ereyanga, Tribhuvanamalla Pandya and the Kadamba Jayakesari, and having neutralised the influence of his brother, he turned his attention to Vengi whose integration with the Chola kingdom consequent on the accession of Kulottunga I irked him. He invaded the Kolar region of the Chola kingdom sometime before the 6th year of the reign of Kulottunga I; reading between the conflicting lines, we see that Somesvara II, his brother, was taken prisoner, Vengi was left to remain a part of the Chola kingdom and the Tungabhadra stabilised itself as the boundary between the Western Chalukyan kingdom and the Chola empire. Having consolidated his suzerainty over Vengi, Kulottunga I let his step-uncle Vijayaditya VII rule over that province, which he did for fifteen years—till his death in A.D. 1076, upon which Kulottunga I hastened to appoint his own son Rajaraja Mummadi Chola as the Viceroy of Vengi (July, A.D. 1076). For reasons not quite clear, the latter was later recalled and replaced by his younger brother Vira Choda, who administered the province for six years (till *Saka* 1007 = A.D. 1084–5). He was followed by the eldest brother Rajaraja Chodaganga, whose spell as viceroy seems to have brought discredit on him with the result that he was replaced by Vira Choda again who continued as viceroy for a second term from A.D. 1088–89 to 1092–93. And finally Vikrama Chola, another son of Kulottunga I, assumed the viceroyalty of Vengi, where he continued till he was recalled to the Chola capital to assume the heir-apparency in A.D. 1118. In this period of Vikrama Chola's viceroyalty, the First Kalinga War took place. Some years before his viceroyalty, the territory between the Godavari and the Mahendragiri, known as Southern Kalinga, was part of the Vengi province. The Chief of Kolanu (modern Ellore, near the Kolair

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

lake), presumably instigated and assisted by the Kalinga ruler, attempted to revolt, and a punitive expedition was evidently taken out against him (in A.D. 1095–96) by Vikrama Chola, assisted by the Pandyan vassal Parakrama Pandya. Kulam (Kolair or Kolanu) was taken and Chola authority reasserted, as evidenced by the Tamil inscriptions of Kulottunga at Simhachalam (A.D. 1098–99), Draksharama and other places*.

A second and more famous invasion of Kalinga took place in A.D. 1110, and much information is available on this war from the *Kalingattupparani*, a heroic poem written by the contemporary court poet Jayangondar. The provocation for the war would appear to have been the default on two occasions of the king of North Kalinga to pay his annual tribute to the Chola Emperor. Informed of this by his Chief Secretary *(tiru mandira olai)* at his *Durbar* in his palace at Kanchi, the king ordered an expeditionary force under the Pallava chieftain Karunakara Tondaiman, Lord of Vendai, to invest the Kalinga kingdom. The king, Anantavarman Chodaganga, a grandson of Vira Rajendra by his daughter Rajasundari, made light of it in his capital of Kalinganagara and put up a fight against the invading army; the battle, so goes the *Kalingattupparani*, ended in a rout for Anantavarman, who sought refuge in flight. His setting up his capital at Cuttack in A.D. 1111 would corroborate the validity of much that is said in this poem on the Kalinga war; however, this defeat does not appear to have caused much harm to his power, for he continued to rule from Cuttack for another thirty-five years, living upto a ripe old age (A.D. 1076–

*About Vikrama Chola, it is said that "in the season of Cupid (i.e., in spring), he grasped the cruel weapon, so that at Kulam (i.e., the Kolair lake) the Telinga Viman (i.e., Bhima) ascended the mountains as refuge and so that hot fire consumed the country of Kalinga" (SII, III, p. 184—ARE. nos. 44 of 1891 and 608 of 1904). These two records also contain a lengthy account of the invasion and conquest of the Seven Kalingas by Kulottunga I which must be different from the one mentioned in the 26th year. Invasion of Kalinga by the Cholas is mentioned (i) in the inscriptions of the 16th year of Kulottunga I, (ii) in the inscriptions of Vikrama Chola, and (iii) in the Tamil heroic poem *Kalingattupparani*. Under item (i), a reference is made to the conquest of Kalinga-mandalam by Kulottunga I in an inscription at Tiruvidaimarudur (SII, III, p. 158); this invasion must thus have taken place before A.D. 1095–96 (see pp. 52–53 of ARE for the year ending May 1905).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(1112–) 1147). As for the Chola emperor, his writ ran over Southern Kalinga and perhaps portions of Northern Kalinga too, and the empire retained virtually its full extent as under Rajendra I, except for the loss of Sri Lanka (Ceylon).

Sri Lanka never accepted the suzerainty of the Cholas, and during the Middle Chola period, the Sri Lanka Chiefs were chafing at their subordination; (towards the close of the Middle period,) even before the accession of Vira Rajendra, the Sinhalese prince Kitti raised the banner of revolt and set Rohana free and even assumed the title of Vijayabahu in A.D. 1058, when hardly seventeen years old. Both Rajendradeva II and Vira Rajendra were much too pre-occupied with the unceasing wars with the Western Chalukyas to permit of their grip over Sri Lanka remaining firm; it slackened towards the closing years of Rajendradeva II. The confused political situation in A.D. 1070, and the multiple fronts on which Kulottunga I's energies were compulsorily drawn, gave the much-needed breathing spell to Kitti and, in a series of pincer movements, he drove out the Chola army from Polonnaruva (A.D. 1073), Anuradhapura and later from the island itself and in another two years had crowned himself King of all Sri Lanka. Polonnaruva was rechristened Vijayarajapura. He restored the Buddhist religion (ousting Saivite worship) and a temple for the tooth relic of the Buddha was built at the capital.

The Chola hold over Sri Lanka, that had lasted more than seven decades, ceased within the first few years of the accession of Kulottunga I. Kulottunga's inscriptions are discreetly silent about this loss, to which, as a matter of practical wisdom, he became reconciled. Further, he effected a matrimonial alliance by giving his daughter Suttamalli in marriage to Vira Perumal, a Sri Lanka Prince of the Pandyan party in the island.

In the Volume on Middle Chola temples, we have already seen that there was intimate intercourse between the Chola empire and the emperors of Kadaram (see Note 1 at the end of the chapter) who by the end of the 10th century had established their sway over the entire Malay peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago; and that the ruler of Sri-Vishaya and Kataha, named Mara-vijayottungavarman, of the Sailendra family having the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

*makara** crest, the son of Chulamanivarman, had erected a lofty shrine for the Buddha in the Chulamani-vihara, in the name of his father, at the delightful city of Nagapattana in Pattina kurram, a subdivision of Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu in the Chola desa and that the king Rajaraja I *alias* Rajakesarivarman gave in the 21st year of his reign (A.D. 1006) the village of Anaimangalam for the maintenance of the *vihara* and the shrine. The permanent grant mentioned that on the 92nd day after the 21st year (A.D. 1006) of his reign, King Rajaraja I, while he was in the pavilion on the southern side of his palace called '*Rajasrayan*', erected in a suburb of Tanjavur, decreed that the income of 8,943 *kalam*, 2 *tuni*, 1 *kunri* and 1 *nali* of paddy accruing from the payment of the assessment on 97 *velis*, 2 *ma*, 1½ *kani*, 1 *mundirigai* and odd of land, composing the village of Anaimangalam, should be given as a tax-free *Pallichchandam* to meet the requirements of the *palli*** which was being constructed by Chulamanivarman. Thus this *palli* was under construction in A.D. 1006. This deed was presented to the *Sanga* on the 163rd day after the 23rd regnal year of Rajaraja I.

Further we saw that after Rajaraja I had passed away his son Madhurantaka (Rajendra I) ordered that the *vihara* enjoy the grant 'as long as the earth endures'. Years later, in the 20th year (A.D. 1090) of the king Rajakesarivarman *alias* Sri Kulottunga Choladeva I, 'who was pleased to be seated along with his queen Bhuvanamulududaiyal on his lion-throne, wearing the excellent crown of gems belonging to the royal family, when he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch *(pallipaddam)* called Kalingarajan, in the bathing hall within the palace at Ayirattali *alias* Ahavamallakulakalapuram, the ambassadors of the king of Kadaram named Rajavidyadhara Sri Samanta and Abhimanottunga Sri Samanta paid their compliments and submitted a request on behalf of their king that a copper plate charter be made and given conveying (what actually had been already ordered) that (i) all the villages which were the *pallichchandas* of Rajendrasolapperumpalli and

---

* *Makara* —a conventionalised animal with the body of a fish and the head of an elephant.

** *palli* —a Jaina or a Buddhist shrine.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rajarajapperumpalli constructed by the king of Kadaram at Solakulavallipattinam in Pattana-kurram, a subdivision of Geyamanikka valanadu, stand exempted from payment of the customary taxes inclusive of *antarayam*, *viraseshai*, *panmai-pandai-vetti*, *kundali* and *sungamera*, that (ii) the old *kaniyalars* who were holding the *kanis* of the *pallichchandas* stand removed, and further that (iii) the *kanis* be invested with the *Sangattar* of the *palli*'. A royal order was accordingly issued to the *adhikarin* Rajendrasinga Muvendavelar that he, in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahigal* Rajavallabha-Pallavaraiyan, should draw up a copper plate charter to this effect. Accordingly a charter note* was drawn up.

The charter gives a list of the *pallichchandas* belonging to Rajarajapperumpalli, their situation, extent, *kanikkadan* and *nichchayitta-nellu*, and goes on to state that (i) the taxes or incomes in money and kind have been assigned to meet the requirements of the monastery and that (ii) the individuals who were previously holding the lands of these *pallichchanda* villages had now been divested of them and the lands now vested solely with the *Sangattar* of the monastery. After giving the limits of the campus of the *vihara* (see Note 2) and details of the boundaries of the *pallichchanda* villages (see Note 3), the record concludes by saying that the royal order had thus been carried out and that on the direction of the *sandhi-vigrahigal* and the *adhikarin* referred to earlier, this copperplate charter was written by one Nilaiyudaiya Panaiyan Nigarilisolan Madhurantakan, one of the *Vikkiramabharanat-terinda valavalangai-velaikkarar* or *Utkodi*. Certain interesting pieces of information flow from the Smaller Leyden Grant. The names, Nagappattinam and Kshatriya-sikhamani valanadu, of the grant made by Rajaraja I (the 'Larger Leyden Grant'), become Solakulavallipattinam and Geyamanikka valanadu respectively in the reign of Kulottunga I. The fact that the donees figuring in both the grants are identical emerges from the statements (apart from others) in both grants that Anaimangalam was of extent 97 *velis* and 2 *ma* and that the *kanikkadan* was 8,943 *kalams*. The tenant usually paid

* After it was discovered, this charter was taken to the Leyden Museum and is preserved there, hence bearing the name of the (Smaller) Leyden Grant.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

an assessment on land to the king, called the *kanikkadan*, and again, to the royal intermediary collecting the revenue, called the *kaniyalar*, an amount called the *nichchayitta nellu* (= pre-determined amount of paddy). The objective of the grant was to increase the income of the *vihara* by eliminating the intermediaries. The *Sangattar* of the *Palli* were the equivalents of the Pan-mahesvaras of Siva temples and the Sri-Vaishnavas of Vishnu temples—a body of the local elite were chosen on their merits to constitute the overseeing agency that took over the grants and gifts, maintained their accounts, ensured the proper utilisation of charities and punished the defaulters.

It may be interesting to note that more than three hundred years after this grant was made, the institution still survived, with a change. A reference to the Rajarajap-perumpalli is found in a stray inscription on a slab built into the ceiling of the *gopuram* in the Naganathasvamin temple at Nagapattinam in Tanjavur district. On epigraphical grounds, this record could be attributed to the fifteenth century, and it records the gift of the *tirumadai-vilagam* around the temple for the *tiruppani* (repair and maintenance) of Rajarajap-perumpalli, which was a Buddhist monastery and which had come to bear the alternate name of Srimahesvarap-perumpalli (ARE 290 of 1963–64).

Ever since the conquest of the Pandya country by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I, there was effective Chola control over the Pandya country. This success was due to the wise administrative measures taken by Rajendra I such as stationing a standing army at military stations like Brahmadesam and Kottaru and appointing Chola princes as viceroys, bearing the title of 'Chola-Pandya', in charge of the conquered land. The system seems to have broken down about this time (accession of Kulottunga I) in the face of a struggle for independence in the Pandya country. There is evidence of two wars to quell the resistance having been fought in the reign of Kulottunga I. The first was directed against the 'five Pandyas', followed by the overthrow of the "Cheras with their bow emblem", the capture of Vilijnam, the destruction of their fleet at Kandalur-Salai and the occupation of the "land of the Podiyil mountains and of the pearl fisheries". At Kottaru, sixteen kilometres north of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kanyakumari, a military station was established.

There is a *Grantha* inscription engraved on the outside of the east wall of the innermost *prakara* of the great temple of Chidambaram in the South Arcot district, referring to these conquests. It consists of two verses in the *Sragdhara* metre, each of which eulogises the victories of Kulottunga Chola over the five Pandyas. The first verse further states that the king burnt the fort of Korgara (Korgaradurga = Kottaru) and defeated the Keralas. Korgara is probably a sanskritised form of Kottaru in the Tirunelveli district. The second verse records that Kulottunga Chola placed a pillar of victory on the Sahyadri mountain, i.e., the Western Ghats. This he must evidently have done after his conquest of the Keralas which is mentioned in the first verse.

The following is a translation of these two verses: (Verse 1): Hail! Prosperity! Having defeated the five Pandyas by an army which discharged numerous arrows, having burnt, like straw, the fort of Korgara, just as (Arjuna) the son of Pandu burnt the Khandava (forest), and having crushed the extremely dense army of the Keralas, the illustrious Kulottunga Chola, who resembled Siva in splendour and Indra in might, placed a pillar (commemorative) of (his) conquest of the three Worlds on the shore of the ocean.

(Verse 2): (Having placed) a pillar (commemorative) of (his) conquest of the three Worlds on the sacred peak of the Sahyadri (mountain), and having defeated the five Pandyas with masses of powerful armies, the illustrious Kulottunga Chola, whose fame is voluntarily sung by the tender women of the Parasis, and who has driven away armies, made the trembling crowd of kings subject to his orders." (See SII, Vol. I*).

But, in spite of these measures, political unrest was not altogether eliminated; there was a second Pandya War in about the 28th regnal year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1098). The conduct of this second Pandyan War was in the hands of Naralokaviran, a General, who claims in his inscriptions to have conquered the

---

*Both the *Vikramasolan Ula* and the *Kalingattupparani* make reference to these events including the destruction of the Chera fleet at Kandalur Salai.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tennavar (the Pandyas), the Malaimannar (the Cheras), and other, northern kings *(enai vada-mannar)*.

In spite of these victories, the Chola control over the Pandya country during the period was not as effective as in the days of Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I. Kulottunga I was wise and prudent enough to recognise the semi-independent status of the Pandyan rulers. He contented himself with establishing military cantonments *(nilai-padai)* at strategic points like the arterial trade and military routes and other vital communication links. Continuing with the Chola names of the administrative units in the Pandyan area, and the collection of tributes annually in token of Chola overlordship and control in this region, buttressed by military posts at strategic places, were the means that Kulottunga I devised to control the recalcitrant region that was sulking over its subordinate status. Wisdom persuaded Kulottunga I, however, to let the Pandyan vassals carry on the administration without much interference and, in fact, inscriptions of the contemporary Pandyan ruler Maravarman Parakrama Pandya were issued in the regnal years of the Pandyan ruler and not of the Chola overlord. Even the gifts of the victorious Chola General Naralokaviran are issued in terms of the regnal years of the Pandyan ruler. Two of his gifts at Tiruppattur in Ramanathapuram district are thus issued in the 3rd and the 12th regnal years of Parakrama Pandya (ARE 98 and 131 of 1908).

From the Chinese annals, we learn that Kulottunga I sent a diplomatic-cum-trade mission to the Chinese Court in the year A.D. 1077, comprising seventy-two men; it should have enhanced the Chola prestige and commercial prospects on the Chinese mainland.

The relations with the kingdom of Kambhoja (modern Cambodia) were equally friendly in the concluding part of his reign. In a 44th year inscription of Kulottunga I, recorded on the northern outer wall enclosing the first *prakara* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, it is mentioned that the king of Kambhoja gave King Rajendra a *katchi* (gift) of a precious stone which, at the behest of the Chola king, was installed on the front layer of the lintel of the gateway of Tiru-edir-ambalam (i.e., the Mulasthana

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

shrine opposite the (now) main Nataraja shrine). This inscription, incidentally, gives us two surnames of Kulottunga I—Jayadhara and Abhaya—the inscription itself being dated "in the 44th year of Jayadhara". Unfortunately, we are not in a position to know the nature of the relationship that existed between the Kambhojan and Chola kingdoms, or the nature and value of the precious gift which merited such special mention.

The sequence of events in the reign of Kulottunga I becomes difficult to arrange, as, unlike the inscriptions of Rajaraja I or Rajendra I, those of Kulottunga I do not bring the narrative up to date; very often references to earlier events are deleted to make room for more current topics; suffice it to say that the following events stand out as major landmarks:

(i) Around the 5th year, he defeated the King of Kuntala, crowned himself King of the Chola country and decapitated an unnamed king of the South (SII, III, p. 174):

(ii) by the 11th year, he had driven Vikkalan from Nangili by way of Manalur to the banks of the Tungabhadra river and conquered Gangamandalam and Singamandalam (SII, III, p. 144):

(iii) by the 14th year, he had put the "five Pandyas" to flight, asserted his suzerainty over the western portion of their country and conquered Kudamalainadu, and

(iv) he made war repeatedly on the Kalinga country, to which inscriptional reference is found in his records of the 26th, 42nd and 45th years.

The historical introduction of Kulottunga's inscriptions commences in various forms. The earlier epigraphs carry the introduction '*tirumanni vilangum*'; and mention that with the sole aid of his arm and sword he captured herds of elephants at Vayiragaram (Wairagadh) in modern Chanda district, received tribute from Dharavarsha of the Chakkarakotta country and "brought the earth under his parasol" (SII, VII, no. 392). Upto his 4th year, the king is still called (Rajakesarivarman *alias*) Rajendra Chola. Another, rather infrequent, introduction (6th year, *ibid.*, no. 137) is *pumel-arivai*. The most common introductions found between his 6th and 49th years, however, begin with: (i) '*Pugal-sulnda*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

punari", giving a full account of the king's achievements and (ii) '*pugal madu vilanga*', which refers in general terms to his victory over the Cheras, the Pandyas, Vikramaditya VI and Simhana, i.e., Jayasimha (SII, IV, no. 813; VII, nos. 874 and 875).

Kulottunga I had many titles and surnames:

Rajendra, Rajiga, Virudarajabhayankara (after his victory over Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI), Akalankan (the spotless or blemishless), Ubhayakula Abhayan (the protector of the two *kulas* or families), Abhayan, Jayadharan, Tirunirruchcholan (Trisulam inscription), Sungam-tavirtta-solan (meaning "one who abolished tolls", by which title he continues to be called by the succeeding kings of the Chola empire) and Rajanarayanan. A ringing Tamil expression in an inscription states: "*sungam tavirndu-irul-nikki-ulaganda*" which expression means: 'he ruled the World (well) by abolishing tolls and thereby dispelling the darkness (the evils) of the World'.

The Cholas brought up-to-date their land survey records from time to time and resettled the revenue rates; the first major survey was conducted in the days of Rajaraja I and the second universal survey was conducted in the 16th year of Kulottunga I (the Surveyor-General was called Ulagalanda-perumal—'he who mapped the world'). A third major survey, of which mention will be made later, was made in the 38th year of Kulottunga III.

Kulottunga I ruled from the capital city of Gangaikonda-sola-puram or Gangapuri. Kanchi and Palayarai served as his secondary capitals. The Chudamani-vihara grant is issued from Ayirattali, one of the earliest of Chola subsidiary capitals, dating back to the Early Chola period, and now renamed Ahavamalla-kulakalapuram. Yet another capital and a palace are said to have been located in Perumparrappuliyur (Chidambaram).

Kulottunga I bestrode the South Indian scene like a Colossus for an eventful half a century—from A.D. 1070 to 1120 or thereabouts. His life and rule were full of thrills and momentous events; he moved into the capital of a shaky empire in his teens or early twenties, and his long and enduring reign was marked by a stability that the crucial year A.D. 1070 did not foreshadow. Inheriting

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(nominally to start with) two kingdoms, from the paternal and maternal sides, he succeeded in maintaining intact the extent of the Imperial Chola domain, with only a minor erosion in the loss of the island of Sri Lanka. He stabilised the northwestern boundary of his empire along the Tungabhadra, and for some years to come, it remained a peaceful frontier, in utter contrast to the preceding decades of war and destruction.

The forty-fifth year marked the apogee of his glory. In the next five years, he was to see some misfortunes, which either his age or the growing might of the Powers beyond his frontiers rendered him unable to prevent. He lost the province of Gangavadi to the Hoysalas, who discarded their mantle of a feudatory of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and became a power to count. Bittiga *alias* Vishnuvardhana (A.D. 1100–1152) worsted the Chola army at Talakkadu in A.D. 1116 and assumed the title of 'Talakkadu-konda'. In this, he was helped by Dandanayaka Gangaraja who fought the Chola feudatory, the Adiyaman Chief of Tagadur (Dharmapuri) in the Kongu country, who, on behalf of the Chola emperor, ruled over Gangavadi as a province of the Chola empire. Conditions in Vengi too were by no means quite happy. In the prolonged struggle for supremacy over Vengi, Kulottunga I withstood all attempts on the part of Vikramaditya VI to wrest it from him; but in the closing years, after his victory over Kalinga, things had not been happy in that province; and the withdrawal of Vikrama Chola from there to take over the reins of administration from Kulottunga I produced a power-vacuum into which Vikramaditya VI jumped, virtually wresting the province from the Cholas. In the result, the Chola empire came back to where it was in the days when Rajaraja I had just ascended the throne. But his able son was soon to set matters right and, by the first few years of his reign, he had re-established Chola suzerainty over Vengi and even portions of Gangavadi. This we shall see in our chapter on Vikrama Chola.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Note 1

The kings of the Sailendra dynasty, who had the *makara* crest on their flag, had kept up close contact with India primarily because of religious affinity; even as early as the 7th century A.D., there was regular religious intercourse; in fact, the *Guru* or the preceptor of the Sailendra king (in A.D. 778) was from the Gauda desa; about the middle of the 9th century, the Sailendra king established a *vihara* at Nalanda; and king Devapala of Bengal granted at his request a number of villages for its upkeep; here the reference is to a similar *vihara* established in Nagapattinam at the turn of the 10th century; the details of the grant of a village then are contained in the Larger Leyden Grant.

In the years between A.D. 1006 and A.D. 1091, the relations between the Kataha and the Chola kings went through fluctuating phases. There can be no doubt that the relations between the two kingdoms were nothing but cordial in the days of Rajaraja I, even perhaps in the early years of the reign of Rajendra I; perhaps relations became strained after the latter's 6th year and we have various records confirming the invasion of Kataha and its conquest by Rajendra I—the Tiruvalangadu plates, a Malur inscription of his 13th year and other charters of his 19th, 22nd, 23rd and 27th years. By his 13th year, Rajendra I had made the Sailendra empire a part of his dominions. This state of things continued through the reigns of his sons and we know of a war between the two kingdoms during the reign of Vira Rajendra, who is said to have conquered the kingdom of Kadaram but bestowed it back on its king (SII, III, Pt. II, p. 202). Even in the early years of Kulottunga I, this state of strained relations persisted, and terminated only, we presume, by about the time of the second charter of the *Vihara*, when peace and amity was restored.

However, close trade and business contacts existed between the two kingdoms, unruffled by the vagaries of the political relationship. At Loboe Toeuva in the island of Sumatra was found a fragmentary Tamil inscription dated in Saka 1010 (= A.D. 1088)—just before the grant of the second charter, recording the existence of a celebrated International Merchant Guild called *Tisai-Ayirattu-annurruvar* (The 'five hundred of (i.e., trading in) a thousand directions').

Note 2

The boundaries of the site and the surrounding grounds of the 'glorious Sailendra Chudamani Varma Vihara *alias* Rajarajapperumpalli', are given in detail, and the campus measured $31\frac{3}{4}$ *veli*, 2 *ma*, and 1 *mundirigai*, and this land was also given free of all taxes to the *palli*—inclusive of *antaraya*, *panmaipanda vetti* and all other *pattams*. The boundaries are:

Eastern boundary—'to the west of the sea-shore inclusive of the sand-hill in it';

Southern boundary—'to the north of the well called *pugaiunni-kinaru*; to the north of the land belonging to the temple of Tiruvirattanamudaiya Mahadevar situated to the west of the said well; and to the north of the line passing westwards from the north bank of the channel dug by Paravai-Kulattu-Marayan and reaching the high road to Karaikkal';

Western boundary—'to the east of the said high road to Karaikkal';

Northern boundary—'to the south of the boundary of the lands in Vadakadanpadi of Solakulavallipattinam'.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Note 3

Pallichchanda villages

Details of villages gifted to the *Palli* as *pallichchandam* and the dues therefrom are given in the statement below.

Sl. No.	*Village*	*Division in which it is situated*	*Extent* v m k mn	*Kanikkadan* kl kn na	*Nichchayitta nellu* kl kn
1.	Anaimangalam	Pattanak kurram in Geyamanikka valanadu	97 2 1½ —	8,943 9 3	4,500 —
2.	Brahmadeyam in Anaimangalam	—— do ——	12½ — — —	400 — —	560 —
3.	Munjikudi	—— do ——	27¾ 3½ — —	2,779 4 4	1,800 —
4.	Annur	Tiruvarur kurram	106 — — —	10,600 9 6	5,850 —
5.	Vadakudi	Ala nadu	70¾ 4½ — —	6,514 5 1	2,840 —
6.	Kil Chandirappadi	—— do ——	10 2 1½ 1 (+ *kil* ¾)	1,012 5 —	1,500 —
7.	Palaiyur brahmadeyam	—— do ——	60¾ — — —	1,000 — —	
8.	Puttakudi	Kurumbur nadu in Jayangondasola valanadu	87½ — — —	8,720 4 4	6,107 —
9.	Udayamarttandanallur	Idaikkali nadu in Vijayarajendrasola valanadu	3 3 — —	135 3 3	78 5

v = *veli*; m = *ma*; k = *kani*; mn = *mundirigai*
kl = *kalam*; kn = *kunri*; na = *nali*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Appendix

In my previous volume of this series, entitled *Middle Chola Temples*, I have discussed briefly the successors of Rajendra I (pp. 334 to 344) and the temples built during their time (pp. 345 to 373). The dates mentioned therein are only approximate. My object is only to present a broad general survey of the development, reign by reign, of Chola art (while accepting the generally ascribed dates for the reigns) so as to enable scholars to enunciate appropriate canons of stylistic features and development during each phase or period of Chola rule. I have neither the time, nor the energy, nor the facilities to verify the dates in a systematic, scientific way. So I welcome the emergence of a rising star in the field of South Indian History and Epigraphy—N. Sethuraman, a businessman of standing from Kumbakonam. Inspired by divine grace and guided by his *guru* Sri Bujandar's prophetic utterances linking the past, the present and the future, contained in 1800 *cadjan* leaf manuscripts—*Nadi grantham*, now in the possession of his friend, R.V. Ramani of Madras, he has published recently a book "*Arul-udaich-chola mandalam*" centering round the Chola temples at Darasuram and Pallavarayanpettai. The (Later Chola) Pallavarayanpettai inscription of the eighth year of Rajadhiraja II is subjected to a full, critical study. He has studied it scientifically, compared the published text with its original on the temple wall, filled the gaps with his own alternate readings and made some valuable conclusions that merit the attention of the scholars in the field. I shall mention here only his conclusions on the events prior to the accession of Kulottunga I in A.D. 1070. (His views on the Pallavarayanpettai inscriptions and their implications on the course of historical events will be discussed in a later section of this volume.) His critical study based on his verification with the Indian Ephemeris (L.D.S.) reveals that Vira Rajendra's coronation took place in A.D. 1063 (sometime in April to September); that Adhi Rajendra was crowned as co-ruler on the 8th June, A.D. 1068; that Vira Rajendra fell ill and died in A.D. 1070 (sometime in July to November); that Adhi Rajendra also fell ill and died in A.D. 1071 (June) and that even during the time of Vira Rajendra himself, Kulottunga (I), his sister's son, was crowned heir-apparent to the Chola throne on the 13th June, A.D. 1070 (ARE 1947–48, p. 3) in order to avert a civil war of succession and preserve the Chola power from extinction.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

2

Temples of Kulottunga I's Time

CHIDAMBARAM

NATARAJA TEMPLE: EXPANSION OF THE CAMPUS 1

Vast building activities were undertaken at Chidambaram. Lord Nataraja had already become the patron-deity of the Cholas. The original *linga* shrine, known as the *Mulasthana*, came to be known as the *Edirambalam*—'the shrine opposite' (to the Nataraja shrine), as Nataraja had become the centre of greater attraction. The Mulasthana shrine was renovated in this period, and the inscriptions of the 46th and 47th years of Kulottunga I, originally engraved on the walls of this shrine, were later re-engraved on the northern wall of the newly-built first wall of enclosure of the Nataraja shrine.

The structure and architectural features of the existing Nataraja temple took their shape in this period. The (innermost) first wall of enclosure of the Nataraja temple (surrounding the shrines of Nataraja and Govindaraja) was called both Kulottunga Solan Tirumaligai and Vikrama Solan Tirumaligai. (The second wall of enclosure was called Vikrama Solan Tirumaligai). The work started by Kulottunga I must have been continued by his son, Vikrama Chola, and supplemented by their General and Minister, Naralokavira.

Naralokavira was a native of Arumbakkam and the Chieftain of Manavil, south of the Palar in the modern North Arcot district.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

He had various names: Sabhanartakan, Kalingarayan, Kaliyarkon, Manavataran, Porkkoyil Tondaiman, Ponnambalakkuttan, Arulakaran and Madhurantakan. He figures in a large number of inscriptions ranging from the 28th year of Kulottunga I to the sixth year of Vikrama Chola. From the existence of two inscriptions found at Tiruppattur (Ramanathapuram district), of the 3rd and 12th years of Maravarman Parakrama Pandya-deva, which mention Naralokaviran *Sandhi* and Naralokaviran *mandapa*, the Government Epigraphist made the inference that he was a Pandyan chieftain. This is opposed to facts. In fact, Naralokaviran claims victories over the Tennavar (Pandyas), the Malaimannar (Cheras) and the Vadamannar (the northern kings). So, he must have been a Chola General of distinction associated with these wars, especially the war with the Pandyas. What Karunakara Tondaiman did in the war with Kalinga, Naralokavira must have achieved in the Chola war against the Pandyas; his title of Madhurantakan is significant in this context.

More than for his military exploits, he is best to be remembered for his benefactions to temples, chiefly at Chidambaram and at Tiruvadigai.

His benefactions at Chidambaram, in addition to providing for various services, included the following: the gilding of Ponnambalam and Perambalam; the provision of streetlights and the watering of the main streets on festival days; the raising of flower-gardens and areca-palm groves; the construction of a road to the sea to take the Deity in procession to the bathing ghat (at Killai), of a *mandapa* to house the Deity there, and of a fresh-water tank near it; the construction of a wall of enclosure called after him (Naralokaviran Tirumaligai), with two tall towers, the hall resting on a hundred pillars for Pasupati and His Consort, the shrine of the Goddess, with towers and walls of enclosure; the building of a flight of stone-steps for the Sivaganga (the sacred tank); the installation of an image of Sambandar in a shrine, and the construction of a hall for the recitation of his *Devaram* hymns, the engraving of the songs of the three *Devaram* hymnists on copper-plates; and the construction of a sluice to a large irrigation tank in the neighbourhood of Chidambaram. Very probably,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

this last item is a reference to the Viranam tank (Viranarayanan *eri*), which was considered then as almost the northern boundary of the *taniyur* of Perumparrappuliyur (Chidambaram).*

This detailed narration of the building activities of Naralokavira at Chidambaram must be studied in conjunction with the *meykkirtti* (or *prasasti*) of Vikrama Chola, the son and successor of Kulottunga I. Therein, Vikrama Chola claims the utilisation of the vast tribute paid by his vassals in his tenth regnal year to the enriching and embellishment of the temple of Nataraja, his *Kulanayakam* (patron-Deity), at Chidambaram.

In the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908–09, the view was held that the (seven-storeyed) *gopuram* and the hundred- as well as the thousand- pillared *mandapas* were works of the Vijayanagara period, especially attributable to Krishnadeva Raya of the 16th century. This erroneous view is also followed by some later scholars. We have the evidence of the inscriptions of Naralokavira that the hundred-pillared halls at Tiruvadigai and Chidambaram were built during the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola. In the hundred-pillared *mandapa* at Chidambaram, there are some pillars containing the label, *Svasti-sri-ittirumandapam akalankan*. Akalankan is a surname of both Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola.

In this age, huge Amman shrines came to be built adjacent to the original shrines. In particular, the shrine of Sivakami Amman at Chidambaram, with walls of enclosure and adorned with a *gopuram* at the gateway, was built at this time. This enlargement of the temple-court paved the way for the complex temple-cities of the future.

The *Nritta Sabha* at Chidambaram remained for a long time a great archaeological puzzle. Its age was anybody's guess. More than half a century ago, when epigraphy and allied branches of archaeology were in their infancy, James Fergusson wrote a descriptive account of a few Dravidian temples in his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" (1910). Much valuable data

---

*See the Appendix to this section, entitled "Naralokavira's Chidambaram inscription."

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

have become available since then to enable us to fix the age of at least a few of them.

Fergusson writes thus about the *Nritta Sabha* at Chidambaram: "The oldest thing now existing is a little shrine in the inmost enclosure, a porch of fifty-six pillars about eight feet high and most delicately carved, resting on a stylobate ornamented with dancing figures more graceful and more elegantly executed than any others of their class, so far as I know, in Southern India. At the sides are wheels and horses, the whole being intended to represent a car, as is frequently the case in these temples. Whitewash and modern alterations have sadly disfigured this gem, but enough remains to show how exquisite and consequently how ancient it was. It is the *Nrittya* or *Nritta Sabha*, the hall of dance."

The chariot-shaped *mandapa* (housing the image of the *Urdhva-tandava* form of Nataraja) is *not* the oldest part of the Chidambaram temple. Later, adverting to another shrine in the northern portion of the third *prakara* of this temple, dedicated to the worship of Subrahmanya, which also has chariot features similar to those of the *Nritta Sabha*, Fergusson adds: "From its position, however, and the character of the ornamentation, there seems little doubt that it belongs to the end of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. From its style, however, I would be inclined to ascribe it to the earlier date."

I got a clue to the age of this class of temple architecture from an important temple in the neighbourhood of Chidambaram constructed in the reign of Kulottunga I. It is the chariot-shaped temple of Amritaghatesvarar at Melakkadambur, about 32 km. from Chidambaram, and about 10 km. from the Chola capital of Gangaikonda-Solapuram. Appar (7th century A.D.) has sung hymns on the Lord of this place and he mentions it in his *Devaram* as the Karakkoyil of Tirukkadambur.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Appendix

GREAT TEMPLE-CITIES

In the Early Chola period, there was vigorous and enthusiastic temple-building activity during the reigns of Aditya I and Parantaka I; similarly in the Middle Chola period, the reigns of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I witnessed the building of the largest number of temples belonging to this period; so also, the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola in the Later Chola period saw the erection of a large number of temples—much more than in those of their successors. It has to be mentioned that each period recorded certain distinct and remarkable features of stylistic development.

One important feature of this development in the Later Chola period was the expansion of the area of the temple-campus. Chidambaram was one of the sites of this great experiment. During the time of Kulottunga I and his son and successor, the temple area expanded nearly six times. Two walls of enclosure, *Kulottungasolan Tirumaligai* and *Vikramasolan Tirumaligai*, were erected. Later, a third wall of enclosure was started on in the reign of Kulottunga II; almost completed in the reign of Kulottunga III, it came to be called *Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai*, after a surname of his. The four car streets were also formed about this period. But the fourth wall of enclosure called *Virappa Nayakar Tirumaligai*—and the moat also perhaps—was the contribution of one of the Nayak rulers of the seventeenth century.

The seven-storeyed *gopurams* were also the handiwork of the Later Cholas—in addition to the erection of the 100- and 1000- pillared halls and the independent Amman shrine outside the precincts of the shrine of the main deity. Chidambaram became the first of a series of great temple-cities.

Soon after, other great celebrated centres of religion followed suit; among them may be mentioned the Brahmapurisvarar temple at Sirkali, the Tyagarajar temple at Tiruvarur, the Jambukesvaram at Tiruvanaikka, and the Ranganathar temple at Srirangam.*

NARALOKAVIRA'S CHIDAMBARAM INSCRIPTION LISTING HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NATARAJA TEMPLE

The several benefactions of the Chola General Naralokaviran are listed in a long inscription found on the third *prakara* wall in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram; it is in verse form and contains thirty-one verses in Sanskrit and thirty-six *venbas* in Tamil (SII, Texts, Vol. IV). The Tamil portions, at many places, repeat and confirm the statements contained in the Sanskrit portion.

1. The first verse forms a preamble and states that, to describe the benefactions of Manavatara (another name of Naralokavira), to Sabhapati (Nataraja) performing the Cosmic Dance for the welfare of the three worlds and Whose form emcompasses both heaven and earth, even a hundred mouths would be inadequate, and beseeches the reader to 'hear' them in leisure.

2. The second verse states that he set up innumerable street lights *(vithi-dipa)* to dispel darkness and make the place resplendent as if with eternal sunshine.

---

*See also *The City of the Cosmic Dance* (on Chidambaram) by B. Natarajan (Orient Longman Ltd.).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

3. The third verse says that he provided for watering the streets of the city on festival days (with waters of the holy *tirthas*), when Siva, the destroyer of Manmatha, the Lord of Love, was taken out in procession.

4. According to the fourth verse, he, in his infinite devotion to the Lord, planted fifty thousand areca palms, and watered them as it were with the waters of the Ganga flowing from the matted locks of Siva, as they tossed about when He danced. The Tamil portion gives their number as a hundred thousand.

5. The next verse which is a continuation of the previous one mentions that he raised a sacred flower garden *(nandavana)*, extending upto the limits of the sea, with trees tall as the sky and full of fragrant flowers; it was filled with the bustle of the gods who came to witness the dance of Siva.

6. The sixth verse says that he erected a *mandapa* near the sea whose massive waves rolling towards the shore seemed to invite the devotees as it were with its hands; further he opened a broad road from the city to the sea coast for the *tirthayatra* of Nataraja. From the *Tamil* portion, we see that the *tirthayatra* took place in the month of *Masi*.

7. The seventh verse mentions that near that *mandapa*, he excavated a big tank of sweet water, which appeared like the heart of the sea, with a large banyan tree that stood near it like a *mandapa*, spreading its branches on the bank to provide shade and shelter to the pilgrims flocking thither for the *tirthayatra*.

8. The eighth verse mentions that he constructed, round the temple of Lord Sabhapati Who took a vow to burn the three cities of the Asuras, a great wall called after his name Naralokavira, with tall towers, on which resplendent flags were flying; the flags flew so high that, when they became hot with the scorching sun so close, they cooled themselves lapping up the waters of the clouds.

9. The ninth verse refers to the same theme as the previous one; and adds that he also built two tall towers reaching on to the sky from which flags flew majestically as if inviting people from different parts to take shelter under their shade from the scorching heat of the sun.

10. The tenth verse says that Naralokavira, whom the poets call *Arulakara* (the embodiment of piety and grace), justified the name by constructing a hall with a hundred pillars, *dabrasabha*, i.e., the 'little hall' or *Chirrambalam*, where Pasupati (Nataraja), seeing that it was a place meet for His dance, disported Himself with His beloved.

11. The eleventh verse refers to the sacred tank in the temple and the flight of stone steps that he built round it which looked like the path by which his fame was to descend to the nether world. On either side of the golden gateway on the southern side (of the temple), he set up auspicious lamps *(mangala dipas)* which dispelled from the subjects the darkness of earthly life.

12. In the twelfth verse, it is said that the priests of the temple who performed the worship of the Lord having the Nandi banner were the recipients of rich endowments from him. Further he erected a fine hall of gold for the constant recitation of *Kumara stotra*, a reference to the *Devaram* hymns of Jnanasambandhar, known also as Aludaiya Pillaiyar (see also verse 26 below). From the Tamil verse, it is learnt that he made the lands in the village of Tyagavalli and others tax-free, and constructed an *agrahara* for the *brahmanas* to live in.

13. The next verse states that he constructed a sluice for the big tank for irrigating the lands of the *brahmanas* known as the 'Three thousand of *Tillai*' *(Tillaimuvayiravar)*.

14. From the next verse, it is understood that he covered "the Great Hall" (*mahatim*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

sabham, which refers to the *Perambalam*) with copper. The import of the latter half of the *sloka* is not clear.

15. The next verse says that he constructed a golden vehicle with the Nandi mounted on it, and on this vehicle the deity was taken in procession during the *bhikshatana yatra* (the journey of Siva as a mendicant).

16. The sixteenth verse says that a bugle inlaid with gold intended to announce the arrival of Devadeva (the Lord of Lords, Siva) was presented by him to the temple. The verse adds that, on hearing the bugle note announcing the arrival of Siva, even the hands of Indra automatically folded in adoration over his head, touching his crown.

17. The seventeenth verse says that, for the worship of the 'Dancer in the Hall', he made arrangements for the supply of fresh flowers which bestowed grace both on humanity and on the celestial beings; he also offered gold vessels to keep offerings vying with nectar in quality.

18. The eighteenth verse says that Naralokavira, who knew the essence of Siva worship, gave precious jewels, which were pure and blemishless like the hearts of sages, to adorn the sacred body of the Lord of Dancers of the Hall.

19. The nineteenth verse states that he made provision for the offering of the nectar of milk with sugar-candy to the Lord of Gauri to Whom the celestial beings had given poison to drink. In the Tamil part, Naralokavira is referred to as Tondaiyar-kon, the Lord of the people of Tondai.

20. The next verse mentions that he endowed the temple of Dhurjati (Siva) with ten perpetual lamps *(nitya dipa)*, lit with camphor, whose fragrance pervaded the whole earth.

21. The next verse says that Naralokavira presented to the Lord a water-pot *(kalasa)* and many other vessels made of gold, the brilliance of which proclaimed to the world that unfailing service and devotion to the feet of Hara brought merit.

22. The next verse states that he presented one thousand milch cows to the God in the temple for conducting His *abhisheka* with milk that resembled nectar.

23. The next verse states that he set up an image of Nandi (the sacred bull) who by his constant and unceasing devotion to Sambhu had obtained His grace *(priti)* and from whom permission to enter the sacred presence of Nataraja is sought by the Lord of *Vaikuntha* (Vishnu) and the other gods coming there for worship every morning; he also presented to the temple an image of the Goddess.

24. The next verse says that Naralokavira presented to the temple many beautiful jewels set with precious stones and also gave away a village, after making it tax-free, to meet the expenses of *archana* (worship).

25. The next verse says that he made provision of one thousand measures of *ghee* for performing *abhisheka* every year to the God enshrined in the *sanctum sanctorum (mula-sthana)* (Tiru-Mulanathar). From the Tamil part it is learnt that the *abhisheka* was to be performed with one thousand *nalis* of *ghee*.

26. The next verse states that he set up a golden image of *Kumara* Tiru Jnanasambandhar who drank milk from the sacred breast of Girija (Parvati) and obtained the grace of Sarasvati and danced and sang the praise of Srikantha (Siva), and that he also made provision for the offering of *payasam* (sweetened milk-drink) to the deity.

27. The twentyseventh verse states that he set up an image of Bhattacharya who was the chief among the *Brahmanakula* and who had defeated in debate the adherents of religions outside the Vedic lore and established the Saiva religion on the earth. (The

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

word 'Bhattacharya' refers to a temple priest of that day. Could it refer to Adi Sankara?).

28. In the next verse, it is said that he erected a *prakara* and a *mandapa* to the shrine *(Tirukkamakkottam)* of the goddess Parvati, Whose image was adorned from head to foot with fine jewels befitting the dancing hall of Her Lord *(svapati natanasthana yogyam)*.

29. The next verse says: he presented to the goddess enshrined in the Kamakoshta (or Tirukkamakkottam, i.e., to Sivakami Amman) of the temple, a *pitambara* (yellow robe) made of gold, the brilliance of which pervaded everywhere like the smoke emanating from the forest-fire (immolating) the wives of the enemies conquered by him, Naralokavira.

30. The next verse states that Naralokavira erected for the shrine of the *devi (Tirukkamakkottam)* a high outer-wall of stone, the tower of which touched the clouds.

31. The last verse states that Naralokavira gave a perpetual endowment for the daily supply of oil and milk for children, to signify the universal motherhood of the goddess. The poet further adds that this item should receive the first preference of the person who intends to make charity.

The Tamil portion of the inscription gives some further information about Naralokavira; (1) that he covered with gold several parts of the *sabha*, (2) that he presented an elephant to the temple, and (3) that he built of stone the temple of *sudalaiyamarndan* (i.e., He Who took His abode at the crematorium), namely Siva, at Tillai.*

---

*Nos. 1303 to 1324 of S.I. Temple Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part II of Madras Government Oriental Series CLVII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

SIRKALI

BRAHMAPURISVARAR TEMPLE 2

1. The central shrine (Brahmapurisvarar—*linga*)
2. Toni Appar shrine —facing east, on a mound in the first floor, reached by a flight of steps west of the central shrine.
3. Sattanathar shrine —in a cella facing south in the second floor above no. 2 *supra* (the deity is a form of Bhairavar or Vadugar)
4. Jnana-Sambandar shrine —in the second *prakara*, north-west of the central shrine.
5. Sthirasundari (Amman) shrine—west of the sacred tank.

Sirkali is the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Tanjavur district. It is a celebrated Saiva centre. It was the birth place of the Nayanar Sambandar and is associated with the legends and festivals of that boy-saint. He was born in a house in a street west of the main temple, now named after him, which has a small temple called (Kulottunga-?) Solisvaram. West of the town is the temple of Tiruttalam Udaiyar Who is held to have presented the boy-singer with cymbals. A few kilometres to the south is Nanipalli (Punjai), the home of his mother, and some kilometres north of it is Nallur-Tirumanam now known as Achchapuram where Sambandar on his wedding day in his sixteenth year attained beatitude with the whole wedding party.

Sirkali has twelve different names (see the Footnote). Brahma is said to have worshipped Siva here. Hence the place is called

---

The twelve names are: Brahmapuram, Venupuram, Pugali, Venguru, Tonipuram, Pundarai, Sirapuram, Puravam, Sanbai, Srikali or Sirkali, Kochchaivayam, and Kalumalam. These are mentioned in the '*Tirukkalumala Mummanikkovai*' (verse 10). For a brief explanation of the legends associated with these names and a list of other names, *vide* the '*Sikalit-tala varalaru*' (in Tamil) published by the Sattanathasvami Devasthanam.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Brahmapuram (or -puri) and the central *linga* is called Brahmapurisvarar. The *devas* in their distress took shelter here from the *asuras*; hence the name of the place Pugali. During the *pralaya* (the Great Deluge), Parvati and Paramesvarar converted the *pranava* into a boat and floated on the floods and touched land on the mound here and saved the *devas* and men from destruction. Toni-Appar is a representation of this legend (cf. the legend of Noah's Ark). '*Karuvarai-sulnda-kadalidai-midakkum-kalumala-nagar*', sings Sundarar. Appar also sings the glory of Tonipuram. Sambandar's first miracle happened on the south bank of the sacred tank here. When the three-year old boy cried for milk, Parvati and Paramesvarar in the boat on the mound responded and offered him divine milk which inspired the child of three to burst into an ecstatic hymn: '*Todudaiya seviyan . . . ullamkavar kalvan edudaiyamala rānmunnai natpanin detta arul seyda Pidudaiya piramapura(m) meviya pemman ivananrey*'. This is the reply the child Sambandar gave to his father when he enquired of him as to who gave him the milk.

Sirkali was also the original home of Kali (cult of the mother-goddess). Such an old and celebrated centre has only three inscriptions of the Later Cholas: one of Rajadhiraja II and two of Kulottunga III. The original temple should have consisted of the central *linga* shrine, that of Brahmapurisvarar, on the southern *bund* of the sacred tank; the Toni Appar shrine on a mound west of the central shrine, reached by two flights of steps from the inner *prakara*; and perhaps also the Satta(i)nathar shrine in the second floor reached from the southern *prakara* of the Toni Appar shrine by another flight of steps. The origins of all these are lost in oblivion. The three Later Chola inscriptions do not throw any light on the earlier fabric. All the earlier inscriptions must have been lost in the later renovation. It is a pity.

It seems that the enlargement of this temple campus must have taken place, as in the case of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, in the periods of Kulottunga I, Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II and completed during the reign of Kulottunga III. This temple has three *prakaras* with high walls of enclosure. There are two sets of *gopurams* with seven storeys in the outer walls of enclosure. The

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Amman shrine (of Sthirasundari) and the Sambandar shrine are also the work of Kulottunga I and his successors. In my childhood, I have seen heaps of stone material—mostly pillars—in the third *prakara* between the inner and outer *gopurams* on the eastern side. They were perhaps the ruins of the hundred-pillared *mandapa*.

Now to the three inscriptions. The oldest inscription in this temple is found on the north wall of the Tiru-Jnana Sambandar shrine. It is an inscription of the eleventh year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajadhiraja II (ARE 123 of 1896; SII, V, no. 988) and records a gift of food offerings *(kariyamudu)* daily and on festivals to Aludaiya Pillaiyar (Sambandar) by one Atkonda Nayakan Tirunattap-Peruman, the headman *(kilavan)* of Venmani.

The land gifted for the offerings is said to have been in the *brahmadeyam* of Tiruk-kalu-malam, in Tiru-kalu-mala nadu, a part of Rajadhiraja valanadu.

There are two inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga III, recorded on the south wall of the Brahmapurisvarar shrine. One is of the ninth year and 176th day of "Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga who conquered Madurai" (ARE 125 of 1896; SII, VI, no. 990). It records the gift of land for a perpetual lamp as *tiru-nanda-vilakkup-puram* to Tiruttonipuram Udaiyar and Periya Nachchiyar. Incidentally, this inscription refers to the land survey conducted by Kulottunga I in his sixteenth year.

The other inscription relates to the fourteenth year of Kulottunga III (ARE 124 of 1896; SII, V, no. 989). It records a gift of land by two ladies for the maintenance of a gardener and a flower-garden for the supply of flowers to Tirut-Tonipuram Udaiya Nayanar for the merit of their husbands, themselves and their descendants. One is Edirilip-Perumal, wife of Palaiyanur Udaiyan Vedavanam Udaiyan of Menmalai Palaiyanur nadu, a subdivision of Jayangondasola mandalam (the great General and Minister of Rajadhiraja II and his successor Kulottunga III—see the section on Pallavarayanpettai and the Note there on Vedavanam Udaiyan) and daughter of Jananatha Kalpam Araiyan, the headman *(kilavan)* of Anangur Kurram in Naduvil nadu *alias* Rajaraja valanadu. The other party to the gift is Umai Alvi, daughter of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Edirilipperumal, who had married Perumur Udaiyar Nayanar Tiruvengadam Udaiyar of Venmanikkurram, a part of Suttamalli valanadu. They were persons of position and respectability. It was an age of faith and everybody made endowments to the god of his or her choice according to his or her ability and the degree of devotion.

There is a reference from a record in another temple to a gift for a *matha* in this place. There is a temple called Agastyesvaram at Muniyur (called Munniyur in the inscription) in the Tanjavur district which records that in the 28th year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rajaraja III, the residents of Munniyur made a grant of land to the Tirumurai Devarachchelvar *matha* on the north side of Tiruttondisvaram Udaiya Nayanar temple at Tirukkalu-malam (Sirkali) in Tirukkalu mala nadu in Rajadhiraja valanadu. This is a reference to a *matha* for the practice and promotion of *Devaram*.

For a brief account of Sambandar's life and achievements, see B. Natarajan's *The City of the Cosmic Dance*, pp. 107–111. Here is a para therefrom on his mission and its influence:

'Sambandar was a prodigy and his life was a miracle of miracles. He had no schooling in the modern sense of the word. He had mastery of the four Vedas, six Vedangas and of Tamil in all its range and glory. His songs conform to the best traditions of Tamil literature and lend themselves to interpretation in attractive musical modes. It is amazing how he acquired the wealth of knowledge and wisdom enshrined in his immortal songs. To have visited about one hundred and ten temples during his brief span of sixteen years in those days of difficult communications and to have left behind so great a treasure of religious and philosophical literature is really remarkable. It is an influence which will last, as has been said of the *Ramayana*, as long as the hills and rivers endure'.

Hallowed are the home and the temple closely associated with the life of Sambandar, who imbibed the divine milk of Parvati and became an inspired devotee to sing the glory of the Holy name.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUVALANGADU

VATARANYESVARAR (URDHVA-TANDAVESVARAR) TEMPLE 3

(Tiru) Alangadu, a station on the Southern Railway, lies about 59 km. west of Madras. It is in the Tiruttani taluk of the Chingleput district. It is closely linked in legend and history with the neighbouring village of Palaiyanur, about 1.5 km. east of it. One story associated with these places is that seventy *vellalas* who had given their word to protect the person of one Palaiyanur Nili's husband performed self-immolation by drowning when the husband was murdered, apparently despite their vigilance. Sambandar sings:

'*Vanjap padutti orutti vanal kollum vahai kettu*
Anjum Palaiyanur Alangattu Amman adihale'.

Tiru Alangadu and Chidambaram* are two places associated with the *urdhva-tandava* of Siva in His dance-contest against Kali. (A *Purana* describes this legend thus: '*idat-tal nitti Arputan Kali torkka adiyatu idu*' 'The dance performed by the wonderful Lord to defeat Kali, by raising aloft His left leg'.) Appar refers to this legend in his local hymns: "*Adinar Kali kana Alangattu Adihalare*". Sundarar sings of "*Palaiyanur meviya Attan Alangadan*". This celebrated temple thus dates back at least to the 7th century A.D. Yet another of the sixty-three *nayanmar*, also intimately associated with this place, is Karaikkal Ammaiyar. When her married life came to an unhappy end, she wandered around as a devotee of Siva, assuming a non-human form; after going up to Kailasa in the north, she reached this place on her return and found eternal rest at the feet of the Lord here. In her two *Muttutiruppadiyams*, she sings the glories of this Lord.

This religious centre is one of the five *sabhas* associated with

*At Chidambaram, the defeated Kali is held to have been banished for ever to the outskirts of the town. But no pilgrimage to the Nataraja shrine is considered complete without one to the Kali shrine as well.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Nataraja cult, being called the *Ratna Sabha*. The others are: Chidambaram *(Kanaka Sabha)*, Madurai *(Rajata Sabha)*, Tirunelveli *(Tamra Sabha)*—respectively the Golden, Silver and Copper Halls—and Tiruk-kurralam *(Chitra Sabha)*.

In local inscriptions, Alangadu is described as located in Palaiyanur nadu, in the Melamalai division of Jayangondasola mandalam.

The principal adjuncts of the temple are: the main shrine and a Nataraja shrine, any original inscriptions on their walls having become lost to us in the course of later renovations; two walls of enclosure, which have to be assigned to the 12th and 13th centuries; and three *gopurams*. The innermost *gopuram* contains the earliest extant inscriptions here, namely, one of the days of Rajendra I, giving a fragment of his historical introduction (ARE 483 of 1905). It also contains a few of the days of Rajadhiraja I (of his 13th, 26th and 31st years: ARE 485 of 1905), and one of those of Kulottunga I (of his 46th year: ARE 484 of 1905) mentioning a sale of land to the temple of Tiruvalangadu in Neduvilmalai nadu by the Assembly of Rajanarayana chaturvedimangalam. It further contains two inscriptions of the Vijayanagara days (*Saka* 1363 and 1493 corresponding to A.D. 1440–41 and 1570–71). The *prakara* walls contain copies of the inscriptions of the days of Nrpatunga Pallava (ARE 460 and 461 of 1905) and original records of the days of the Later Chola rulers from Kulottunga I to Rajaraja III. It thus seems probable that the earlier Pallava main shrine was first renovated and the temple campus itself enlarged in the Later Chola period, beginning with the reign of Kulottunga I himself. All the Chola records, other than those on the innermost *gopuram* already cited, are found on the *prakara* walls. The earliest of these is one of the second year of Kulottunga I ('Rajakesari Rajendra deva'), on the east wall of the second *prakara* (ARE 14 of 1896). It records the (re)settlement at Tiruvalangadu of 25 families from Sankarappadi and their being entrusted with the duty of looking after 15 lamps in the temple. Another record, on the west wall of the temple, pertains to the 9th regnal year of "Parakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Parantaka deva"—who was a son (presumably the eldest) and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

co-ruler for some years of Kulottunga I (ARE 16 of 1896). There are four inscriptions of Vikrama Chola's days. An inscription of his 5th year, on the east wall of the first *prakara* of the Nataraja shrine, records a gift of 12 sheep for a lamp by a native of Urrukkadu *alias* Alagiya Solanallur in Urrukkattuk kottam (ARE 453 of 1905). One, of his 6th year, records a sale of land by the Assembly of Perumur *alias* Rajanarayana-chaturvedimangalam in Perumur nadu (ARE 467 of 1905). Another of the same year has the (correct) '*pumadu punara*' introduction but contains the incorrect 'Rajakesarivarman' title (for 'Parakesarivarman'); it records a sale of land by the villagers of Valaikulam (ARE 458 of 1905). An inscription of the 7th year mentions a sale of land by the villagers of Polippakkam to a merchant of Tirumayilappil in Puliyur kottam.

There are four inscriptions of the days of Rajadhiraja II. One, of his 10th year (ARE 469 of 1905), records a gift of gold for two lamps to the shrine of the Goddess Periyanachchiyar of the Tirukkamakkottam in this temple. (This shrine must have come into existence in the days of Kulottunga I himself). An inscription of the 11th year (ARE 466 of 1905) records a gift of land in the village of Kottur or Ilambayankottur *alias* Chola-vidyadhara chaturvedimangalam in Kanrur nadu, a sub-division of Manavir kottam—a neighbouring village located near Kuvam. The renewal of the Pandyan Succession War, involving the invasion of Sri Lanka by the Cholas supporting the cause of a rival claimant to the Sri Lanka throne, and the success in this war of Vedavanam udaiyan Ammaiyappan *alias* Pallavaraiyan of Palaiyanur, are mentioned in an inscription of the 12th year (ARE 465 of 1905). The king rewarded him with a gift of ten *velis* of land in 'Rajarajan Palaiyanur'. An inscription of the 13th year (with the '*pugal sulnda pumadu*' introduction) records a gift of two lamps by the above Pallavaraiyan mentioned with the prefix 'Palaiyanur-udaiyan' to his name.

There are four inscriptions which could be attributed to the days of Kulottunga III. One, on the east wall of the first *prakara* (Nataraja shrine), is fragmentary (ARE 452 of 1905). One, of his 23rd year, records the sale of the village of Muduvur (ARE 456 of 1905). One, of the 32nd year (ARE 477 of 1905), records

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

a gift of 70 *kasus* for offerings. It mentions two villages, Valluvan-pakkam in Olugaiyur nadu, and Perumur *alias* Rajanarayana chaturvedimangalam (also see ARE 467 of 1905, 6th year of Vikrama Chola) in Neduvinmalai Perumur nadu. Another of the same year, giving him the title of Tribhuvana Vira deva, records a gift of a lamp to the temple of '*Tiruvarangil andamura nimirnda-rulina Nayanar*' at Tiruvalangadu—perhaps a reference to the *urdhva-tandava* of Siva (ARE 482 of 1905). The donor is named as Arulnilaivisagan Trailokyamallan Vatsarajan of Arumbakkam who had rendered the *Mahabharata* into elegant Tamil. We thus come to know of yet another translation, not available now, of the great epic.

There are three inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja III. One, of his 8th year, records a gift of 16 cows for a lamp (ARE 463 of 1905). One, of the 12th year, records a sale of land by the villagers of Palaiyanur, a *devadana* village of this temple. The third registers a gift of four cows for a lamp.

There is an inscription of the 29th year of Vijaya Gandagopala, the Telugu-Choda chief. There are a number of inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings (*Saka* dates 1349, 1373 and 1484).

In the Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy (ARE) for 1905, it is recorded that during the visit to this temple of the late Epigraphist, K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, the temple authorities produced a set of thirty-one copper-plates discovered in an underground chamber of the temple along with a number of copper images. Ten of these plates are inscribed in Sanskrit and the rest in Tamil, and the text has been published. A portion of the tenth plate of the Sanskrit part had been left blank, and was in later times used for engraving a Tamil record of twenty-one lines (in comparatively modern characters), conveying information about a donation to the shrine of the Goddess in the temple. Among the 'bronzes' unearthed here is the famous Nataraja of the period of Rajendra I, now adorning the Art Gallery of the Madras Government Museum (see my *Middle Chola Temples*, pl. 338). Rodin's enthusiastic admiration for this masterpiece is well-known and altogether deserved. These immortal works of art have made their unknown creators as well as patrons immortal.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tiruvalangadu has thus received the homage over the centuries of saints, kings and the people of the land.

NEYVENNAI

SVARNAGHATESVARAR (VENNAIYAPPAR) TEMPLE 4

The village of Neyvennai, in the South Arcot district, is 6.5 km. away in a northwesterly direction from the Ulundurpet railway station of the Southern Railway, on the Madras-Tiruchy chord line. In the days of the *Devaram* hymnists, it went under the name of Tiruvennai-nallur or simply Nel-vennai, and has associations with the saint Sambandar. The deity of the main temple is called Vennai Appar or Svarnaghatesvarar and the Amman is called Nilamalar kan Ammai: the 'goddess with the blue-lotus eyes'.

We have already seen that the region comprising the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district and neighbouring areas was administered by the Malaiyaman Chiefs of Kiliyur and Kilur, who were feudatories of the Cholas, over a couple of centuries and more. (For further details on these Chiefs, see under Arakandanallur). The village of Neyvennai and its temples were the recipients of their attention.

From a 9th year record of Kulottunga I found on the south wall of the central shrine, we come to know of the existence of a shrine of the Goddess, for which a gift of land for offerings is made (ARE 379 of 1908). In the 48th year of the same king, Rajendra Chola Chediyarayan, a native of Kiliyur in Tirumunaippadi nadu of Gangaikondasola valanadu, set up an image of Nataraja *(Kuttadum devar)* in the temple of Tirunelvennai (ARE 375 of 1908). One Vikkirama Chola Chediyaraiyan of Kiliyur made a gift of land to the God at Tirunelvennai, in Kurukkai kurram, a district in Miladu *alias* Jananatha valanadu, in the 8th year of Vikrama Chola (ARE 371 of 1908). In the 12th year of the same king, (Malaiyan Mallan *alias*) Rajendra Sola Malaiyaman of Kiliyur makes a gift of land for offerings to various shrines in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

temple (ARE 373 of 1908). It is for the merit of the same benefactor that, in the 10th year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Sri Kulottunga Chola deva—obviously a reference to Kulottunga II, a gift of 64 cows is made for maintaining two lamps, to the temple of Mahadeva at Tirunelvennai (ARE 376 of 1908).

In the days of Kopperunjinga, the deity is called Porkudankuduttu Aruliya Nayanar (36th year, ARE 370 of 1908). And by the 15th century (*Saka* 1384 = A.D. 1462), Tirunelvennai is described as located in Adanurparru, a sub-division of Kurukkai kurram, in Tirumunaippadi nadu.

The earliest inscription found on the walls of the central shrine is one of the 3rd year of Kulottunga I.

The temple including the Amman shrine can be attributed to the days of Kulottunga I.

TIRUPPULIVANAM

5 VYAGHRAPURISVARAR TEMPLE

Tiruppulivanam, in the Kanchipuram taluk of the Chingleput district, is 5 km. north of Uttiramerur and lies equi-distant from Chingleput and Kanchipuram, south-west of the former and south of the latter, and at a distance of 75 km. to the south-west of Madras city. There is a Siva temple, dedicated to Vyaghrapurisvarar, which lies north-west of the modern village of Tiruppulivanam.

The ancient name of the main deity was Tiruppulivanam-Udaiya Nayanar and the temple is said to have been located at Rajendrasola chaturvedimangalam, a subdivision of Kaliyur Kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam. Uttaramerur was known in the days of the later Pallavas as Uttiramerur chaturvedimangalam (Nandivarman Pallavamalla); in the latter half of the reign of Rajendra Chola I, the place is renamed after the king as Rajendrasola chaturvedimangalam and, still later, in the days of the Telugu Choda chiefs (i.e., in the last days of the Cholas), as Gandagopala chaturvedimangalam.

The Vyaghrapurisvarar temple is a foundation of the days

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of Pallava Nandivarman II (SII, VI, no. 355) and thus belongs to the 8th century A.D. From an inscription dated in the 37th year of Kulottunga III (ARE 396 of 1923), we gather that in the 14th year of Rajamarttandan *alias* Aparajita Vikramavarman, four perpetual lamps were authorised to be burnt in the temple and necessary provision was made for the purpose; in this inscription there is a reference to similar endowments for lamps, made in the 13th year of Parantaka I and 18th year of 'Kannaradeva who took Kachchi and Tanjai' (i.e., Rashtrakuta Krishna III). However, we have no trace of the original structure—which should have been in brick and mortar, as the earliest inscription found on the walls of the temple dates back only to the 3rd year of Kulottunga I. His inscriptions are as follows: 3rd year: ARE 398 and 395 of 1923; 25th year: ARE 328 and 391 of 1923; 45th year: ARE 207 of 1923. The first (3rd year) inscription is found on the east wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine; however, the inscription dated in his 25th year is found on the central shrine itself. We may therefore conclude that the old temple dating back to Pallava days was in brick and that it was rebuilt of stone in the time of Kulottunga I, prior to his 25th year, while the *mandapa* could belong to an earlier era, probably the days of Rajendra I, when the *prakara* had come into existence.

The forty-fifth year record of Kulottunga I is found on the west wall of the *sabha-mandapa* and it mentions a gift of 12 *kalanju* of gold for burning four perpetual lamps in the temple, by Ponnambalakkuttan *alias* Kalingaraja of Manayil in Manayir kottam, a subdivision of Jayangondasola mandalam. We have already seen that this Chief *(vel)* of Manavil, Naralokavira, was a General of Kulottunga I in his later days as well as of Vikrama Chola and that he made extensive benefactions to many temples, particularly the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. On the north wall of the central shrine is an inscription of the 12th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva (II) recording the royal grant of 60 *velis* of land free of taxes at Pappannallur in Vetungadu nadu to the temple of Tiruppulivanam Udaiya Mahadevar in Rajendrasola chaturvedimangalam, a subdivision of Kaliyur kottam, a district of Jayangondasola mandalam, on the represen-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

tation of Minavan Muvendavelan. The record mentions that at the time of issuing the order, the king was seated under a pearl-canopy on his throne in the coronation hall of his palace at Vikrama-solapuram (ARE 198 of 1923). Another, belonging to his 4th year, found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine and beginning with the introduction '*pu-mevi-valar*' records a gift of 24 *kasus* for burning a lamp, to the temple (called by the same name), by a resident of Vadavur in Vadavur nadu, a sub-division of Venkunrak-kottam (ARE 203 of 1923). On the same *mandapa* there is an inscription of the days of Rajadhiraja II recording a sale of land, and mention is made of another temple dedicated to Arulalisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar (ARE 204 of 1923). There is a 27th year inscription of the days of Kulottunga III which records only the name of the temple and is incomplete (ARE 206 of 1923). We have already referred to an inscription of his 37th year, wherein he is called Tribhuvana vira deva; it registers an agreement by the Great Assembly *(Mahasabha)* of Uttaramelur *alias* Rajendrasola chaturvedimangalam to conduct certain festivals as of old at the temple and for the burning of eight lamps on all the days of these festivals: what is of interest is that four of these lamp-endowments were revivals of endowments made almost four centuries earlier (in the 14th year of Rajamart-tandan *alias* Aparajita Vikramavarman); one, of the 18th year of Kannaradeva, the Rashtrakuta king; two, of the 13th year of Madiraikonda Parakesari (Parantaka I); and one, of the 14th year of the current ruler himself. This is a remarkable instance of commitments of earlier reigns (even of other dynasties, friendly or otherwise) being honoured. There is an undated *grantha* record on the west wall of the *sabha-mandapa*, mentioning that this *mandapa*, 'suitable for the dance of Vyaghratavinatha', was constructed by Chediraja, a native of Adamangalam (ARE 205 of 1923). There is an inscription of the 7th year of Sakalalokachakravartin Raja-narayana Sambuvarayan recording an amicable settlement of some dispute between the residents of two villages regarding the flow of water from the tank at Tiruppulivanam and the grant of land as *tirunamattukkani* to the temple of Tiruppulivanamudaiya Nayanar (ARE 200 of 1923). There is another record of the same

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Chief, dated in his 6th year, regarding a gift of 8 cows for a lamp and offerings (ARE 213 of 1923). There are two records of the days of Vijaya Gandagopaladeva, the Telugu Choda Chief, dated in his 8th and 15th years respectively; the former mentions a gift of cows and a lamp-stand by a servant-girl of the temple named Pirainarusiradiyar, to the temple at Uttaramerur—which now takes on another name, viz., Gandagopala-chaturvedimangalam; in the 8th year of the king, she again gifted a gold necklace to the god and also a silver plate and a processional car to the temple, and in recognition of her meritorious services to the temple, she was granted, according to the 15th year record, the privilege of waving the *chamara* in front of the deity during the car processions, and this privilege was to become a hereditary right (ARE 211 and 210 of 1923). A similar gift of cows to the temple for maintaining two lamps is made by a servant-girl in the 16th year of Perunjingadevar. The place continues to be called Rajendrasola chaturvedimangalam.*

The main shrine consists of a *srivimana*, which is (partially) of the *gajaprishtha* type and is preceded by an *antarala* and a *mahamandapa*. The *vimana* superstructure alone is in *gajaprishtha* style, the structure below the *prastara* being rectangular. There is a circum-ambulatory passage with a *tiruch-churru-maligai* with a sculpture of Ganesa in the south-west and of Subrahmanya in the south. The temple faces east and has a *gopuram* on the outermost *prakara* wall, which can be attributed to the 13th century; the superstructure of the *gopuram* has been renovated. In the outer *prakara*, in the south-eastern direction, there is a big hall *(mandapa)* which contains inscriptions of Vijaya Gandagopala and the Pandya king Maravarman Kulasekhara; it could be attributed to the 12th/13th century. In the northeast of the same *prakara*, there is a shrine consisting of a *garbhagraha* which is rectangular in shape with a *sala*-type *vimana* on top. It has a *mandapa* projecting in front.

On the walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala* of the central shrine are figures of Ganesa and Dakshinamurti in the south,

*Other records of this temple are: SII, VI, nos. 327, 393, 394, 396, 397, 389, 390, 201, 214, 202.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vishnu in the west and Brahma and Durga in the north.

The *adhishthana* consists of the *upana*, *jagati*, *tripatta-kumuda* and *prati* mouldings. The *kantha* of the *adhishthana* depicts in the shape of miniature panels exploits of Siva. Some of the panel figures are: Siva being worshipped by devotees, Agastya, Indra, the elephant Airavata, Kamadhenu, Kannappa nayanar, Arjuna receiving the Pasupata-astra, and Chandesanugrahamurti. The *antarala* is preceded by a *mahamandapa*, which reminds one of a similar, later, structure in Darasuram, the entrance to the *mandapa* being from the side.

The Dakshinamurti shrine inside the main temple is a later (Vijayanagara) structure.

The temple in the present form and structure belongs to the middle years of the reign of Kulottunga I and a noteworthy feature here is that the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine is on wheels. This temple is coeval with the Melakkadambur temple whose main shrine itself is on wheels, and is perhaps one of the earliest temples having the chariot-structure for one of its constituents. *Mandapas* on wheels are also found elsewhere such as at Chidambaram, Tukkachchi, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam.

SRIRANGAM

6 SRI RANGANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE

(I) EARLY HISTORY

The famous temple of Srirangam is very ancient and, like the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram, its origin is lost in the mist of time. Again like the Nataraja temple, it is called the *Koyil* or the *Periyakoyil*, the temple *par excellence*. The praise of the Lord has been sung by Vaishnava Alvars (with the exception of Madhurakavi). A number of them lived here and worshipped at the feet of the Lord; among them are Kulasekhara Alvar, Tirumangai Mannan or Alinadan, and Andal. Other, lesser, Alvars associated with this temple are Tondaradippodi and Tiruppanalvar (who was born in close-by Uraiyur). Ramanuja himself, the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

apostle of Visishtadvaita Srivaishnavism, was the spiritual and administrative head of this temple for a number of years. Alagiya-manavala or Manavala mahamuni, the *acharya* of the *ten-kalai* Vaishnava sect, spent a number of years here, the Pallavarayan-matham in the South Uttira street being associated with his stay. In fact, there is an image of this *acharya* which is in worship even now. The name of Kamban, the Tamil poet, is closely associated with this temple; the *imprimatur* of his *Ramayana* is said to have been made here before the literary elite.

The Government Epigraphist writes: "Architecturally, the Srirangam temple offers many interesting points to the student of Indian Art. It belongs to the *uttamottama* class of temples, as it has its full complement of seven *prakaras* running around the *garbhagriha*, and in addition has separate subsidiary shrines for all the minor *parivaradevatas*, as prescribed in the *Agamas*" (ARE 1936–37, p. 61).

(II) THE TEMPLE CAMPUS

The *garbhagriha* is in mortar and is circular in shape; it is surmounted by the '*Sriranga Vimana*' with the representation of Para-Vasudeva, which is gold-plated. It has been recently renovated. The earliest inscriptional material we have here is found on the jambs of the entrance to the *garbhagriha* and has been dealt with in our earlier volumes on Chola Temples—*Early Chola Art, Part I* (pp. 59 and 60) and *Middle Chola Temples* (pp. 355–357). There have been numerous contributions to the growth of this temple from the days of Parantaka I down almost to the end of the 18th century, with the result that one could trace a continuous history of Srirangam and its environs over a thousand years. What a wonder! This has also added to our difficulty in formulating the chronological growth of the temple, as there have often been haphazard additions and alterations, confusing the original design. The introduction of the iconic representation of the Vaishnava *alvars*, an innovation of the days of Ramanuja and Vedanta Desika, has added to our difficulties as well as to the charm of the original design of the temple. A unique feature is a shrine for the great

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

physician, Dhanvantri, who has been deified, located in the north side of the fourth *prakara* of the temple. A shrine has been improvised for Eduttakai Alagar (Narasimha in the act of destroying Hiranya-kasipu) in stucco; the icon originally served as an embellishment on the north *gopuram* of the fourth *prakara*. Other examples of such enshrining are to be found in the Subrahmanya and Ganapati shrines on the inner side of the west *gopuram* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram.

(III) UNDER THE EARLY AND MIDDLE CHOLAS

Inscriptions of the days of Parantaka I, on the jambs of the central shrine, were uncovered when some brass panelling was removed for replacement. The central shrine and the first two *prakaras* obviously came up between his days and the middle of the 11th century. We have very little information about the growth of the temple during this period. The third, fourth and fifth *prakaras*, the numerous *mandapas*, *prakara* walls and *gopurams* that came up at different stages in the growth of this temple-city, do not, however, exhibit any great workmanship.

(IV) UNDER THE LATER CHOLAS

However, when we come to the period of Kulottunga I and his son, we begin to get a wealth of epigraphical material on their contribution to this temple; and, in fact, during the Later Chola period and subsequently both under the Hoysalas and under the Pandyas, there is almost a surfeit of records from which we gather that the temple underwent major expansion; and in the hands of the Vijayanagara rulers, the temple continued to receive great attention.

The third *prakara* wall is a veritable record-room containing a number of inscriptions covering the Chola, Pandya, Hoysala and later dynasties; but the earliest inscription on this wall, on its eastern wing, relates to the 5th year of Kulottunga I (Rajakesari-varman *alias* Chakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva, beginning with the introduction '*pugal madu vilanga*').

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Similarly, on the north wall of the fourth *prakara*, left of the *svargavasal* (the Gate of Heaven), is a 11th year inscription of Kulottunga I (Rajakesarivarman *alias* Chakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva) beginning with the same introduction and referring to the affairs of another temple. It mentions that as the temple of Mummudichola Vinnagaralvar at Rajamahendra-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Kandara nadu, a subdivision of Nittavinoda valanadu, comprising the modern taluks of Nannilam and Papanasam, was unable to safeguard its properties owing to a burglary of its treasury during a conflict between the left and right hand classes *(Idangais* and *Valangais)* in the second year of the king's reign, the Assembly of Rajamahendra chaturvedimangalam received 70 *kalanjus* of gold from the temple of Mummadisola Vinnagaralvar of that village and exempted certain lands belonging to it from payment of taxes (ARE 31 of 1936–37)*.

On the basis of these epigraphs, we can conclude that the third wall of enclosure was in existence even in the first decade of the reign of Kulottunga I and the fourth wall of enclosure also should have come into existence in about the same period. We know in the case of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram that Kulottunga I built the first and second walls of enclosure there though perhaps the work was completed by his son; we could hazard the conjecture that the third and fourth walls of enclosure here were also constructed in the (early years of the) reign of Kulottunga I. We incidentally come to know of the existence of a Vishnu temple (Mummudisola vinnagar) at a village named after the ill-fated crown prince Raja Mahendra, the son of Rajendradeva II, who predeceased the father; this temple must have been erected in the days of

*We also learn from this record that in the second year of the king (Kulottunga I), there was a clash between the right and left hand communities, in which the village was burnt down, the sacred places destroyed and the images of deities and the treasuries in the temple looted. So, the village had to be rehabilitated, the temple renovated and the deities reconsecrated, and new walls had to be built for the *prakara;* the *sabha* took a loan of 50 *kalanju* of gold (which was half a carat less in fineness than the Rajendra solan madai) from the temple; the interest on this for a year came to 25 *kalanju*, and out of the capital-cum-interest of 75 *kalanju*, 5 *kalanju* was spent on the renovation of the temple in the 3rd year and the balance of 70 *kalanju* was utilised for purchasing and making tax-free some specified lands for the up-keep of the temple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rajaraja I who, in the earlier years of his reign, was known as Mummudi Chola. From an inscription found in the village of Nellittoppu in Papanasam taluk, we gather that this village was close to it (ARE 539 of 1921).

Though there is no inscriptional evidence from Srirangam itself to confirm the fact, we know from the Srirangam *Koyilolugu* that the fifth wall of enclosure was the contribution of Vikrama Chola, who, like the father, embarked upon massive expansions of the temples of the earlier period by adding more *prakaras* and subsidiary shrines in them. Strangely, we have epigraphical confirmation of this from an entirely unexpected place. There is an 18th year inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva II found engraved on the western slope of the rock known as Panchanamparai in Sandaipettai, a suburb of Tirukkoyilur (the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in the South Arcot district), which states that the adjoining tank and its sluice were constructed for the irrigation of the *tiruvidaiyattam* lands of Tiruvidaikali Emperuman of Tirukkovalur, by Ulagamunda Perumal *alias* Akalankan Brahmamarayan, who constructed the *Periya tirumaligai* at Tiruvarangam (Srirangam) Periyakoyil (ARE 225 of 1936–37). Reading *Koyilolugu* and this inscription together, we can conclude that the fifth wall of enclosure and the four *gopurams* thereon (and some other structures as well) came into existence during Vikrama Chola's days. Akalankan Brahmamarayan might have been the officer in charge of the construction of the wall of enclosure. A record of Vikrama Chola's days found in this temple (ARE 33 of 1936–37 beginning with *pu malai midaindu*) provides for feeding ten Apurvi Sri Vaishnavas in the temple on *Amavasya* days and ten Malayana (Malayala) Sri Vaishnava Brahmanas on the festival days in the *Panguni* month by a certain Tirunadudaiyan. This charity was placed under the protection of *Manrumandalattu-abhimanya-bhushanar* (cf. *padinen-vishayattu-Sri-Vaishnavar*)—perhaps a high level body drawn from the Pandi, Chola and Tondai mandalams.

Of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga II's days, there are only two records, relating to the 7th and 11th years (ARE 56 and 55 of 1936–37). The former

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is an order for and on behalf of the deity, leasing the temple lands to the Kovanavars for growing coconut and areca palms; the latter is an endowment of land after purchase for a flower-garden to the temple by three private individuals (introduction: *pu mannu padumam*).

The only record assignable to the days of Rajaraja II is of his 11th year *(pu maruviya tirumadum)*. It mentions a gift of a gold lamp-stand set with one ruby and an endowment of money for maintaining the lamp and for the supply of camphor by Kodai Ravivarman of Ven nadu in Malai nadu (ARE 68 of 1936–37).

There are two records of the days of Rajadhiraja II (with the introduction *Kadal sulnda*), both of his 9th year; one refers to an endowment in money for a lamp, by Perumal *alias* Rajaraja Uttama Setti of Kurattippattinam in Kaivara nadu, a sub-division of Poysala nadu (ARE 63 of 1936–37). The other is about an endowment of 1,000 *kasu* by Tirukkuraivalatta Akalanka Nadalvan of Tiruttavatturai (Lalgudi) for special festivals in the temple (ARE 73 of 1936–37). Incidentally, it was this Chief who led an expedition against Kollimalai on behalf of the king.

The earliest of Kulottunga III's inscriptions is one of the 3rd year commencing with the introduction '*Puyal vaiyttu*' which seems to record an endowment for the sacred bath and offerings to the deity on special festival days in the months of *Aippasi* and *Panguni* (ARE 75 of 1936–37). In a 6th year record where he is called Parakesarivarman Virarajendradeva, commencing with the same introduction '*Puyal vaiyttu*', a gift is registered of the village of Tiruvayppadinallur, made tax-free, for special worship and offerings to the god on the day of the Daivattarayan festival, by the *gopalas* (shepherds) who had proprietory rights over Valluvapadi nadu in Karikalakanna valanadu (ARE 61 of 1936–37). By this deed, they agreed to pay the tax on 250 *velis* of *tiruvidaiyattam* lands for worship and offerings to god Alagiya manavala Perumal and the goddess; the document is signed by ninety-eight representatives *(urkkuchchamainda)* from sixty-seven villages who should have constituted the Assembly of Valluvappadi nadu (which comprised a portion of the present Musiri taluk in Tiruchy district). A 7th year record of this ruler registers an endowment of 2,000

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rajaraja I who, in the earlier years of his reign, was known as Mummudi Chola. From an inscription found in the village of Nellittoppu in Papanasam taluk, we gather that this village was close to it (ARE 539 of 1921).

Though there is no inscriptional evidence from Srirangam itself to confirm the fact, we know from the Srirangam *Koyilolugu* that the fifth wall of enclosure was the contribution of Vikrama Chola, who, like the father, embarked upon massive expansions of the temples of the earlier period by adding more *prakaras* and subsidiary shrines in them. Strangely, we have epigraphical confirmation of this from an entirely unexpected place. There is an 18th year inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva II found engraved on the western slope of the rock known as Panchanamparai in Sandaipettai, a suburb of Tirukkoyilur (the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in the South Arcot district), which states that the adjoining tank and its sluice were constructed for the irrigation of the *tiruvidaiyattam* lands of Tiruvidaikali Emperuman of Tirukkovalur, by Ulagamunda Perumal *alias* Akalankan Brahmamarayan, who constructed the *Periya tirumaligai* at Tiruvarangam (Srirangam) Periyakoyil (ARE 225 of 1936–37). Reading *Koyilolugu* and this inscription together, we can conclude that the fifth wall of enclosure and the four *gopurams* thereon (and some other structures as well) came into existence during Vikrama Chola's days. Akalankan Brahmamarayan might have been the officer in charge of the construction of the wall of enclosure. A record of Vikrama Chola's days found in this temple (ARE 33 of 1936–37 beginning with *pu malai midaindu*) provides for feeding ten Apurvi Sri Vaishnavas in the temple on *Amavasya* days and ten Malayana (Malayala) Sri Vaishnava Brahmanas on the festival days in the *Panguni* month by a certain Tirunadudaiyan. This charity was placed under the protection of *Manrumandalattu-abhimanya-bhushanar* (cf. *padinen-vishayattu-Sri-Vaishnavar*)—perhaps a high level body drawn from the Pandi, Chola and Tondai mandalams.

Of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga II's days, there are only two records, relating to the 7th and 11th years (ARE 56 and 55 of 1936–37). The former

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is an order for and on behalf of the deity, leasing the temple lands to the Kovanavars for growing coconut and areca palms; the latter is an endowment of land after purchase for a flower-garden to the temple by three private individuals (introduction: *pu mannu padumam*).

The only record assignable to the days of Rajaraja II is of his 11th year *(pu maruviya tirumadum)*. It mentions a gift of a gold lamp-stand set with one ruby and an endowment of money for maintaining the lamp and for the supply of camphor by Kodai Ravivarman of Ven nadu in Malai nadu (ARE 68 of 1936–37).

There are two records of the days of Rajadhiraja II (with the introduction *Kadal sulnda*), both of his 9th year; one refers to an endowment in money for a lamp, by Perumal *alias* Rajaraja Uttama Setti of Kurattippattinam in Kaivara nadu, a sub-division of Poysala nadu (ARE 63 of 1936–37). The other is about an endowment of 1,000 *kasu* by Tirukkuraivalatta Akalanka Nadalvan of Tiruttavatturai (Lalgudi) for special festivals in the temple (ARE 73 of 1936–37). Incidentally, it was this Chief who led an expedition against Kollimalai on behalf of the king.

The earliest of Kulottunga III's inscriptions is one of the 3rd year commencing with the introduction '*Puyal vaiyttu*' which seems to record an endowment for the sacred bath and offerings to the deity on special festival days in the months of *Aippasi* and *Panguni* (ARE 75 of 1936–37). In a 6th year record where he is called Parakesarivarman Virarajendradeva, commencing with the same introduction '*Puyal vaiyttu*', a gift is registered of the village of Tiruvayppadinallur, made tax-free, for special worship and offerings to the god on the day of the Daivattarayan festival, by the *gopalas* (shepherds) who had proprietory rights over Valluvapadi nadu in Karikalakanna valanadu (ARE 61 of 1936–37). By this deed, they agreed to pay the tax on 250 *velis* of *tiruvidaiyattam* lands for worship and offerings to god Alagiya manavala Perumal and the goddess; the document is signed by ninety-eight representatives *(urkkuchchamainda)* from sixty-seven villages who should have constituted the Assembly of Valluvappadi nadu (which comprised a portion of the present Musiri taluk in Tiruchy district). A 7th year record of this ruler registers an endowment of 2,000

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

kasu by a lady and her daughter for the merit of the husband of the former. The beneficiary is Alagiya manavala Perumal (ARE 76 of 1936–37). A record of the 19th year is interesting; beginning with the common introduction 'who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya', it records a gift of 12 *Bhujabala-madai* (coins) for a lamp in the temple by Nunkama Mahadevi, wife of Madhurantaka Pottappichcholan *alias* Siddharaisan—the Telugu-Choda Chief Nallasiddharasa, who was a subordinate of Kulottunga III (ARE 67 of 1936–37). A 34th year inscription registers an order of Gangeyarayar, fixing the proportions of the produce from several classes of temple lands between the temple and its tenants (ARE 32 of 1936–37); and a 35th year record beginning with the introduction of '*puyal vaiyttu*' records that certain lands were purchased and given as *tirunamattukkani* for worship and offerings to the god Alagiya manavala Perumal by Ambalavan Koyilalvar, a lady who was under the support *(mudugan)* of Ambalavan Periya Peruman *alias* Jagadekavira Acharya of Rajarajapuram (ARE 1 of 1936–37). One of the last records of this period is dated in the 37th year and refers to a gift of land by a *brahmana* lady of Rajakesari chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Nallur nadu, a subdivision of Nittavinoda valanadu, as *tiruvidaiyattam* to god Alagiya manavala Perumal (ARE 34 of 1936–37). An undated record of Kulottunga III's period mentions that the worship of the god, who was the tutelary deity of the king, and the repairs to the *prakara* wall called Magadesan *alias* Adaiyavalaindan *tirumaligai* were left in the charge of Tayilum-nallan *alias* Kulottungasola Vanakkovaraiyar (ARE 89 of 1936–37). We saw under Urrattur in *Middle Chola Temples* that, according to an inscription found on a *gopuram* of the Siddharatnesvarar temple, the village of Venmanippadi in Kilvalluvappadi nadu was converted into a mercantile town called Tayilunallanpuram in honour of Kulottungasola Vanakkovaraiyar, who must be the same as the Chief referred to here and who bore the alternate name of Tayilum Nallan. This was done by the *nagaram* and *nadu* of Urrattur nadu jointly (ARE 521 of 1912).

In the 21st year of Rajaraja III, an endowment of 1,000 *kasu* was made for burning a lamp in the temple and for supplying

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

flower-garlands to the deity, the donatrix being Deviyar Somaladeviyar, who, it seems reasonable to guess, must be one of the queens of Rajaraja III mentioned in a record from Jambukesvaram (ARE 22 of 1931).

Between the 10th and the 24th regnal years of Rajaraja III, we find the Hoysalas spreading themselves out all over the Chola country and the inscriptions of their rulers and their generals and local officers are found at Kanchipuram, Tiruvadatturai (Vriddhachalam taluk in South Arcot district), Tirumalavadi, Srirangam and Tirugokarnam (in Pudukkottai district).

(V) UNDER THE HOYSALAS

The contribution of the Hoysalas to the development of the temples of Ranganathar and Jambukesvarar (in Tiru Anaikka, close to Srirangam) is noteworthy indeed. The earliest Hoysala record seems to be one that is dated not in regnal years but in *Saka* 1154 (A.D. 1232), in which a gift of land is made for offerings to god Ranganathar during the early morning service by one Bharadvaja-kulatilakan Srirama Bhattan of the temple of Tirukkulaludina Pillai (He who played the sacred flute: Krishna or Venugopala) consecrated by Umadevi, the queen of Vira Vallaladeva at Dorasamudram. The inscription, which is in *Grantha* and *Tamil*, mentions in a Sanskrit verse at the beginning that this Srirama Bhattan was the son of a great teacher of Kuruhapura, an ardent Vaishnava and one well-versed in *mantric* lore. He was a contemporary of Narahari-bhupala (i.e., Narasimha), who bore the title of *Cholendra-pratishtha guru*, in recognition of his services to the Chola ruler in restoring him to power and the throne in A.D. 1232.

Singularly conspicuous by their absence at Srirangam are inscriptions of Vira Somesvara, in contrast to their profusion in the adjoining Jambukesavarar temple, explained by the plaint of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I that Somesvara had 'reduced to a pitiable state the lotus-pond of Srirangam' (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 14).

In the 3rd year of Pratapachakravartin Vira Ramanatha deva (A.D. 1255–95), a *salai* was founded on the west side of the *gopuram*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

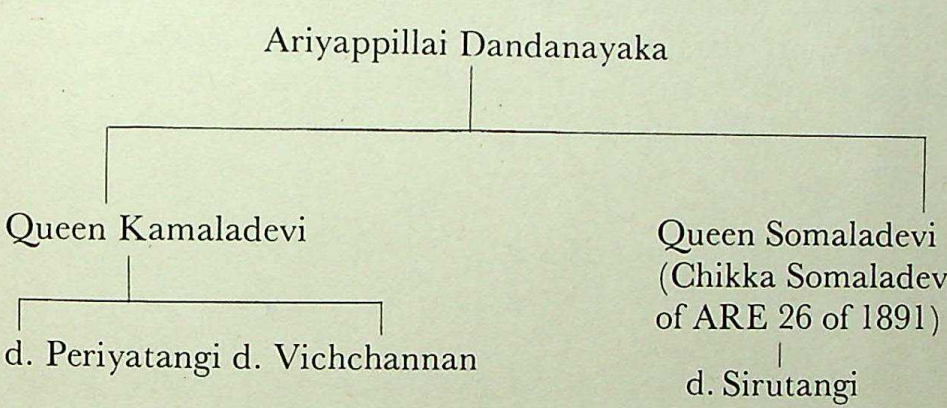
in the fourth *prakara*, enshrining the god Eduttakai-alagiya Nayinar in the Ranganathar temple, and an endowment of land was made for its upkeep by Changadeva Singanna Dandanayaka, a *pradhani* of the king. The *salai* was entrusted to the care of Garudavahana Pandita, who is designated the *rakshaka* of the donor (ARE 80 of 1936–37).

This third-year record is engraved on a slab of stone set up in front of the Dhanvantri shrine in the fourth *prakara* of the temple, and makes interesting reading. Changadeva makes this gift to Garudavahana Bhatta (who was his Royal Physician) for maintaining the *salai* (hospital) in the *tirunadaimaligai* to the west of the north *gopuram* in the fourth *prakara* of the temple. The gifted land was in Mummudisola chaturvedimangalam in Vila nadu, a subdivision of Pandikulasani valanadu. Evidently this hospital was in existence even earlier and the Bhatta was appointed as Royal Physician afterwards; the hospital seems to have been of considerable importance, for, a reference to it is made almost two hundred and forty years later, in another inscription dated in *Saka* 1415 (= A.D. 1493), found engraved on another slab nearby, according to which a descendant of Garudavahana Bhatta, by name Srinivasa Bhatta (also bearing the surname of Garudavahana), repaired the hospital *(arogya-salai)* which had suffered damage during the *vanam* (Muhammadan raid) and installed an image of Dhanvantri Emperumal in it. Fortunately for us, this rare image of Dhanvantri is still intact in a shrine in the fourth *prakara*. We have another image of Dhanvantri in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (*gopura* panel) (*Ep. Rep.*, 1935–36, p. 94; see also B. Natarajan's *The City of the Cosmic Dance*). The hereditary physicians were scholars too and the senior Garudavahana, the contemporary of Vira Ramanatha, is said to have composed a *prabandham* called *Rangaghoshanai*, which is no longer available, while his descendant has been identified with the author of the *Divya-suri-charitam*, a *kavya* in Sanskrit on the lives of the Vaishnava Alvars and Acharyas.

Sarvabhauma Vira Ramanatha's 7th year record mentions a gift of land for a flower-garden by a member of the Mint establishment community *(Kambattattu Anikkarar)*. In the 8th year of this ruler, a gift of land at Tirukkuraiparru is made for a flower-garden

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to a certain Vaikunthadasar who had to supply flowers and garlands to the temple, for the merit of queen Kamaladevi, the daughter of Ariyappillai Dandanayaka, a *pradhani* of the king, and her two daughters (ARE 62 of 1936–37). Adjoining the above plot was another piece of land which was purchased and gifted to the same donee by Somaladeviyar, another daughter of the same *pradhani*, for the merit of her daughter Sirutangi. A similar gift is made again by queen Kamaladevi for her own merit (*vide* two undated inscriptions, ARE 64 and 65 of 1936–37).



Similarly, in the 8th year, one Sahala Bhatta, son of Ahala Bhatta of Sakala gotra (belonging to the community of Paradesi Savasi—merchants from Kashmiradesa), makes a gift of gold for offerings during one service in the temple and for supplying garlands to the god, for the merit of the donor and his son.

In the fifth *prakara* of the temple there is a beautiful ornate shrine dedicated to Venugopala Krishna, whose sculptures and general texture bear the imprint of the Hoysala style. Though there is no inscriptional confirmation, this shrine should be attributed to the period from A.D. 1230 to 1275 and could be treated as representative of Hoysala art in Chola mainland.

(VI) IN THE POST-CHOLA PERIOD

There is a later structure called the Seshagirirayan-*mandapa* on the east side of the fifth *prakara*, which is a noteworthy Vijayanagara contribution, with its sculptural wealth and macro-carving.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The unfinished *gopuram* in the outermost *prakara* is a piece of ornate construction.

There is a wealth of metals, of various deities, Alvars and Acharyas, many of which date back to the 12th and 13th centuries. There is a group of ten icons, taken out in procession on important occasions, called the *Dasamurtis*. Annamurti is another special image (two-armed, with a bowl of curd-rice in one hand and a *kalasa* of *payasa* in the other).

Srirangam continued to attract the piety and attention of the successor-dynasties as well, namely the Pandyas, the Vijayanagara rulers and later the Nayaks, whose contribution to the wealth, maintenance and expansion of this grand temple continued well into the late 18th century. It is still a living institution of great celebrity.

(VII) ALLEGED PERSECUTION OF RAMANUJA BY KULOTTUNGA I

We have discussed such allegations in a previous volume, *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 355–357, and refuted the identification of Krimikanthan with Kulottunga I and the belief popular among Vaishnavites that Ramanuja fled to Melkote in the Karnataka country as a result of his being persecuted by the Chola king, living in exile there from A.D. 1098 to 1122. It is a fact that Ramanuja was away in Karnataka over this extended period, during which he even succeeded in converting the Hoysala king Bittideva from Jainism to Vaishnavism; the king was re-christened Vishnuvardhana, and his help and zeal enabled Vaishnavism to strike deep roots in that land. But it has also to be observed that Kulottunga I had Vaishnavite sympathies as well and that he, the members of his family and his subjects all made various gifts to Vishnu temples (see Note 3, pp. 356–357 of my *Middle Chola Temples*). We have seen how, according to an inscription at Srirangam itself of his 11th year, a Vishnu temple was helped out of its financial problems by the local Assembly (ARE 31 of 1936–37). Two inscriptions at Srirangam, of his 15th and 18th years, register gifts respectively for the singing of the *Tirup palli eluchchi* and the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

recitation of the *Tiruvoymoli*, and for the singing of the second decad of Kulasekhara Alvar's hymns (ARE 61 and 62 of 1892). (Ramanuja's flight to Karnataka, incidentally, occurred in the 28th year of the reign of Kulottunga I.) Coming to his successors, even during the rule of the most bigoted Chola ruler Anapaya (Kulottunga II), there is mention in an inscription (dated in his 18th regnal year) from Tirukkoyilur that a Chola chieftain constructed the *periya tirumaligai* (the fifth *prakara*) of the Srirangam temple (ARE 225 of 1936–37). In this connection we may briefly consider the supposed destruction of the Govindaraja shrine in the campus of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, and the submersion of the idol of the 'Little God' into the sea, 'the original abode of Vishnu', as described in the *Ula* on Kulottunga II by the court poet Ottakkuttan. It seems undeniable that from the time of the foundation of the Nataraja cult at Chidambaram, the shrine of Govindaraja in the *Terri-ambalam* ('Platform shrine') stood opposite to the *Chirrambalam* (of Nataraja). This Vishnu shrine was closed and worship remained suspended from the days of Kulottunga II to the days of the Vijayanagara emperor Achyutappa Raya (16th century A.D.). We are not sure if the Govindaraja idol was actually thrown into the sea. Could it not be a poetic flight of fancy of a loyal and devoted poet to his bigoted Saivite royal patron? Such acts of vandalism are unknown to Hindu tradition in ancient South India. Even foreign Hindu conquerors respected the temples in the conquered land, and in fact, even made gifts and endowments of their own to the temples in the conquered territory as evidenced by the gifts of Chalukya Vikramaditya II to the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram. Govindaraja worship should have been in a state of suspended animation for about four centuries, till its revival under the patronage of Achyuta, with his strong Vaishnavite leanings.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUKKANNAPURAM

7 RAMANANDISVARAM (RAMANATHISVARAM) TEMPLE

SOURIRAJA PERUMAL TEMPLE

Tirukkannapuram, in the Nannilam taluk of the Tanjavur district, is on the south bank of the Mudikondan river and is reached from Nannilam railway station by proceeding 6 km. eastwards to Tiruppugalur and then 1.6 km. southwards, crossing the above river. In our *Middle Chola Temples*, we have dealt with the Uttarapatisvarar temple at Tiruchchengattangudi, a village about 1.5 km. east of Tirukkannapuram, where inscriptional references are found to the Ramanandisvaram temple at the latter place, as well as with the latter temple itself briefly.

RAMANANDISVARAM TEMPLE*

On the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the Ganapatisvarar shrine in the Uttarapatisvarar temple mentioned above, there is an inscription of Kulottunga III, dated in his 11th year, 175th day, and mentioning that a document connected with the temple of 'Tiruviramanandisvaram Udaiyar at Tirukkannapuram', described as a *brahmadeya* village in Marugal nadu in Geyamanikka valanadu, was engraved on the walls of the former temple (ARE 65 of 1913). This inscription refers to the 5th and 10th years of 'Periyadevar Kulottunga Chola deva', in whose time the temple is stated to have come into existence. The Government Epigraphist comments that the phrase 'Periyadevar' should refer either to Kulottunga I or to Kulottunga II and observes that the 'greater possibility' is that the reference is to the former (ARE of 1923, p. 111). Now, there is an inscription in the Ramanandisvaram temple, of the 10th year of Kulottunga II ('Tribhuvana chakra-

*For a discussion of the correct name of this temple, see *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 96–102.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

vartin Konerinmaikondan Kulottunga Chola deva'), on the east wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, recording a gift of land made for worship and offerings to the image of Udaiyar Ramanandisvaram Udaiyar, stated to have been reconsecrated in place: the inscription adds that the land, measuring 50 *velis*, was named after the donor, the king, as Sivapadasekhara mangalam (ARE 553 of 1922). Taking these two inscriptions together, we may agree with the Government Epigraphist that 'Periyadevar' refers to Kulottunga I and conclude that the temple suffered from neglect for some time and that the principal deity had to be reconsecrated in its original place in the days of Kulottunga II.

The temple appears to have fallen on evil days again, as revealed by an inscription on the west and south walls of the *mandapa*, relating to the 16th regnal year of Rajaraja III (ARE 537 of 1922 and p. 107 of this ARE). We learn that the *Mahesvaras* and *Tanattar (Sthanikas)* of the temple of 'Udaiyar Iramanandichchuram udaiya Nayanar, set up as a Pauraniya devar (?) at Tirukkannapuram' approached the temple authorities of Perumparrappuliyur (Chidambaram) and represented to them that, as the fifty *velis* of land granted as *devadana* to the temple had become reduced in extent, and other sources of income also diminished, the customary donations from the *Mahesvaras* of Chidambaram and others should be continued without any reduction, especially since there was no other means of income for the temple to fall back upon. On hearing this representation, the Assembly of *Mahesvaras* of Chidambaram resolved that in the districts within the influence of the temple as well as in surrounding and far-off lands, all servants of Siva temples should contribute 20 *kasus* per annum for the purpose, as before (Sola mandalam, Rajaraja Pandimandalam, Virasola mandalam, Naduvil nadu and Jayangonda sola mandalam are names mentioned in this context). Further, those 'marked with the sacred trident' should also pay 20 *kasus* per annum, and the *Mahesvaras* and the *brahmanas* should pay 10 *kasus*. The collections made in coin or in kind (paddy) were to be paid into the temple treasury to be converted into a capital fund meant for expenses of worship, offerings and various services. The *Sthanikas* and *Vira Mahesvaras* who acted as collecting agents were to receive one

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

kalam of rice from temples owning more than ten *velis* of *devadana* land and one *tuni* and one *padakku* from the rest. The *devakanmis* and the accountants were to co-operate with the *Mahesvaras* in making these collections. An interesting instance of co-operative endeavour in helping out a temple in distress!

A Pandyan record of the 32nd year of a Srivallabha deva (ARE 535 of 1922) states that the central shrine of "Tiruviramesvaram Udaiyar' (note the re-emergence of the original name) was the gift of one Deyvanayakan. The central shrine, originally of the days of Kulottunga I, was thus renovated once in the days of Kulottunga II and apparently again a second time in the Pandyan days.

Thus this temple is a foundation of the days of Kulottunga I (prior to his fifth year); the *mandapa* was constructed of stone in the days of Kulottunga II.

SOURIRAJA PERUMAL (TIRUKKANNAPURATTU ALVAR) TEMPLE

On the first *prakara* walls of this temple, there are a number of inscriptions of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola as well as of their successors. The earliest one (ARE 521 of 1922) is dated in the 34th year of Kulottunga I. Beginning with the introduction '*pugal sulnda*', it registers a gift of a lamp, silver utensils and land for a twilight lamp by one Vira Keralan Adhirajarajadevar of Tiruppattur in Kongu nadu. Two years later, the same Chief and a Minister of Kulottunga I called Bharadvajan Naranarayanan *alias* Vira Santosha Brahmachakravarti made a gift of money and land for burning lamps thrice daily in the temple (ARE 519 of 1922). Mention is made of a liquid measure called the Kulottunga solan *nali*. This Chief was also a Minister of Kulottunga I and the inscription mentions that, while making the gift to the temple, he placed it under the protection of 'the Srivaishnavas of the eighteen *nadus*'.*

*A reference to this body is also made in a record (ARE 168 of 1923) in the Sundara varada Perumal temple at Uttaramerur, where they are designated as the guardians of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

In the 46th year of Kulottunga I, a gift is made of land at Kakkaimangalam which had been lying fallow since the 20th regnal year, at the instance of one Rajaraja Brahmadhiraja Govinda Pillai, for worship and offerings to the Lord of Tirukkannapuram in Geyamanikka valanadu at the time of the four *ayanas* (solstices and equinoxes) of the year and of certain festivals (ARE 501 of 1922). We learn from this record that the said Govinda Pillai was a principal officer in the kingdom like Arumbakkilan Ponnambalakkuttan *alias* Kalingarayan of Manavil.

There are two records of the tenth year of Vikrama Chola. According to one, a certain Kakku nayakan of Velur made a gift of tax-free land at Palli, a *brahmadeya* in Tiruvarur kurram, for growing red lotuses for use in the temple of Tirukkanna purattu Alvar (ARE 507 of 1922). According to the other, twenty families of weavers—four from each of five specified villages—migrated to this place for service in the temple in return for some privileges granted to them.**

In the 11th year of the same king, a *brahmana* of Tirumarugal made a gift of 20 *kalanjus* of gold of '9½ degrees of fineness' *(mali)* for the daily maintenance of a twilight lamp supplying ghee and camphor both morning and evening; he also presented for the purpose a bronze lamp-stand made in his own likeness. The gift was accepted on behalf of the temple by the Sri Vaishnavas of the village and those well-versed in sacred lore *(kalai ilangu moliyalar)*

---

grants made to the temple. Their permission is sought by the temple authorities for receiving gifts and for entering into transactions of any kind with the donors regarding their management. This body would appear to have been a high-powered one, with jurisdiction over a number of Vaishnava temples spread over a delimited area of the empire.

**This record is of interest, throwing some light on the community of weavers referred to in it as *Ayogavas*. Quoting a Sanskrit verse, it defines *Utkrishta Ayogavas* or *Pattanavar* as weavers supplying cloth to gods, kings and people and adds that an *Ayogava* was of mixed caste, born to a Sudra male and a Vaisya female. It states that in the presence of the *mahasabha* comprising 350 members *('elaimbadinmar')*, the merchants of five towns gave an undertaking to depute four weaver-families each to settle down permanently at Tirukkannapuram and serve the Vishnu temple in consideration for being exempted from all taxes. They were to supply cloth for the sacred banner of the temple and for other purposes during the *Chittirai* and *Aippasi* festivals each year and also to feed *srivaishnavas* in a *matha* called *Ayogana(va?) salai*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

assembled in the *Tiruniravi (mandapa)* of the temple (ARE 509 of 1922). Another record of the same year, beginning with the introduction '*pumalai midaindu*', mentions a sale of land by the trustees of the temple to a private citizen on condition that he should bring it under cultivation and utilize the produce for providing certain offerings in the temple after paying the land dues (ARE 502 of 1922). Also during Vikrama Chola's days, a shrine for the Vaishnavite saint, Tirumangai Alvar, was set up in the west street of the town by one Narayana Padar, and a gift of land made as *archana bhogam* (ARE 510 of 1922).

There are a number of records relating to the last three kings of the Chola dynasty, of which one, of the days of Rajaraja III, is interesting. Of his 14th year (A.D. 1230), it mentions that land was leased to certain merchants in a street called Savirip Perumal *perun teruvu*, for the building of shops and houses, with the stipulation that they should pay certain taxes on their goods to the temple.*

The temple continued to be prosperous even in the post-Chola period.

While a foundation in stone of the days of Kulottunga I, like the Siva temple in the same place, this temple apparently did not, unlike the latter, suffer from neglect periodically.

TIRUVOTTUR

8 VEDANATHESVARAR (VEDAPURISVARAR) TEMPLE

Tiruvottur is a village in Cheyyar taluk of North Arcot district, lying about 30 km. southwest of Kanchipuram. Both the Palar and the Cheyyar rivers are close by, and the latter flows west of

*This inscription (ARE 503 of 1922) adds that the relevant order was issued at the time of the singing of the Satagopa (Nammalvar) hymns on the fifth day of the 'marriage festival', with the deity ceremonially seated on the *asana* called *Nambi kaliyan* in the *Niravi mandapa* under a pearl-canopy called *Ravana-antakan*. The leasing merchants were to engage themselves in the trades of gold and bell-metal fabrication, and they were to be allowed to fix themselves the rate of tax to the temple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Vedanathesvarar temple here. It was a Jaina centre in the seventh century A.D. Sambandar is said to have wrought a miracle here by converting male palmyra trees into the female variety so as to yield fruit and thereby overawed and subdued the Jainas. Sambandar's hymn on this temple is an expression of this triumph. In the last stanza of the hymn, the following line is significant: *Kurumbai-aanpanai-yin-kuli-Ottur*. '*Ottu*' means the *Vedas;* and local legend has it that the Lord of this temple expounded the *Vedas* and their significance to the *Devas* and the sages. Hence the name of Ottur.

This temple might have been an earlier foundation, but the existing inscriptions relate to the Middle and Later Chola periods. The earliest inscription here, found on the north wall of the first *prakara*, is one of the fourth year of Rajadhiraja I. It records the gift of a lamp (ARE 76 of 1900). An inscription of the second year of Vīra Rajendradeva records the gift of ninety cows for maintaining three lamps. While on a hunting expedition, a person missed his aim and shot a man. So the local Assembly decided, in the sixth year of Kulottunga I, that the guilty man should make a gift of sixteen cows for a lamp in the temple in expiation of the sin (ARE 77 of 1900). An inscription, of the eleventh year of Kulottunga I, records a gift of land for a lamp. A great flood destroyed both the village and the crops and the villagers were unable to pay the taxes; so they sold two thousand *kulis* of wet land for twentyfive *kasus* to one Adittan Uyyavandan. This amount was given to the *pujari* of the temple. This is recorded in an inscription of the sixth year of Vikrama Chola (ARE 87 of 1900). Incidentally the name of the measuring rod used in the land survey (perhaps of the sixteenth year of Kulottunga I) is mentioned (for similar references, *vide* ARE 125 of 1890 at Sirkali and ARE 84 of 1897 at Tirunagesvaram). An inscription of the eighth year of Vikrama Chola (ARE 85 of 1900) records the sale of 4,250 *kulis* of dry land by the same villagers for twenty *kasus*. The purchaser made it tax-free and gave it away to those who had to look after the *prakaras* of the Tiruvottur temple.

A record of the eighth year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajadhiraja II concerns a gift of 92 cows for a lamp (ARE 81 of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

1900). There are two inscriptions of the days of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Tribhuvana Vira deva, i.e., Kulottunga III, of the 33rd and 39th years. The first records a gift of land by Sengeni Ammaiyappan Alagiyasolan *alias* Edirilisola Sambuvarayan (ARE 94 of 1900). The other, of the 39th year, records a gift of two gold ornaments.

The Chief who figures as the donor in the 33rd year inscription of Tribhuvana Vira deva makes a gift of the village in the sixteenth year of Rajaraja III (ARE 89 of 1900). In the latter's twentieth year, a gift of land for a lamp is recorded (ARE 90 of 1900) and another for a flower-garden (ARE 91 of 1900). In his twentyfirst year, there is a gift of a lamp (ARE 84 of 1900).

A record of the second year of Rajendra III relates to a gift of ninety sheep for a lamp.

CHIDAMBARESVARAR SHRINE

In this temple, there is another shrine called that of Chidambaresvarar. There are five inscriptions on its walls. Two of them belong to the fourteenth year of an unspecified Parakesari-varman who may be Parantaka I (ARE 102 and 104 of 1900). Another is one of the 27th year of Kannaradeva, i.e., the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (ARE 101 of 1900). There is also an inscription of the 21st year of Rajaraja I (ARE 103 of 1900).

There is, however, a foundation inscription (ARE 103 of 1900) without the mention of the name or the regnal year of the ruler. It simply records that the Sankaranarana Isvaragriham was built by Aditta Kuttiyar for the merit of his elder brother Sankaranaranar. A provision for a flower-garden was made by the *sabha* of Tiruvottur. This shrine has Early Chola inscriptions—earlier than those of the main shrine of Vedapurisvarar. What is now called the Chidambaresvarar shrine is the Sankaranarana Isvaragriham of the inscription. It should be an Early Chola foundation of the age of Parantaka I or Aditya I, assuming that the inscriptions are original.*

*I regret that I could not study the paleography of the inscriptions on the spot to ascertain if they are originals or copies.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

NANDALUR

CHOKKANATHA PERUMAL (SOUMYANATHASVAMIN) TEMPLE 9

Nandalur(u) is in the Pullampet taluk of the Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh. It is about 2 km. from the Renigunta-Cuddapah section of the Southern Railway, and about 82 km. from Renigunta Station. It is located on the northern bank of the Cheyyaru (also called Bahuda nadi) which is a tributary of the Pennar. It is also on the Pullampet-Cuddapah road, about 20 km. north-west of Pullampet. The ancient town of Tangattur, also on the Cheyyaru, is about 12 km. north-east of Nandalur. It is about 100 km. west of Nellore, one of the later headquarters of the Telugu Chodas.

This region passed under Chola rule during the Middle Chola period, in the reign of Rajaraja I; and his son Rajendra I should have been largely responsible for the conquest of this region during the course of his expeditions to contain the Western Chalukyan expansion and to bring the Eastern Chalukyas under Chola supremacy.

It is stated that one Jata Choda Bhima defeated the kings of Anga, Kalinga, Vaidumba and Dravida, and in the heyday of his glory exercised authority over the entire coastal region from Mahendragiri to Kanchi. He invaded Tondaimandalam in A.D. 1001. Rajaraja I, who had given his daughter in marriage to Vimaladitya of Vengi, finally defeated Jata Choda Bhima in A.D. 1002–3 and established Saktivarman I, Vimaladitya's elder brother, on the Vengi throne. It is likely that some friendly subordinate Telugu Choda Chiefs were set up in the Cuddapah region. Later on, Rajendra I made war with the Western Chalukya Satyasraya and this region should have remained under Chola rule. The existence of Rajendra I's inscriptions in this area (ARE 145, 188, 226 and 486 of 1907) confirms Chola control over this region. Further, in Later Chola inscriptions, this division is designated as Adhirajendra mandalam. Some of these inscriptions are in *Grantha* and *Tamil* scripts. All these facts go to establish Chola overlordship in this region.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

By the time of the Later Cholas, we find the area falling within the present-day districts of Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah (all in the Andhra Pradesh State) and portions of North Arcot and Chingleput districts (of Tamil Nadu) being ruled by a family of feudatories of the Cholas known as the Telugu Chodas. To begin with, the region around Nandalur was the home of a branch of local Telugu Chodas called the Pottappi Cholas. They claimed descent from Karikala Chola and were generally loyal to the Cholas even as late as the end of Kulottunga III's reign. The founder of the line was one Madhurantaka Pottappi Chola Siddharasa, a contemporary of Kulottunga I. Participation in some operations against Madurai, aiding the Cholas, evidently gave this Chief the title of Madhurantaka; and Pottappi was the capital that this Telugu Choda feudatory Chief founded, at a place not far from Nandalur, in the crook of the Cheyyaru before it joins the Pennar. Pottappi has been identified with the modern village of Potapi near Tangattur, also in the Pullampet taluk of Cuddapah district. These local Chiefs became closely connected with the Later Cholas as were the Muttaraiyars of Niyamam, the Paluvettaraiyars of Paluvur and the Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur and the many Nadu-nadu Chiefs during the Early and the Middle Chola periods.

In the closing years of Kulottunga I, another Pottappi Chief called Pottappi Kama Choda Maharaja is heard of (Tripurantakam, ARE 262, 263 of 1905). By the time of Vikrama Chola's accession to the Chola throne, we hear of Mahamandalesvara Bettarasa ruling in Pottappi nadu (A.D. 1121; ARE 583 of 1907). He was succeeded by Erasiddhi, who had three sons, Nalla Siddha *alias* Manma Siddha, Beta and Tammusiddha. The first and the third would appear to have crowned themselves at Nellore in or around *Saka* 1127 (= A.D. 1205). Even from an earlier date, A.D. 1187, Nallasiddharasa is seen ruling from Nellore, but acknowledging the overlordship of Kulottunga III. We hear of his queen Nungama in the context of the generous gifts she makes to the temples at Tiruppalaivanam, Nandalur and Kalahasti. Even as late as A.D. 1213, Nallasiddha acknowledges the overlordship of Kulottunga III. These Chiefs were to play a more independent

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

role in later years.

Nandalur, a *brahmapuri*, is called in inscriptions by various names such as Nirantanur, Nelandaluru and Nirantarapura. In Chola records, it was known as Kulottungasola chaturvedimangalam, the *agra-brahmadeya* of Nirandanur in Merpakkai nadu in Adhirajendra mandalam. Nandalur is called Nelandaluru *alias* Nirantarapura is an inscription of the 17th century (ARE 589 of 1907, *Saka* 1541 = A.D. 1619). Later Chola inscriptions mention that it was located in Merpakkai nadu, part of Adhirajendra mandalam. Pakkai nadu embraced the region of the modern Chittoor (Madanapalli) and Nellore districts.

The ancient temple of this place is now known as Chokkanatha Perumal temple and is on the left bank of the Bahuda river, on a plot of about twenty acres. The deity is referred to as Soumyanatha (Sanskrit form) in the old records of the temple. The earliest of the Chola inscriptions on the walls of the Soumyanatha temple, inscribed on the second, third and fourth tiers of the south base of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, is one in *Grantha* and *Tamil* belonging to the 8th regnal year of Vira-Rajakesarivarman *alias* Chakravartin Sri Kulottungasola deva. The present temple of Soumyanathasvamin is called in the inscription that of Sri Kulottunga-sola-vinnagara alvar in Kulottungasola chaturvedimangalam, the *agra-brahmadeya* of Nirandanur in Merpakkai nadu, a subdivision of Adhirajendra mandalam. It adds that Madhurantaka Pottappi Chola Siddharasa got the boundaries of the temple engraved on stone.

The prefix 'Vira' is peculiar and is a feature in vogue in this area. The astronomical details given in the inscription are irregular and correspond to none of the three Kulottungas. Still, I am disposed to assign it to Kulottunga I (ARE 572 of 1907; V. Rangachari, *Topographical List* I—No. 786, p. 643). There is another inscription on the eastern inner *gopuram*, dated in the 27th regnal year of Kulottunga I, wherein also the village is called Nirandalur *alias* Sri Kulottungasola chaturvedimangalam, situated in Merpakkai nadu, in Adhirajendra mandalam (ARE 600 of 1907). Thus it is clear that the temple, together with the inner eastern *gopuram*, was a foundation of the age of Kulottunga I.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

There are two inscriptions of the days of Vikrama Chola, which record gifts for the success of the king's arms (ARE 583 and 579 of 1907). Perhaps this indicates trouble from the Western Chalukyas or from the Kalinga kings, in confronting which the local Chola feudatories should have played a prominent part. An inscription of an unspecified Rajadhiraja (ARE 571 of 1907), which is incomplete, records a gift of land; this has to be assigned to Rajadhiraja II. There are six inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga III, of which one dated in the 26th year (ARE 576 of 1907) refers to the order of exemption from certain taxes in respect of Kulottungasola chaturvedimangalam by Nallan Siddharajan, son of Madhurantaka Pottappich-chola *alias* Irama Irama Siddharasan (ARE 576 of 1907). The next, which belongs to his 31st year, provides for a gift of land for two lamps to the deity of this temple called Kulottungasola vinnagara emperuman (ARE 581 of 1907). Another inscription of the same year records a gift of a lamp by Madhurantaka Pottappi-chola Tirukkalatti-deva for the merit of his father. There is an inscription of the 36th regnal year of Kulottunga III (ARE 602 of 1907). Herein provision is made for offerings to Vedanayaka Perumal. Another Chola inscription is one dated in the 23rd regnal year of an unspecified Rajarajadeva, recording a gift by a native of Malai nadu (ARE 596 of 1907). This seems assignable to Rajaraja III who came to the throne in A.D. 1216. The last Chola inscription seems to be that of the 13th regnal year of Vira Rajendradeva, who may be Rajendra III, the last of the Chola kings (A.D. 1246–79). It refers to the restoration of the ownership rights in respect of lands in a village to the *brahmanas* who had been dislodged by certain *vellalas*. This was done by the Telugu Choda Chief Manmasiddhi (the son of Tikka I) and the patron of the poet Tikkana Somayaji "to secure the religious merit for his father called here Tirukkalatti deva Maharaja".

As mentioned earlier, the genealogy and chronology of the Telugu-Chodas is not yet well established. One synchronism may be mentioned. One Mamma Siddha, the patron of the Telugu poet Tikkana Somayaji who translated the *Mahabharata* into Telugu, is said to have been ousted from his throne; and at the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

intervention of the poet with the Kakatiya king Ganapati, Mamma Siddha was restored to the throne. He was also the contemporary of the Chola king Rajaraja III and the Hoysala Vira Somesvara (mid-thirteenth century A.D.; *vide* also Kanchi Arulala Perumal temple inscription ARE 37 of 1893 and ARE (Report) for 1900, pp. 19–20).

The temple has a *tritala vimana;* upto the *kapota* of the second *tala*, it is made of stone; the rest (the superstructure) is of brick with stucco decorations. It has a square *griva* and *sikhara.*

The *upapitham* is high and is of the *mancha* type. Its mouldings consist of the *upana*, *padma*, *kantha* with *kampas*, *urdhva-padma* and *pattika*. Above the mouldings of the *upapitham* is the *adhishthanam* which has the following mouldings: *upana*, *jagati*, *tripatta kumuda*, *kanthi* with *kampas*, *pattika* and *prati* (the last three mouldings forming *vedi*). The *pranala* (or gargoyle) is in the form of a curved water-chute emanating from a *makara*'s mouth, resting on the *vritta kumuda.*

The outer walls of the *garbhagriha* are divided into five bays corresponding to the *kuta*, *sala* and *panchara* of the *hara* above the *prastara* of the first or *adi tala*. The pilasters have bevelled cross-corbels with tenon-like projections in the centre. Those at the corners are rectangular in section; the northern *devakoshta* houses a sculpture of Vaikunthanatha. In the *haras* of the upper *tala* we have sculptures of a four-armed Varaha in the south, and a seated Vishnu in the north and west sides. The *griva* has Narasimha on the west and Vaikunthanatha on the north.

A standing four-armed figure of Vishnu is installed in the sanctum *(mulasthana)*. It has *sankha* and *chakra* in its upper hands, and the lower are in *varada* and *abhaya* poses.

There is a late 13th century inscription of the Pandya king Sundara Pandya which mentions that provision was made for the ceremonial bathing of the God and the Goddess in this temple (ARE 586 of 1907). But there is now neither an idol of the Goddess nor a separate Nachchiyar shrine.*

*A local correspondent of "*The Hindu*" (of Madras) reported on this temple on 13–12–1971 as follows:

"The ancient temple of Chokkanatha Perumal (otherwise called Soumyanathasvami)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

EDAYAR(RUP)PAKKAM

10 MAHADEVAR (SIVA) TEMPLE

This village, in the Chingleput district, was known in ancient times as Purisai or Idaiyarrup-pakkam. The Saivite temple of Tiruppadak-kadudaiya Mahadevar here perhaps came into existence as a stone structure in the reign of Kulottunga I, its builder being a certain Chandrasekharan Ravi *alias* Cholendra Simha Achari. According to an inscription of the 12th year of Kulottunga I, found on the north side of the base of this temple, a piece of land was purchased for the maintenance of a lamp in this temple from the money which a *brahmana* lady had left in the hands of the shepherds of Edayarpakkam (ARE 254 of 1910). The reason was that these shepherds apparently could not buy enough sheep for the purpose out of that amount and refused to supply ghee. In this inscription, the temple is said to be in Idiayarruppakkam *alias* Rajavidyadhara chaturvedimangalam. There are two other inscriptions of the same ruler, both dated in his 38th year (ARE 252 and 251 of 1910) and found on the same (north) side of the base of the temple, which relate respectively to (a) a gift of 95 sheep for a lamp to the temple of Tiruppadak-

---

at Nandalur (Cuddapah district) built by Kulottunga I in the 11th century A.D. on a plot of 20 acres is in a dilapidated condition. It is on the left bank of the Bahuda river. Its existence and antiquity are hardly known to the outside world. There are as many as fifty-four inscriptions (most of them in old Tamil script) in the temple to tell its tale.

"When I recently visited this shrine and saw the huge structure and the spacious compound, sadness overtook me. It is in ruins. It has three *gopurams* of which one on the left side is completely gone, and the other two are also damaged by weather. The compound wall built of stone is damaged in many places.

"It is a pity that this ancient shrine is in obscurity and in utter neglect. There are Hindu temple protection committees in Tamil Nadu to look after ancient temples. But there is no such organisation in Andhra Pradesh. The Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanams Board and the Visva Hindu Parishad will do well to bestow attention on this beautiful temple and take up the renovation in earnest."

I join the correspondent in this appeal but with a warning that renovation should be done by modern scientific methods without violence to its old features and damage to its sculptures and inscriptions.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

kadudaiya Mahadevar at Purisai in Purisai nadu, a subdivision of Manavirkottam in Jayangondasola mandalam, and (b) a gift of two lamps to the temple. There is a 11th year inscription of Rajadhirajadeva (II), on the south side of the base, referring to a gift of cows in exchange for land. The village is called Purisai, a *devadana* village of Tiruppadakkadudaiyar; and Idaiyarruppakkam bears the alternate name of Rajavidyadhara chaturvedimangalam.

From this temple we find a fine example of the high sense of duty that the residents of a village showed towards discharging the responsibility of maintaining their local institutions, during this period (ARE 254 of 1910). The one *veli* of land purchased from the villagers by the *brahmana* lady and presented to the temple for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp was found unsuitable for irrigation on account of the high level at which it was situated. Besides, the land was in a distant corner of the village with the result that no one came forward to cultivate it. The lamp had consequently to be given up and the trustees of the temple would appear to have requested the villagers to take back into their own management the land which they had once sold to the *brahmana* lady and to supply instead the required number of cows, to maintain the lamp. This was done and the land was resumed by the villagers.

NANGUPATTI

MADATTUKKOYIL (TIRUP PERUMAN ANDA NAYANAR KOYIL) 11

What is now called Madattukkoyil at Nangupatti, a village in the Kulattur taluk of the Pudukkottai district, was once called Tirup-peruman-anda Nayanar Koyil. On the wall of the north verandah of the first *prakara* of this temple, there is an inscription (ARE 341 of 1914) of the 13th year of an unspecified Parakesarivarman, who, on account of the mention of the name Virasolan Uttamasolan, may be identified with the Early Chola king Parantaka I (acc. A.D. 907). This is the earliest of the existing inscriptions in this temple. At the entrance into the first *prakara* of the temple, there is a record of the 13th year of Rajakesarivarman

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

alias Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga I (= A.D. 1084). It records a gift of land by a native of Marudavur as a present for the composition of verses in praise of a certain Vedavanamudaiyan (ARE 335 of 1914). An inscription of the 14th year of Kulottunga II records a gift of money for the celebration of the New Moon day festival and another, of his 20th year, registers a gift of 100 sheep for a lamp (ARE 333 and 334 of 1914). There are three inscriptions of the days of Rajadhiraja II. One, of his second year, registers the gift of the village of Nedungiraikkudi by Edirilapperumal *alias* Kulottungasola Kadambarayan (ARE 337 of 1914). Another inscription, of his 12th year, registers a gift of land for offerings to the Periya Nachchiyar—evidently to the *Amman* shrine—by a merchant of Sarappattanam *alias* Vikramasolap-perunderu (ARE 336 of 1914). The third, of his 13th year, relates to the building of the *Nritta mandapa* (ARE 340 of 1914). The last Chola inscription is one of the 35th year of Tribhuvanavira deva (i.e., Kulottunga III). It records a gift of the village of Punnangudi (modern Pinnangudi) to the temple of Tirup-peruman-anda Nayanar for worship and repairs by Udaiya Perumal *alias* Edirilisola Kadambarayan for the merit of the king, during the latter's stay at Madurai (about A.D. 1213; ARE 339 of 1914). Punnangudi was renamed Udaiyaperumal-nallur after the name of the donor, and a local highway was named Tribhuvanaviran-peruvali after the new name of Kulottunga III following his celebration of victory at Madurai.

An inscription records the names of the four *rishis* who are held to have worshipped the Lord of this temple—Jamadagni, Parasara, Agastya and Visvamitra.

A record of the 17th year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D. 1267) registers a gift of land for festivals and repairs in the temple of Tirup-peruman-anda Nayanar for the welfare of the king and the country by the people of Vadakonadu (ARE 342 of 1914). A late Vijayanagara inscription of the time of Vira Ranganna Udaiyar, found on the west face of the Amman temple, records a political mutual defence compact between the residents of Perambur and Kilaikkurichi (ARE 344 of 1914).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUKKADAIYUR

AMRITAGHATESVARAR TEMPLE 12

This village is an important religious centre in the Mayuram taluk of the Tanjavur district. In an earlier volume, while dealing with the *vira-sthanas*, where Siva is held to have demonstrated His powers by the destruction of evil forces, we mentioned that Tirukkadaiyur *alias* Tirukkadavur was the centre where Siva reputedly subdued Yama, the God of Death (pp. 85, 86 of my *Early Chola Temples*).

On the walls and base of the central shrine of the Amritaghatesvarar temple here, there are a number of inscriptions belonging to the period of the Middle and the Later Cholas. Those of the days of the Middle Chola rulers Rajaraja I and Rajendra I are found on the north, east and south sides of the base, while the earliest to be found on the *walls* of the shrine are of the days of Kulottunga I.

On the east side of the base of the shrine is the earliest of all inscriptions here—one relating to the fourteenth year of the king Rajarajakesarivarman, recording a grant of land; the temple is called that of 'Sri' Kalakaladevar at Padai eviya Tirukkadavur in Ambar nadu' (ARE 122 of 1906). We learn from another inscription of the fifteenth year of the same king that the *sabha* of Kadavur gave some land as *kani* to a person for performing certain services in the temple. There is also a reference to a shrine called that of Tiruvirattanattu perumanadigal (ARE 23 of 1906). There are two inscriptions of the days of Rajendra I, one of which is incomplete, and the other, of the 15th year, records an agreement of the *sabha* of 'Padai eviya Tirukkadavur in Ambar nadu in Uyyakkondan valanadu' (ARE 20 of 1906). These are all (as stated above) found on the base of the shrine. There is only one record of the days of Kulottunga I found on the *base* of this shrine, registering an agreement of the Assembly of Ulpadam eviya Tirukkadavur (ARE 43 of 1906) in Ambar nadu, a district of Rajanarayana valanadu. We note that, by the time of Kulottunga I, Uyyakkondan valanadu had been renamed Rajanarayana valanadu, perhaps after a surname of his (also cf. ARE 25 of 1906).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Of the inscriptions of his days found on the walls of the shrine, two are dated in the forty-fourth and forty-eighth years, and the years of two others have been lost (ARE 16 to 19 of 1906). There is a second year inscription of the days of Vikrama Chola on the walls of the shrine (ARE 32 of 1906).

The earliest record found on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the shrine is one on the south wall and relating to the sixth year of *Vikrama Chola* (ARE 30 of 1906).

On the south wall of the first *prakara* of the temple, there is a record of the fourth year of the king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva (ARE 39 of 1906). It records a gift of land in the locality by one Sekkilan Ammaiyappan Parantakadevan *alias* Karikalasola Pallavaraiyan of Kunrattur in Kunrattur nadu, a subdivision of Puliyur kottam *alias* Kulottungasola valanadu. In view of the reference in this inscription to the poet Sekkilar who was a contemporary of Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II, the Kulottunga referred to in the inscription must be Kulottunga II *alias* Anapaya. We have a record of the 18th year of a Rajarajadeva on the same south wall, registering the lamps granted to the temple and the lands reclaimed at Mannar-kunru in Erukkattuch-cheri for their maintenance; one of the donors is Vedavanamudaiyan Ammaiyappan of Palaiyanur in Melmalai-Palaiyanur nadu. Hence the king referred to must be Rajaraja II, Vedavanamudaiyan being one of the Generals who fought successfully on behalf of the Chola emperor in the Pandyan war of succession (ARE 32 of 1906). We have two inscriptions relating to the period of Rajadhiraja II found on the same wall (ARE 35 & 36 of 1906). There are a number of inscriptions relating to the period of Kulottunga III, starting with one of his second year, in which the deity is still called 'Udaiyar Sri Kalakaladevar at Tirukkadavur in Ambar nadu, a subdivision of Akkur nadu, a district of Jayangondasola valanadu' (ARE 34 of 1906). A record of his sixteenth year mentions a gift of land to the image of Rajaraja Isvara by the *sabha* of Ulpadameviya Tirukkadavur and another, also of the same year, records a gift of land to the same image, which, it adds, was set up by Araiyan Rajarajadevar *alias* Vanadharayar (ARE 43 & 42 of 1906). From a record of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

seventeenth year, we gather that 'Svamidevar' countermanded an order of the king appointing two Saiva *acharyas*, and put in two others who possessed hereditary rights to the offices. The inscription mentions the shrines of Kalakaladeva, Kuttadum devar, Kulottunga Cholisvaramudaiyar, and Vikramacholisvaramudaiyar in the temple of Tiruvirattanamudaiyar (ARE 40 of 1906).

On the basis of the epigraphical records, we may arrive at these conclusions: that the central shrine was in existence even in the days of Rajaraja I (with possibly the stone-base as of now and the superstructure including the walls of the *garbhagriha* in brick). Sometime in the early years of Kulottunga I, the brick walls were replaced by stone walls; the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine came into being during the reign of Kulottunga I or was perhaps started during the latter part of his reign and completed during the first year or two of Vikrama Chola's. The presence of an inscription dated in the fourth year of Kulottunga II on the walls of the *prakara* would go to show that that wall had come into existence in the last days of Vikrama Chola or the first few years of the reign of Kulottunga II. Thus, the entire complex of the temple excluding the basement of the central shrine can be said to have come into existence during the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola.

From a Tamil verse found on the third *gopuram* of the temple, we gather that a certain *brahmana* named Apatsahaya of Tirukkadavur repaired the temple. It is mentioned that he was also a military officer, who took part in a war against Raichur. The record belongs to the Vijayanagara period (ARE 47 of 1906).

MADHURANTAKAM (KADAPPERI)

SVETARANYESVARAR (TIRUVENKADU UDAIYA MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE 13

The town of Madhurantakam is in the Chingleput district, not far from the district headquarters. The Svetaranyesvarar temple is situated close to, and to the west of, the Madhurantakam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

railway station on the Madras-Villupuram section of the Southern Railway. Its foundation goes back to the days of Parantaka I (see my *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 100–1).

On the north, west and south walls of the central shrine in this temple, there is an inscription of the 15th year of Kulottunga I, from which we learn that the temple was built during the early years of this ruler by a Sengeni Chief who bore the name of Sengeni Sattan Solan *alias* Senapati (General) Vanaraiyar. The relevant portions of the inscription read as follows:

"*Svasti Sri: pugal sulnda punari agal sulnda puviyal . . . Bhuvanamulududaiyalodum virrirundaruliya kovirajakesaripanmarana Udaiyar Sri Kulottungasola devarkku yandu 16 avadu naal 165, Jayangonda solamandalattu Kalattur kottattu taniyur, Sri Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalattu perungurisabhaiyom innaalaal . . . Sembiyan Mahadevi perumandapattu . . . . (cha)turvedimangalattup palli Sengeni Sattan Solanana Senapatigal Vaanaraiyar nammur eduppitta tirukkarrali tiruvenkadudaiya Mahadevarkku havisale archchanaikkum archchana homattukkum ullittuch cheyyavendum nivandangalukku naangal kudutta uravadu engalur tenpidagai viracholappereri kil . . . . . .*" (ARE 138 of 1896; SII, V, 1003).

Thus we may conclude that this temple was built by the General, Vanaraiyar, before the 16th regnal year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1086); he is given the alternate name of Sattan Virasolan *alias* Vanaraiyar, further down in the same inscription. This inscription gives us the names of the members of the *Perunguri sabhai* of the *taniyur*, who approved the arrangements for granting to the temple the revenue receipts from the lands of the village which were in lieu of two thousand *kasus* received from the same donor; from this inscription, we also gather the names of a number of wards of Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam; they are: Madhurantakach-cheri; Sri Irumudichcholach-cheri; Singalantakach-cheri; Virasolach-cheri; Sri Kodandaramach-cheri; Sri Purakesarich-cheri; Sri Rajase . . . cheri; Sri Surasulamanich-cheri; and Tribhuvana-mahadevich-cheri. There might have been others.

On the east wall of the central shrine, there is another inscription of the days of Kulottunga I, dated in his 29th year,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

beginning with the introduction "*pugal madu vilanga jayamadu virumba*"; it relates to a gift of ninety sheep for the purpose of burning a perpetual lamp before the deity of the temple (ARE 135 of 1896). A similar gift of ninety sheep was given, according to another inscription beginning with the same introduction; this is dated in the 35th year and says that one Periyal, daughter of Puliyurnattu Velar, set up a perpetual lamp in the temple and gifted the sheep for the maintenance of the lamp (ARE 137 of 1896).

On the outer side of the east wall of the second *prakara* of the temple, there is an inscription dated in the ninth year of Rajaraja II; it begins with the introduction '*puyamaruviya tirumadum puvimadum jayamadum naamaruviya kalai madum*': This inscription deals with the celebration of the *utsavam* (festival) when the processional deity called Madurai-Nayaka-devar was taken out in procession on Saturdays *(sani-bhavani)*, by one Udayapalan *alias* Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan, belonging to Kiranur, in Tiruvalundur nadu, in Rajanarayana valanadu, in Chola mandalam (ARE 132 of 1896).

There is an inscription whose date is lost belonging to the reign of Rajadhiraja II, whose introduction begins with '*Kadal sulnda paarmadarum pumadarum*'; this is found on the same wall as the preceding and mentions the grant of 300 old *kasus (palan-kasu)* to arrange for the supply of *tirumerpuchchu* for the deity of Tiruvenkadu Udaiyar. The place is described as the *taniyur* of Sri Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam in Kalattur kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam; we get to know the names of different types of temple servants or agencies: (i) Sri Mahesvara *kankaniyar;* (ii) *Devakanmis;* (iii) *Srikaryam seyvar;* and (iv) *Koyil-kanakkan* (ARE 129 of 1896).

Besides these, there is a fragmentary inscription of the days of Kulottunga III; a few inscriptions belonging to the Pandya and Vijayanagara rulers are also found here.

Thus, this temple is an old one of Parantaka I's age reconstructed in the days of Kulottunga I. The second *prakara* was perhaps added during the days of Kulottunga II *alias* Anapaya.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

AMBAR–MAKALAM

14 MAKALANATHAR TEMPLE

Close to both the Peralam and Peruntottam stations on the Southern Railway, in Tanjavur district, there are two celebrated Siva temples—those at Ambar and Ambar-makalam. Ambar is 3 km. southeast of Peruntottam, and Ambar-makalam is only one km. east of Ambar.

We shall be concerned here only with Ambar-makalam, but it may be mentioned in passing that the Brahmapurisvarar temple at Ambar is a *madakkoyil* (for a discussion of such temples, see my *Early Chola Art, Part I*, p. 22). The temple is constructed on an artificial mound, the mythological reason being to make it inaccessible to elephants: similar temples or shrines are to be found at Nallur, Kilvelur and Sirkali. Koch-chenganan (the 'red-eyed king'), of the Chola dynasty of the Late Sangam age, is believed to have originally built this temple, along with a number of other *madakkoyils*. Appar calls it *Perunkoyil ('Ambar nagar perunkoyil')*, and Sambandar has sung in praise of the Lord here.

In inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga I, the presiding deity is called Mangalesvarar and Ambar Tirumangalam Udaiyar, and the place is called (Ambar) Tirumangalam. The present-day name of the deity is Makalanathar, and the Amman is called Bhaya-kshaya-nayaki (meaning 'the Goddess who dissipates fear'). Kali is believed to have done penance here to absolve herself of the sin of having killed two *rakshasas* called Amban and Ambasuran. There is a shrine for Kali on the southern side of the outer *prakara*.

According to an inscription of the 10th year of Vikrama Chola (on the south wall of the first *prakara*), the (separate) shrine for the goddess (called Uma Paramesvari) came into existence in the 15th year of 'Rajendra Chola deva' and a gift of land was made to it by the Assembly of Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam. In continuation of this inscription is another, also recording a gift of land for the same shrine and calling the place Ambar-nagara (ARE 100 and 101 of 1910). As we have seen, Rajendra (II) was the name which

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kulottunga I went by when he was a Vengi prince and which he kept on for some years after ascending the Chola throne. Coupling this with the fact that separate Amman shrines elsewhere date only from his reign onwards, the 'Rajendra Chola' under reference must be identified with Kulottunga I. Vikrama Chola made his own contribution to the expansion of the temple by building the first *prakara* wall *(tiru-maligai)* of the main temple, according to an inscription on the south wall of that *prakara* (ARE 99 of 1910). A number of inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga I, all of his 42nd year, are found on the walls of the central shrine of 'Mangalesvara'. One of them records an order of the king, issued from his throne called *Vanadhirajan*, located in the 'Rajendrasolan hall', at his palace in Mudikondasolapuram (Palayarai), and gives the location of Ambar as being in Ambar nadu, a sub-division of Uyyakkondan valanadu; the deity is called Ambar Tirumangalam Udaiyar (ARE 93 of 1910). Three other records relate to the bestowal of *devadana* villages of the temple on individuals, all done at the request of a Chief called Nulambarajan: (i) of Puravu-vari-vilagam to one Tiruchchirrambala Nandarajan of Mattur; (ii) of Vandalur to one Udaya Marttandan of Ambar; (iii) of Eyinikudi to one Serkalan Velan Tiruvayk-kulam-udaiyan (ARE 94, 95 and 96 of 1910). There are three more records of the same reign, which relate to gifts of money or land for lamps: money by Vira Vichchadira Pallavaraiyan, a native of Anniyur in Kurukkai nadu, a subdivision of Virudarajabhayankara valanadu (44th year: ARE 103 of 1910); money for a lamp by a native of Kundavai chaturvedimangalam in Mulaiyur nadu, a subdivision of Geyamanikka valanadu (43rd year: ARE 106 of 1910); and another gift, the details of which are lost (44th year: ARE 105 of 1910). In a 50th year record of this ruler, we find the name of the *valanadu* in which Ambar was situated changed to Bhupalakulavalli (ARE 107 of 1910).

In the 12th year of Kulottunga I, a certain gift is made of land for offerings to the images of Atkonda Nayakar and Consort, both of which had been presented to the temple at Tirumangalam (i.e., this temple) by the ancestors of one Amudan Tiruchchirrambala-mudaiyan *alias* Udayamarttanda Muvendavelan, a native of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Siruvelur in Panaiyur nadu which was a subdivision of Kshatriya-sikhamani valanadu (ARE 102 of 1910). We get to know the name of the father of this Chief, from a 15th year Parakesarivarman inscription found on a stone lying in the courtyard of the temple, as Mannamudan of Siruvelur; the son makes a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp; this record relates to the reign of Vikrama Chola. In a third year record relating to this ruler, a gift of land to the shrine of the goddess is made by certain residents of Siruvelur in Panaiyur nadu, a subdivision of Kulottungasola valanadu. Another record dated in the tenth year of the same ruler refers to a gift of paddy for offerings, also to the image of Atkonda Nayakar. Thus Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu becomes Kulottungasola valanadu in the days of Vikrama Chola (ARE 104 of 1910).

In view of the antiquity of this Saivite centre, it is likely that the Makalanathar temple existed in some form till the early years of Kulottunga I, and, in his 15th regnal year, a shrine for the Amman was built. As the only inscriptions found on the walls of the main shrine of Makalanathar are all either of the 42nd year of Kulottunga I or of Vikrama Chola, we may reasonably conclude that, by his 42nd year, Kulottunga I had got the main shrine also rebuilt of stone; this inference gets support from the presence of slabs in the courtyard of the temple, containing Rajakesari and Parakesari inscriptions including one of 'the Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya' *(pandiyanin-talai-konda)*. Thus both the main and the Amman shrines were foundations of the days of Kulottunga I, while the *prakara* with the *madil* was a contribution of the days of his son, Vikrama Chola.

SIDDHALINGAMADAM

15 VYAGHRAPURISVARAR (TIRUPPULI-BHAGAVAR) TEMPLE

During the early years of his reign, Kulottunga I still went under the name of Rajendra Chola (II), carrying over his Vengi titles; it is during these years that the temple at Siddhalingamadam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Sirringur of the inscriptions) appears to have been rebuilt of stone.

This place is located in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district, and lies about 8 km. to the southeast of Tirukkoyilur, the taluk headquarters.

The Vyaghrapurisvarar temple in this village seems to have been in existence at least from the days of Parantaka I. There are, on the walls of this temple, three inscriptions of Parantaka I and three inscriptions of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. These inscriptions, however, seem to be copies of earlier inscriptions recording endowments made prior to the reconstruction of this temple. On the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, there are two inscriptions, both of them being undated and both in Grantha script and Sanskrit language, which refer to the reconstruction of the temple. The first one records that the Minister of King Rajendra Chola named Sabhanarttaka, and surnamed Kalingaraja and Manavatara, the ruler of Manavil, built a stone temple for Siva at Siddhalinga. The composer of the Sanskrit verse was a certain Andapillai Bhattan (ARE 367 of 1909). The other refers to the king, during whose reign the inscription was engraved, as Jayadhara, and records that the ruler of Manavil, who bore the surnames of Manavatara and Narttaka (which is merely a contraction of Sabhanarttaka), built a *vimana*, a *prakara* surrounded by areca palms and a *mandapa*, at the *agrahara* called Siddhalinga, for the god Siva, 'whose feet were worshipped by Sage Vyaghrapada' (ARE 369 of 1909). We know that Jayadhara was one of the many surnames of Kulottunga I. In all the inscriptions, the deity is called Tiruppulippagavar, the Tamil equivalent of Vyaghrapadesvarar. At the time of renovation, the lithic records which were engraved on the walls of the original temple appear to have been copied into books and after renovation re-engraved on the walls of the new structure, as in the case of the Tiruvallam temple in the North Arcot district, though it is not distinctly stated, as in the case of the latter, that this was so done under authority. (Another instance of inscriptions being ordered to be preserved, by copying them first into books *(pottagangal)* and then re-engraving them after repairs or renovation, is furnished

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

by two records of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I at Tirumalavadi (ARE 92 and 91 of 1895), already referred to in my *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 267–9). Consequently, on the walls of this temple, we find copies of inscriptions of: the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III ("Kannara deva who took Kachchi and Tanjai") (ARE 370, 375 and 385 of 1909); an unidentified Parakesarivarman (ARE 374, 377, 384, 420, 421 and 422 of 1909); Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman (ARE 376, 387 and 390 of 1909); an unidentified Rajakesarivarman (ARE 379 of 1909); and Rajakesarivarman Rajarajadeva I (ARE 392 of 1909).

The above (last mentioned) record of Rajaraja I is of his 28th year, and refers to a gift of gold for lamps and offerings to the image of (his favourite deity) *Adavallar* and of land situated near the tank called *Rajarajap-pereri* for offerings in the main shrine.

Coming to the inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga I, we have already noted the two undated ones referring to the reconstruction of the temple by a Manavil Chieftain. A tenth year record of his days refers to a gift of 64 cows for two lamps on behalf of one Sedirayan Malaiyan *alias* Rajendrasola Malaiyaman of Kiliyur on the southern bank of the Pennai, in Tirumunaippadi, a subdivision of Damar nadu, in Rajendrasola valanadu (ARE 419 of 1909). A 16th year inscription mentions a gift of land to the temple of Tiruppulippagavar of Sirringur, a *brahmadeya* in Kurukkai kurram, a subdivision of Maladu *alias* Jananatha valanadu (ARE 368 of 1909). In his 36th year, a gift is made for offerings to the minor deities in this temple by the wife of one Malaiyaman Nanurruvan Malaiyan *alias* Rajendrasola Chedirayan of Kiliyur in Tirumunaippadi (ARE 388 of 1909). The verandah round the central shrine is stated to have been the gift of one Villavar *alias* Megudat-tyagi (ARE 399 of 1909). Another gift of 32 cows (valued at 10 *kasus*) was made in his 49th regnal year for a lamp by a *brahmana* lady who had prayed for a son and was blessed with one (ARE 371 of 1909).

There are a number of inscriptions relating to the period of Vikrama Chola. In the third year, a gift of money is made for a lamp by Sadri, the daughter of Tillai-nayakan Devargandan Agamudaiyan Malaiyan *alias* Rajendrasola Chedirayan of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Peringur in Peringur nadu, a subdivision of Tirumunaippadi in Gangaikondasola valanadu. The lady also presented a lamp-stand and three bell-metal vessels (ARE 378 of 1909). In the fourth year, a gift of land is made for offerings by Adavallan Vasudevan *alias* Mudikondasola Muvendavelan of Munnur *alias* Panditagoshti-chaturvedimangalam in Oyma nadu (ARE 383 of 1909). In the sixth year, a gift of land for offerings after purchase is made by the wife of a Malaiyaman Chief (ARE 409 of 1909). In the ninth year, a gift of land is made to the shrine of the Goddess built by Alavandal, the daughter of Malaiyaman Nanurruvan Malaiyan *alias* Rajendrasola Chedirayan of Kiliyur, and wife of Malaiyaman Raman Surriyan *alias* Rajendrasola Malaiyakularayan of the same place, for the merit of her mother, Nirait-tavanjeydal (ARE 401 of 1909). In the 13th year, a gift of gold is made by a native of Anattur-Siruvannainallur in Kilamur nadu, a subdivision of Tirumunaippadi, to the temple of Tiruppuli (-pagavar) at Sirringur (ARE 372 of 1909). In the 15th year, the same lady (Alavandal) who built the shrine gifted lands to the deity (ARE 409 of 1909). It mentions that the shrine was caused to be built by the mother, Nirait-tavanjeydal.

There are a few inscriptions relating to the days of Parakesari-varman Rajaraja (II). A record belonging to his seventh year mentions a gift of land made for the maintenance of flower-gardens. Another record belonging to his 19th regnal year deals with a gift of land made by Malaiyaman Attinathan Sokkapperumal *alias* Rajagambhira Chediyarayan of Kiliyur for offerings to the deity (ARE 409 and 411 of 1909).

There is an eighth year record of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja deva, who could be Rajaraja II or Rajaraja III, referring to a gift of money made by a *brahmana* woman for offerings to the shrine of Kshetrapala Pillaiyar, built by her in the temple (ARE 407 of 1909).

There are a number of post-Chola inscriptions also. From a 14th year inscription of Maravarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira Pandya deva, we gather that a merchant of Sirringur set up a shrine of Alagiya Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyar in the northern *prakara* and made a gift of land for offerings to this deity (ARE 393

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of 1909).

From another record, dated in the sixth year of Vikrama Pandya devar, we get to know that a gift of land was made for offerings to the shrine of Adavallar in the temple of Tiruppulippagava Nayanar, by the merchant community *(Nagarattar)* of Tirukkovalur (near Marudur) *alias* Maduraikkuvaytta-perumal-puram (ARE 380 of 1909).

From this survey of the inscriptions found in the temple, the following essential points emerge:

The temple of Vyaghrapadesvarar had been in existence even as early as the days of Parantaka I and had received attention from subjects of Parantaka I, Krishna III and Rajaraja I. An image of Adavallar (Nataraja) was set up during the days of Rajaraja I. By the 16th year of Kulottunga I, the central shrine, which was evidently then a brick structure, was replaced by a stone structure, and along with it a *prakara* and a *mandapa* came into being. The *tiruchchurrumaligai* was the contribution of an archer in the Chola army. In the ninth year of Vikrama Chola, we learn that the shrine of the Goddess had been built by the daughter of a Malaiyaman Chief named Rajendrasola Chediyarayan of Kiliyur. By the eighth year of Rajaraja II, a shrine for Kshetrapala had been set up in the temple. In the Pandyan period, a shrine for Alagiya Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyar was set up in the northern *prakara*.

LADDIGAM

16 NILAKANTHESVARAR (IRUNGOLISVARAM) TEMPLE

Laddigam which is in the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh lies about 5 km. to the northwest of Punganur, between Madanapalli and Chittoor, and is about 150 km. northwest of Vellore. It was formerly called Kunganur *alias* Valavanarayana chaturvedimangalam, situated in Perumbanappadi, as gathered from local inscriptions; after a spell of direct rule by the Cholas, this region passed into the hands of the Chola-Gangas of the Irungola dynasty

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

about the tenth century A.D.

Ancient Kongu nadu comprised a portion of the present-day Salem district and the whole of the Coimbatore district of Tamilnadu. There were two distinct divisions of Kongu nadu, the northern and the southern. Northern Kongu was probably the region north and east of the Kaveri river while Southern Kongu comprised the whole of the Coimbatore district. Kongu is called Sola-Kerala mandalam in an inscription of Kulottunga III at Karur. In the past, the Cheras seem to have lived south of the Kongu country and they seem to have conquered Southern Kongu.

North of the Kongu country and around it, there were the petty kingdoms of the Banas, the Gangas, the Nolambas and the Vaidumbas. The Kongu country was temporarily conquered by the Chola kings Aditya I and Parantaka I. The final Chola conquest of the Kongu country, however, took place in the days of Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I. Then this region became a subdivision of Jayangondasola mandalam, later renamed Rattapadi-kondasola mandalam after Rajadhiraja I and Rajendradeva II.

Namakkal in the northern Kongu country has a cave temple of Vishnu; there are sculptures of Ranganatha, Narasimha and Adivaraha in the rock-cut cellas of this cave temple. In this cave there is an archaic Pallavagrantha inscription which may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., and from this we learn that the name of this cave was Atiyendra-Vishnu-griham, i.e., the Vishnu cave temple excavated by, or in the name of, Atiya, Adiyan or Adiyaman. A Chera king is said to have conquered the Adiyamans and taken their capital Tagadur, which has been identified with modern Dharmapuri (ARE 1906, paras 36 to 38, pp. 76 to 79).

The region, formerly known as the Punganur Zamindari, in which Laddigam is situated, was ruled by the Banas in the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D. Their country was known as Perumbanappadi. Eight of their inscriptions in the Kannada language are found at Punganur, Madanapalli (Chittoor district) and Bangapadi (Mysore region). The Bana king Mahavali Banarasa is said to have ruled over "Vadugavali 12000 and Manne 200" and his territory is said to have extended from Punganur in the west to Kalahasti in the east. There is reference, in a slab

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

inscription close to the Punganur-Chadum road, to the battle of Soremati where the Bana opposed the Nolamba Rachmalla and Mayindadi on behalf of Perumanadi (Western Ganga ?) (ARE 543 of 1906). The same battle of Soremati is mentioned in a Telugu hero-stone inscription of the Vaidumba king, Kandatrinetra-Vaidumba-Maharaja at Pedda-tippa-samundram. It states that one Prabhu-Chalavundu of the Vaidumba Chiefs distinguished himself in this battle between his Lord and the Nolambi and fell. This is to be assigned to the latter half of the ninth century A.D.

Mahendradhiraja Nolamba claims to have destroyed the Banas (ARE 1900–01, para 11). The Chola king Parantaka I is said to have destroyed two Bana kings and bestowed the Bana kingdom on the Ganga king Prithivipati II (about A.D. 912). Perhaps the distant descendants of the Ganga ruled over the Kongu region on the eve of the accession of Kulottunga I.

The earliest inscriptions on the walls of the Nilakanthesvarar temple at Laddigam are those of the Chola-Gangas. On the south wall of the temple, there is an inscription belonging to the 14th regnal year of a certain Uttama Chola-Ganga *alias* Sembakachchipati Nayanar which registers a gift to the temple of Irungolisvaram Udaiya Nayanar at Koyarrur. This is the modern temple of Nilakanthesvaram at Laddigam and it is thus a foundation of the Irungolars of Koyarrur. (See 'Map of South India during Kulottunga I's time'). The Chola-Ganga Chief should have been in the enjoyment of a fair degree of political independence as we find him issuing grants reckoned in his own regnal years (ARE 549 of 1906). This place apparently derives the name of Uttama-sola-puram from that ruler. So, though it is not definitely stated that he was the builder of this stone temple, it is highly probable that he was.

In the (chronologically) next inscription figures a donor called Adavallan Gangaikonda Chola *alias* Irungolan (ARE 553 of 1906). Perhaps he was the son and successor of Uttama Chola *alias* Sembakachchipati Nayanar. This Adavallan Gangaikondan makes a gift of the village of Madamangalam in Puli nadu, a district of Rattapadikonda-sola mandalam, to the temple of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Irungolisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar built at Koyarrur *alias* Uttamasola-puram in the same nadu. The village of Madamangalam was re-named Gangai-konda-chola-nallur after the donor. The present donor does not date the grant in his own regnal years but in the 16th regnal year of the Chola king Rajakesarivarman *alias* Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva I. As the wording of the inscription 'built at Koyarrur' indicates, the construction of this temple of stone begun under Uttama Chola-Ganga was completed about the 16th regnal year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1085). A gift of 96 sheep for maintaining a lamp is recorded in an inscription of the 20th regnal year of Kulottunga I (ARE 550 of 1906).

After the conquest of Gangavadi by Rajaraja I, the region was being administered as a part of the Chola empire, later under the provincial name of Rattapadikonda-sola mandalam; the ancient line of Adigaimans of Tagadur acted as the representative of Chola power in this region. Under Bittiga Vishnuvardhana (A.D. 1100–52), the Hoysalas became prominent in this area. Gangaraja, who was a Dandanayaka under the Hoysala, helped Vishnuvardhana to build up a big kingdom for himself within a few years of his inheriting a small principality which at best covered a limited territory around Belur; by A.D. 1116, the latter had already assumed the title of Talakkadu-konda, and in the same year he is said to be ruling in Talakkadu and Kolala (Kolar) over the entire Gangavadi as far south as Kongu. The Hoysala inscriptions mention that the Chola *Samanta* Adiyaman was stationed at the strategic ghats near Talakkadu on the borders of Gangavadi, and that on persuasion failing and the Adiyaman Chief refusing to surrender, a battle ensued in which besides Adiyaman, two other Chiefs, Damodara and Narasimha Varma, and other *Samantas* fought on the side of the Cholas and lost. With this defeat, Chola rule over Gangavadi came to an end and in fact for some time till the beginning of the reign of Vikrama Chola, the traditional territory of the Adiyamans too, including the Laddigam area,* came

*The claim of capture of Koyarrur by the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana only confirms the overthrow of Chola rule in this region. It may be added that Koyarrur which earlier

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

this too could be attributed to him.

One Samanta Adigaiman is said to have presented a golden *prabha* to the deity of Tirumanikkuli in the 19th year of Kulottunga III (ARE 161 of 1902); and in the 22nd year of the same ruler, he claims to be Lord of the three rivers, the Palar, the Pennai and the Kaveri, and to have built a stone temple at Sirukottai on the banks of the Pennai (Kambayanallur, ARE 8 of 1900). This temple was called after his own name. Perhaps these two records as well have to be attributed to the above Adigaiman Chief. An inscription at Chengamma in the South Arcot district (ARE 107 of 1900), which is undated, records a political compact between this mighty feudatory, Vidugadalagiya Perumal, son of Rajaraja devan, on the one hand, and Karikalasola Nadalvan and Sengeni Ammaiyappan Attimallan Vikramasola Sambuvarayan on the other, pledging their mutual loyalty, that they would consider the enemies of one party as the enemies of the other party also, and further that neither party would form an alliance with certain other Chiefs like Siya Gangan. As the central government became weak, local Chiefs forged such alliances in their bid for political power and mutual protection against other formidable rivals. Vidugadalagiya Perumal has to his credit a large number of other religious benefactions as well.

A Chola inscription of the ninth regnal year of a Rajaraja perhaps relates to the reign of Rajaraja III (ARE 551 of 1906); it would then correspond to A.D. 1225. It is inscribed on the south wall and records a gift of money for the merit of Uttama-chola-ganga Vettum Amarabharanar by one Akalankan Siyagangan *alias* Sitravida devar. The temple is referred to by the old name of Irungolisvaram Udaiya Nayanar at Koyarrur *alias* Uttamasola-puram in Vada Puli nadu included in Perumbanappadi, in Jayangondasola mandalam.

The Nilakanthesvarar temple at Laddigam is thus a foundation of the Irungolas who ruled over this region in the 11th century A.D. Perhaps it was begun in the days of Uttamasola-ganga *alias* Sambakachchipati Nayanar, and completed by the 16th regnal year of Kulottunga I. It was originally called Irungolisvaram at Koyarrur. We do not know if it was a renovation of an older

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

temple; there is no evidence of its earlier existence.

It is a small compact *eka-tala* temple built of stone; it faces east; it consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the enclosed *mukhamandapa*. The *garbhagriha* is 2.75 m. square, the *adhishthana* is 90 cm. high. On the north side, there is a stone gargoyle resting on a *makara-head;* above it on the northern wall of the *garbhagriha*, there is inscribed a bow resting on a pedestal and crowned by a *chhatra* (umbrella), with a fly-whisk on either side of the (vertical) bow. There is also an inscription in Tamil which reads "Tagadur Adiyaman Vidugadalagiya Perumal". Below the cornice, there is a *bhutagana* frieze; the *griva* has *koshtas*, in which there are the following deities; Balasubrahmanya sitting on an elephant, in the east; Dakshinamurti in the south; Yoga Nrsimha in the west; and a seated Brahma in the north. There are *simha* heads over each of these *koshtas;* there is a spherical stone *sikhara* crowned with a stone *stupi*.

The deities in the *devakoshtas* of the main shrine are Ganapati and Dakshinamurti in the south; a standing figure of Vishnu, with a *gada* in the right hand, in the west; and Brahma in the north. The other northern niche (which must have been occupied by an image of Durga) is empty.

The *ardhamandapa* stretches east by 2.15 m. in front; there is a covered *mukhamandapa* whose walls contain the main inscriptions of this temple, chiefly those of Kulottunga I, the Gangas and the Adiyamans.

Stone sculptures of Valampuri-Ganapati and Chandesvarar are lying loose in the *prakara* and they seem to belong to the *ashta-parivara* shrines. There is a stone Nandi of this age in front. There is a *madil* enclosing all the parts of this temple; in the centre of the eastern wall of enclosure, there is the *gopuram;* this simple *gopuram*, all in stone, consists of a *dvara* (main entrance), a *griva* and a *sala*-type of *sikhara* crowned by *stupis* of which only one has survived (See *Laddigam*, by B. Venkataraman, p. 16).

This simple single-storeyed stone *gopuram* resembles the elementary type of *gopuram* erected in front of the Shore Temple of Mamallapuram and in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi, of the eighth century A.D. During one and the same span of time,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

covering the days of Kulottunga I and his successor, Vikrama Chola, in the early 12th century A.D., we see in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram the evolution of a seven-storeyed *gopuram (elu-nilai-gopuram)* on the one hand, and on the other hand we have at Laddigam a simple, almost elementary, single-storeyed *gopuram*. Hence great caution is necessary in assessing the stages of evolution of style in architecture and dating them; and structural identity and common features by themselves cannot be depended upon in determining the age of monuments or their coevality. Their location and age are necessary to define the progression of style.

UDAIYARKOYIL

17 VISHNU TEMPLE (KULOTTUNGASOLA VINNAGARAM)

The village of Udaiyarkoyil is close to the village of Tiruchchirai, about 12 km. from Kumbakonam on the road to Kodavasal. Other important centres of interest close by are Nalur and Tirumayanam, where there are fine Chola temples (see my *Early Chola Art, Pt. I*, pp. 186–88).

The earliest inscription found on the walls of this temple relates to the 16th regnal year of Kulottunga I, the record beginning with the introduction *pugal sulnda punari* (dated in A.D. 1086); the *sabha* of Sribhuti chaturvedimangalam met in the temple of Kulottunga-sola vinnagar and gave to the temple good land, easy of cultivation, in exchange for old gifts of land made by them which were not so good. Signatures in the record affixed by the donees are called *sayijnai* at the end of each name (ARE 399 of 1902; SII, VII, 1032). The next record relates to the 14th year of Kulottunga II, beginning with the introduction *pu mannu padumam*. The *sabha* of Tribhuvana mahadevi chaturvedimangalam is seen here accepting 8 *kasus* for making some land *iraiyili*. The interest rate was $\frac{1}{4}$ *tiramam* per month per *kasu* (?) (ARE 401 of 1902; SII, VII, 1034). The name of the village obviously underwent a change during the intervening period from Sribhuti- to Tribhuvana

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mahadevi-chaturvedimangalam. A sixth year record of Rajaraja II, beginning with the introduction *pu maruviya tirumadum*, mentions that the *sabha* of the same *chaturvedimangalam* made *iraiyili* lands given by a donor to the temple of Tirukkalavudaiyar for lamps for *adhyayana* on festival days when the God was seated in the *yaga-mandapa* and for *punyaha* and *adhyayana* on other specified occasions (ARE 407 of 1902; SII, VII, 1040). Another instance of conversion of lands to *iraiyili* comes from a tenth year record of the days of Rajadhiraja II which the *sabha* of Tribhuvana mahadevi chaturvedimangalam did, in lieu of interest on thirty *kasus* yielding interest at $\frac{1}{4}$ *sinnam* per month per *kasu* (ARE 402 of 1902; SII, VII, 1035). And, finally, there is an interesting record of the days of Kulottunga III dated in his 18th year. The *sripitha* of the temple was presumably of brick masonry and there had been unsuccessful efforts (of engineering) earlier to replace it by a stone *sripitha;* and land was gifted to a person (name not mentioned) who successfully substituted a stone *sripitha* in the temple, called here that of Tirukkala Udaiya Perumal, in place of the old masonry one (ARE 408 of 1902; SII, VII, 1041).

From these records, it is clear that Udaiyarkoyil was originally called Sribhuti chaturvedimangalam and later on was re-named Tribhuvana mahadevi chaturvedimangalam; and that a temple for Vishnu was built here by about the 14th year of Kulottunga Chola I's reign and named after him, Kulottungasola vinnagaram. Later, in the days of Kulottunga II, the name of the deity was changed to Tirukkala Udaiyar.

RAJENDRASOLAGAN

SOMANATHESVARAR TEMPLE (KULOTTUNGASOLISVARAM UDAIYAR) 18

The village of Rajendrasolagan is situated in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot district and is not far from Chidambaram, the taluk headquarters, and close to Viranallur and Melakkadambur, the site of the chariot-type temple dedicated to Amritaghatesvarar. At Rajendrasolagan there is a temple now

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

called that of Somanathesvarar. On the walls of this temple, there are two inscriptions, both relating to Kulottunga I, one dated in his 18th year and the other without a date, from which we get the name of the deity of the temple as Kulottungasolisvaram Udaiyar. The former inscription is a record of a gift of land to this deity and the latter registers a gift of land in Bhupendrasolanallur, to the local temple, making it tax-free. There is again an undated record of Kulottunga III found in four fragments on the tiers of the temple which refers to the division of lands of a certain temple and to the incorporation of a portion of it with another, by the members of the *mahasabha*. Since all these inscriptions are found in fragments built into the tiers of the temple, it would appear that the temple was renovated at a subsequent unknown date.

SRIMUSHNAM

19 NITYESVARAR (TIRUMUTTAM-UDAIYA MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE

There are two important temples at Srimushnam, which is in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot district; one is the Bhuvaraha or Adi Varaha temple, about which there is no epigraphical evidence prior to the Vijayanagar adays. However, the other (Siva) temple, called that of Tirumuttam-udaiya Mahadevar in the inscriptions and currently named Nityesvarar temple, seems ascribable to the Later Chola period. Inscriptions here contain cross-references to the Adi Varaha temple.

On the west wall of the central shrine, there is a record of the 30th year of Rajakesarivarman Kulottunga Chola (I), which appears to be the earliest record on the existing structure of this temple. This registers a gift of the villages of Sungantavirttasola-nallur (named after Kulottunga I) and Adivaraha-nallur to the temples of Tirumuttam-udaiya Mahadevar and Srivaraha Alvar respectively, at Mudigondasola-nallur in Vilandaiyir kurram, a subdivision of Irungolappadi, by the king when he was seated on the throne called *Sedirajan* in his palace at his camp at Tirumaluvadi in Poygai nadu, a subdivision of Geyavinoda valanadu (ARE 231

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of 1916). There is another record of the same ruler two years later (32nd year) which mentions that, at the instance of Kulottungasola Sauvarnadhiraja and another, the separation of the above two villages was ordered by the king when he was seated on the throne called *Sedirajan* in his palace at Ayirattali, which now bore the alternate name of Minavanai-venkonda-solapuram, the later name given to it after his repeated victories over the Pandyas. Confirming the contents of the first inscription, the former village is described as a *devadana* of Tirumuttam-udaiya Mahadevar at Terrampattu *alias* Mudigondasolanallur in Vilandaiyir kurram, a subdivision of Irungolappadi, and the latter as a *devadana* of Srivaraha Alvar (ARE 233 of 1916). Evidently Terrampattu and Mudigonda-solanallur were the earlier names of the present town of Srimushnam. There is another Chola record on the walls of the main shrine, relating to the sixth year of Rajaraja (III), which registers a gift of *padikaval* and other income from certain villages towards worship in the same temple, by Alappirandan Elisaimohan *alias* Kulottungasola Kadavarayan for the merit of himself and his descendants (ARE 232 of 1916).

These records would seem to indicate that this temple came to be built before the 30th year of Kulottunga I (i.e. A.D. 1100). On the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the main shrine is a record of the 44th year of Kulottunga Chola deva I; it mentions a *sarvamanya* gift of three *kasus* for three lamps to the temple of Tirumuttam-udaiyar by Anantisan Adavallan of Suravalundur (ARE 236 of 1916). On the walls of the *prakara*, there are two records of the eighth year relating to Vikrama Chola and a large number relating to the Vijayanagara rulers. We may thus assign the *mandapa* to the same period as the main shrine of the temple, which, as we have mentioned, had come into existence at the latest before the 30th year of Kulottunga I.

PALUR (PALAIYUR)

PATANGESVARAR TEMPLE 20

Palur or Palaiyur is in the Chingleput taluk of the district

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the same name. There is an ancient temple here, whose deity is called Patangesvarar. There are a number of old inscriptions in this temple. The earliest ones, found on the west and south walls of the central shrine, relate to Rajakesarivarman *alias* Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva (I), dated in his 31st and 38th regnal years respectively; the former (ARE 26 of 1932–33) commences with the introduction *pugal sulnda punari* and registers a sale of land as tax-free *madappuram*, by the *Uravar* of Palaiyur *alias* Rajendrasola-nallur in Palaiyur nadu, a subdivision of Urrukkattu kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam, to a native of Rajendra-solapuram in Maiyur nadu of Kalattur kottam and to a native of Kanchipuram, for the maintenance of a *matha* called Valmaravan *matha* established by them for feeding *brahmanas*, *tapasvins* and destitutes. The latter commences with the introduction *pugal madu vilanga* after a few words beginning with *virame tunaiyagavum*, and registers a gift of oil made by the *Nagarattars* of Rajendrasolapuram in Maiyur nadu, a subdivision of Kalattur kottam, for a perpetual lamp in the temple of 'Tiruppatangadudaiya Mahadevar of Rajendrasolanallur in Palaiyur nadu'. We may, therefore, conclude that though there is no foundation inscription, the structure of this temple came into existence by about the 31st year of Kulottunga I (i.e., A.D. 1101) and that the deity bore essentially the same name which it does now. There is another record belonging to the 29th year (364th day) of Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan *alias* 'Kulottunga Chola deva who was pleased to take Madurai, Karuvur, Ilam and the crowned head of the Pandya' (i.e., Kulottunga III), which registers the royal orders issued at the instance of one Nayidaraiyar, remitting certain taxes in kind and coin due on some *devadana* lands belonging to the temple of Tiruppatangadu Udaiyar for worship and repairs therein. The document is signed by nine officers including the royal secretary.

There is a *mandapa* in front of the central shrine on whose walls there are a number of inscriptions ranging from the days of Vikrama Chola through Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III to the Vijayanagara period. The record of Vikrama Chola makes provision in his fifth regnal year for feeding *apurvins* in the *matha* called

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Acharasilan *matha* on *Amavasya* days by a resident of Kurichchi in Pandikulasani valanadu, a district of Chola mandalam. One of the Vijayanagara records mentions that provision was made for repairs to the temple and for the maintenance of dancing masters and drummers of the temple.

ARAKANDANALLUR

OPPILAMANISVARAR TEMPLE 21

Arakandanallur in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district has been celebrated by Tirujnanasambandar in a decad of verses, where the place is described under the name of Araiyani nallur, which means "the place adorned by the rock"; this is also the form in which this place is described in the several inscriptions found in this temple. But the name of the deity in the inscriptions is Opporuvarumillada Nayanar, which means 'the Lord who is unequalled or incomparable'. This name, however, does not find mention in the Devaram hymns.

(I) THE CAVE TEMPLE

The main temple of Oppilamanisvarar is located on the top of a great hummock of rock on the northern bank of the river Pennai, and close by on its eastern side is a small declivity where there is an unfinished rock-cut cave consisting only of two aisles; the quality of the rock naturally found here and in which these aisles have been excavated is poor, with the result, perhaps, the main cells for housing the deities of this incomplete shrine were never possibly excavated. The cave would appear to belong to the Pallava period but in the absence of any epigraphical evidence, little more could be said about it.

(II) THE CENTRAL SHRINE

The main temple consists of the central shrine, with two *mandapas* in front, one of them being known as the *Navaratri mandapa;*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the temple is encompassed in a compound wall which thus provides the *prakara;* adjoining the wall is a pillared raised verandah; in the south-eastern corner of it is the kitchen; there is a second *prakara* in which is located the *utsava mandapa;* in addition there is a shrine for Amman with a verandah in front of it.

From an incomplete record (ARE 118 of 1934–35) found engraved on a rock in the first *prakara* of the temple, dated in the 24th year of Rajaraja I, registering a gift of sheep for burning a lamp in the temple of *Opporuvarumillada Nayanar* at *Tiruvaraiyani-nallur* we may be led to assume that, this being the earliest record in this temple, the latter should have come into existence by or been in existence before the 24th year of Rajaraja I with perhaps only one wall of enclosure. The central shrine was completely renovated in the 32nd year of the reign of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1210) by a certain Pattanasvami of Pandimandalam. The relevant inscription (ARE 387 of 1902) reads as follows:

Svasti Sri Tribhuvana Chakravartin Sri Kulottungasola devarkku yandu 32-avadu Irajaraja Pennai vadagarai Udaikkattu nattu Tiruvaraiyani-nallur udaiyar Opporuvarumillada nayanar koyil it-tirukkarrali saattuvittan *Pandimandalattu Vadavellarru kurrattil Attamburil Attamburudaiyan Tirukkalatti Udaiyan Aduvanan Pattanasvami* (SII, VI, 1019; ARE 387 of 1902).

In the process of pulling down the original structure the care of the Sembiyan age was no longer exercised; and thus we have lost much of the valuable information which must have been recorded on the walls of the original structure. The present central shrine will thus be ascribable to the age of Kulottunga III. From inscription ARE 390 of 1902, we learn that in the 11th year of Kulottunga III, an image of the Goddess was set up.

(III) THE NAVARATRI MANDAPA

The *mandapa* in front of the central shrine and the *Navaratri mandapa* should have come into existence during the early part of the reign of Kulottunga I as they bear inscriptions in large numbers of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola, which are found

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

engraved on the north-west and south walls of the former as well as on the east wall of the latter.

We learn from a record relating to the 46th year of Kulottunga I that a gift was made of the receipts from taxes levied on the lands and residents of Virasolanallur, a *devadana* village in Kiliyur, by Malaiyaman* Nanurruvan Malaiyan *alias* Rajendrasola Chediyarayan for the purpose of worship and lamps to the God *Dakshinamurti deva* set up by him in the temple (A.D. 1116). The gift was made on the day of the asterism *Uttiram* which was the natal star of the donor. We have a few records relating to the period of Kopperunjinga as well. A ninth year record of Kulottunga III (ARE 135 of 1934–35) refers to a gift of tax-free land called Kannanedal in Devanpur by Attimallan Edirilisola Vanakkovaraiyan for the daily worship of the goddess Palliyarai Nachchiyar consecrated by Malaiyan *alias* Kulottungasola Chediyarayan of Kiliyur in the temple of Opporuvarumillada Nayanar at Tiruvaraiyaninallur *alias* Virasolanallur in Udaikkattu nadu.

(IV) THE NRITTA MANDAPA

A Malaiyaman Chief, Periya Udaiyan Iraiyuran Sarrukudadan, a contemporary of Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III, was among the more well-known Malaiyaman chiefs, who contributed to the temples of their area. Known also as Rajaraja Chedirayan *alias* Vanniyarayan, he built the *Nritta mandapa* in the temple of Opporuvarumillada Nayanar here (ARE 171 of 1934–35). An inscription at Kollur (ARE 204 of 1934–35) mentions that his wife, Kudi-uyyavandal, instituted a festival in the month of *Aippasi* in this temple.

(V) AMMAN SHRINE

On the east wall of the *mandapa* in front of the Amman shrine in this temple, right of the entrance, is a record of the fourth year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vijayarajendra deva (i.e., Rajendra

*See Appendix to this section for a note on the Kiliyur Malaiyaman Chiefs.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

III) which mentions that a shrine for the goddess *Ponnanaiyar* in the temple of Opporuvarumillada Nayanar was built of stone in the 39th year of Tribhuvanavira deva and that one Atti Tiruvannamalai Udaiyan *alias* Irungolan of Kurukadu made a gift of the taxes from Perunilaiyar-nallur for the expenses of providing worship in that shrine. This shrine should therefore be dated in A.D. 1216–17. It is possible that this native of Pandi-mandalam held some important position in this outlying province, to which Pandyan influence had by then extended.

(VI) THE UTSAVA MANDAPA

The *Utsava mandapa* in the second *prakara* of this temple belongs to the 14th century as seen from a record dated in the tenth regnal year of Maravarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara Pandya and found on the east wall of the *Utsava mandapa;* and similarly the eastern *gopuram* has to be assigned to the 15th century A.D. on paleographical grounds; a record on the east wall of the *gopuram* mentions that the "*gopuram* of the temple of Oppilada Nayinar was the gift of Goppu Nayakarayyan, Valu Nayakar, Bommanar Bappu Nayakar and Nagama Nayakarayyan."

(VII) THE NATARAJA SHRINE

There is a shrine dedicated to Nataraja in the north *verandah* in the first *prakara* of the temple. There are two records found on the lintel of the entrance to the shrine and on the south wall of the shrine respectively; we learn that this shrine was built by one Kuttan Jayasingadevan of Tirukkottiyur. The latter record, which begins with the introduction *samastabhuvanaikavira* etc., has to be assigned to the period of Vikrama Pandya and records that Alvan Kuttan Jayasingadevan of Tirukkottiyur in Keralasinga valanadu, a district of Pandi mandalam built this shrine *(tiruvarangu)*. From a fragmentary record of this Pandyan ruler found in this temple, we learn that a gift was made to the god for the success of his *digvijaya*. This may refer to the extensive wars of conquest that he undertook early in his reign, after which he

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

gave himself the title of *samastabhuvanaikavira*. Taking Vikrama Pandya's accession as in A.D. 1269, we may presume that the Nataraja shrine came into existence in A.D. 1273 (i.e., almost towards the end of the Chola rule (Rajendra III's period). Apart from building this shrine, the same Alvan Kuttan Jayasingadevan also built a portion of the *tiru-nadai-maligai* in this temple and named the same *Vikrama Pandyan Tirunadai*. This label 'Vikrama Pandyan' is found engraved on all the pillars of the circumambulatory verandah.

Thus the Oppilamanisvarar temple at Arakandanallur received attention at the hands of the Cholas and the Later Pandyas, as well as the local Chiefs. Dating back to the *Devaram* days, and beginning with a simple structure in the days of Rajaraja I, it underwent major expansion during the Later Chola period culminating in finer additions by the Pandyan and Vijayanagara kings.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Appendix

MALAIYAMAN CHIEFS OF KILIYUR

The region comprising the present-day Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district and the adjoining areas was a distinct political unit of administration during the Chola and the Later Pandya periods, ruled by a succession of able and loyal feudatories of the Cholas and later of the Pandyas, from their headquarters at Kiliyur. There is hardly a temple in this region that has not received the imprint of their benefactions; in fact, there is such a large number of inscriptions conveying their grants and gifts that a fairly cogent picture of their activities in various fields can be drawn from them. In this book, however, we shall briefly touch on this theme with reference to the Later Cholas. From the days of Kulottunga I to those of Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III, the Malaiyaman chiefs of Kiliyur held sway in this region as subordinates of the Chola sovereigns; in the days of Kulottunga II, we have already seen that Malaiyaman Malaiyan *alias* Kulottungasola Chediyarayan and his son Attimallan *alias* Edirilisola Vanakkovaraiyan made many contributions to temples in the Nadu Nadu region; and in the days of Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II, they continued to play an active part in the political and religious life of this area; one such Chief of this period is Attimallan Sokkaperumal *alias* Rajagambhira Chediyarayan; he would appear to have been succeeded by Periya Udaiyan Iraiyuran Sarrukkudadan *alias* Rajaraja Chediyarayan (who is mentioned in ARE 186 of 1934–35 dated in the sixth year of the king). These Chiefs also bore the title of Vanniyanayan (the Chief of the Vanniyas). Sarrukkudadan was a *biruda* one of these chiefs mentioned earlier bore, meaning 'he who does not yield'. He would appear to have had very loyal and devoted servants and subordinates; this is borne out by the large number of brief records found in the temples containing vows made by them to the effect that they would die if their master died and not survive him. One of these inscriptions (ARE 203 of 1934–35) runs as follows:

1. *Svasti Sri Iraiyuran Periya Udaiyanana Irajaraja Chediyara-*
2. *yan velaikkaran Anjadanana Aiyanankakkaran en ivarkup pin-*
3. *bu savadirundenagil en ottaiyarkku en minattiyaik ku*
4. *duppen ivarait tavira ennaichchevakan kolvan tan minat-*
5. *tikku minalakak kilvan.*

A *velaikkaran* (a security man, or body-guard or a soldier of the army) named Anjadan *alias* Aiyanankakkaran, of Iraiyuran Periya Udaiyan Rajaraja Chediyarayan vowed that he would die with his master in case of the latter's death and uttered an imprecation that any other Chief who would take him in service after the death of that master would come to grief.

There are as many as twenty such vows recorded on the walls of the temple here; one interpretation could be that this Chief was extraordinarily popular with his followers; this however seems a less plausible explanation; what, however, may be more probable is that those were unusual and difficult times and these male and female servants were so dedicated to the master that they did not want to survive the master. *Velaikkarars* were very valiant and dedicated personal body guards of the chieftains and they banded themselves together to protect their masters, both in battle-field and elsewhere, and vowed to die along with them in case of their death; a vow to that effect being taken by the female attendants *(velaikkari)* seems less easy to explain. Similar vows are also recorded in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

temple at Elavanasur, another important place in the same taluk. We have already seen that this period was one in which there was considerable political unrest in the Chola empire, and a large number of compacts and non-aggression treaties were entered into among various local Chiefs (*vide* Laddigam, p. 48).

There is a 20th year record of Kulottunga III (ARE 163 of 1934–35) from which we gather that this Rajaraja Chediyarayan concluded a pact with another Chief named Eriyappan Marundan *alias* Muvendaraiyan; both these chiefs were subordinate to Vanakkovaraiyan. In this compact they agreed to stand by each other in times of danger and not to enter into any negotiations with each other's enemies. We find, however, that after some years in the 28th year of Kulottunga III (i.e. A.D. 1205) he enters into another alliance with one Alagiyanayan Aharasuran *alias* Rajagambhira Chediyarayan (ARE 189 of 1934–35) whose terms make interesting reading. We find that his loyalty to the erst-while chief Vanakkovaraiyan has been given up. Perhaps times were bad and expediency dictated shifting loyalties.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUVAIGAVUR

22 VILVANATHESVARAR TEMPLE

Tiruvaigavur, which is in the Papanasam taluk of the Tanjavur district, is at a distance of 16 km. north-west of Kumbakonam. It is only 2.5 km. west of Vijayamangai. It is on the southern bank of the Kollidam. The god Vilva-vanesvarar (or -nathesvarar) has been sung by the Tamil saint Sambandar. 'Valaikkai Nayaki' is the name of the Amman. The sacred tank is called *Yamatirtham* and the sacred tree is *Vilva*. According to local tradition, a hunter chased by a tiger climbed the *vilva* tree, and, while spending the night on the tree, plucked and dropped the *vilva* leaves (dear to Siva); in the morning, Siva appeared before him and blessed him. The Nandi, unlike in other temples, has his back to the deity; this is explained by local tradition as Nandi being engaged in an attempt to destroy the God of Death.

The Vilvanathesvarar temple at Tiruvaigavur is an old temple dating back to the period of the Pallavas; the earliest reference to it is found in an inscription of the Pallava ruler Nandivarman dated in his 22nd year, in which the deity is called Tiruvaigavudaiya Mahadevar. In that year, a gift of land is made for offerings and a lamp. However, this inscription is not the original one; the inscription itself mentions that it is a copy, presumably re-engraved after the temple was reconsecrated in the Later Chola period. Of this we have inscriptional confirmation, in a record of the reign of Kulottunga I (who is mistakenly called a Parakesari-varman) found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine. Dated in his 40th regnal year, it states that one Pundi Udaiyan Suriyan Pavalakkunranar *alias* Vannadudaiyar of Paravaichchurru-Pundi in Rajaraja valanadu petitioned to the king in his 32nd year and built of stone the central shrine and the *mandapa* of the temple of Tiruvaigavudaiya Mahadevar in Andattu kurram, a subdivision of Ulaguyyavandasola valanadu, after removing the old brick structure which was dilapidated. He also increased the temple *devadana* by augmenting it with gifts of lands in the village of Kalappakudi in Virai kurram to

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

meet the increased requirements of the temple (ARE 51 of 1914). In the days of Kulottunga II, the temple is described as being located in Innambar nadu, a subdivision of Vadagarai Vikramasola valanadu (ARE 49 of 1914). Presumably Ulaguyyavandasola valanadu was renamed Vadagarai Vikramasola valanadu, and Innambar nadu was a part of Andattu kurram. In the 11th year of Rajaraja II, a lady-servant *(devaradiyal)* of the temple makes a gift of 30 *kasus* for a lamp to the temple (ARE 50 of 1914). In his 17th regnal year, an image of (presumably a shrine* also for) Nittavinoda-Kalyana-Sundaradevar was set up in the temple and a gift of money for offerings to the image was made (ARE 53 of 1914). In the 33rd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Tribhuvanavira deva, 'who, having been pleased to take Madurai, Ilam and the crowned head of the Pandya, was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors', i.e., Kulottunga III, the temple accounts relating to the period from the 24th to the 33rd regnal years were audited by Pillai Munaiyadaraiyar who was in charge of the temple lands, when certain arrears were detected; and so a sale of land and two houses was made for recovery of revenue due on a *devadana* land. Similar sales were made in respect of two other pieces of land; in one case the land was sold to the temple (shrine) of Nittavinoda Isvaram Udaiyar at Tiruvaigavur (in Innambar nadu, a subdivision of Vadagarai Vikkiramasola valanadu) (ARE 57, 58 and 60 of 1914). In *Saka* 1351 (A.D. 1429), in the days of Virapratapa Maharaja of Vijayanagara, the Assembly of Parantaka nadu, a subdivision of Innambar nadu, and the '*Valangai* 98' and the '*Idangai* 98' sects entered into an agreement regarding the payment of dues to the king *(rajagaram)* (ARE 59 of 1914). We have no records of any later period.

The present structure of the temple including the central shrine and the *mandapa* in front of it belongs to the days of Kulottunga I and should have been built between the 32nd and the 40th regnal years (i.e., A.D. 1102–1110), as vouched for by the 40th year record. The shrine for Nittavinoda-Kalyana-Sundaradeva

*In a later record of the days of Kulottunga III, there is a reference to a shrine for this deity.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Isvaram Udaiyar) was brought into existence evidently in the days of Rajaraja II.

We have referred to this temple in our *Early Chola Temples* (*vide* p. 257) when dealing with the sanctity the people and the rulers attached to places of worship and to endowments made to temples, as a result of which, when old temples were pulled down and new ones built in their place, the builders sought prior permission from the king or the regional Chief, and the earlier inscriptions were religiously transcribed into registers kept in safe custody, to be reinscribed on the walls of the new structure when complete. These are illustrated here by the copy of Nandivarman's inscription of his 22nd year being engraved on the walls of the newly erected *mandapa*, and the elaborate ritual of seeking royal permission to replace the old brick structure by a new stone structure.

NANDAVANA

23 CHENNAKESAVA (SRI KULOTTUNGASOLA NANADESI VINNAGAR) TEMPLE

Nandavana is a small village in the Sidlaghata taluk of the Kolar district (Karnataka State). There is a temple here dedicated to Chennakesava. In the ancient days it went under the name of Sri Kulottungasola Nanadesi Vinnagar, evidently a Vishnu temple built by the then internationally famous merchant guild called the *Nanadesis*.

On the basement of this temple, there is an inscription in *Grantha* and *Tamil* characters, beginning with *svasti sri Pugal madu vilanga jayamadu virumba* etc. It relates to the 33rd year of Kulottunga I and mentions Irattaipadikonda-sola mandalam, Melai-Marayapadi therein, Koyyakkurai nadu thereof. In that *nadu* was situated Vema .... ngal *alias* Rajendrasolap-pettai, where was located the Irudamaraya ... rukkun-tiru-merkkoyil *alias Sri Kulottungasola-Nanadesi-tiru-vinnagar-alvar-koyil*, which was built by Vairagarajan, who was also known by the name of Virakkilan Kamban Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan, of Peruvanjiyur, in Velimaanallur nadu in Urrukkattu kottam of Jayangondasola

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mandalam. He also raised the *madaivilagam* (91, Sidlaghata tq., Kolar district, Epi. Car.) round the temple.

Thus this temple named after the Chola emperor by the *Nanadesis* is a foundation of the days of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1103).

TIRUMANIKKULI

MANIKKYA VARADAR (VAMANAPURISVARAR) 24 TEMPLE

Tirumanikkuli is a village on the Gadilam river, 3 km. from Tirup-padirip-puliyur (i.e. Cuddalore New Town) called in the past the Southern Pataliputra. It was formerly a great Jaina centre with which Appar is associated. Sambandar has a hymn on the Lord here. He calls the place Udavi-Manikkuli and refers to the legend that Vishnu as Vamana (one of His *avataras*) paid adoration to this Lord, and alludes to it as follows: '*Nedumal kuralangi migavum chittam torukki valipadu seykinra* sivalokam'. We get it confirmed by the Periyapuranam (Taduttatkonda puranam), which mentions '*Pandu vamananey man irandu Senganavan valiketta Tirumanikkuli.*'

In the Manikkya-varadar temple located in this village, there are four inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga I. One, of the 34th year, found in the *mandapa* (ARE 154 of 1902) records the gift of a lamp. The next, of the 35th year (ARE 156 of 1902), records a gift of two lamps to Surya devar and Kshetrapalar (Bhairavar). Two others, of the 42nd and 49th years, concern the sale of some land (ARE 152 and 160 of 1902).

Vikrama Chola inscriptions, which are seven in number, range from the third to the 13th years; the third year record concerns a gift of land; the next, of the fourth year, refers to a gift of money for two lamps; one, of the sixth year, records a gift of twelve sheep for a lamp. An inscription of the 11th year, found on the west wall of the central shrine (ARE 148 of 1902), records a gift of land. In his twelfth year, Vikrama Chola, during his stay in his palace at Chidambaram, is said to have made a gift of land to an image which he had set up in the temple. We do not know

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

what that image was. Two other inscriptions are incomplete.

There is an inscription in this temple which states that Kulottunga II *alias* Anapaya made '*Tillai-ma-nagar*' (Chidambaram) famous by his celebration of his coronation there. '*Tillai-ma-nagar sirappudait tagat tirumudi sudiya Sri Kulottungasola devar*'.

There are seven inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga III. The eighth year inscription (ARE 164 of 1902) is damaged and records a gift of land. The gift of a gold girdle by an Adiyaman is mentioned in an inscription of the 19th year (ARE 161 of 1902). Two of his 21st year record gifts of land (ARE 169 and 170 of 1902).

There are two inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja III. One, of the fifth year, records the gift of a buffalo and calf by a *paraiya (harijan)*.

NARASINGAPURAM

25 LAKSHMI NARASIMHA PERUMAL TEMPLE, NACHCHIYAR SHRINE

Narasingapuram is a village near Kuvam in the Tiruvallur taluk of the Chingleput district. It is 57 km. from Madras City. It is referred to, in inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga I found here, as Madhurantaka-nallur, a village in Kunrur nadu, a subdivision of Manavir kottam.

The local Lakshmi Narasimha Perumal temple consists of two shrines, the subsidiary one being now referred to as the Nachchiyar shrine. On the walls of this shrine are found the earliest Chola inscriptions, all four of the days of Kulottunga I. From one, of the 35th year of Rajakesarivarmar *alias* Kulottunga Choladeva, found on the south wall of the shrine, we learn that a shrine was erected for Rama, Sita and Lakshmana consecrated in the temple of Madhurantaka Vinnagar in Madhurantaka nallur, and a gift of oil for two lamps was made by the inhabitants of Kadarangondasolapuram in Pasali nadu of the same (Manavir) kottam (ARE 244 of 1910). Another, found on the south wall of the shrine, and undated, formally registers and affirms the consecration of the same shrine by an oil-monger *(vaniyan)* called Pannanandali Surai

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

alias (Sr)iramaduta of Kidarangondasolapuram; mention is also made of provision for lamps and offerings (ARE 245 of 1910). A third, of the 34th year, found on the north wall, registers a gift of land by the inhabitants of Madhurantaka nallur to the God, Goddess and Ilaya-alvar (Lakshmana) in the temple of Madhurantaka Vinnagar Alvar (ARE 249 of 1910). The fourth (ARE 247 of 1910) gives merely a portion of the historical introduction, beginning with *pugal madu vilanga*, of Kulottunga I. We also have, on the north wall, an inscription of the seventh year of Vikrama Chola, which appears to register a sale of land by the Assembly of Kottur *alias* Solavichchadira chaturvedimangalam in Kunrur nadu, a subdivision of Manavir kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam (ARE 948 of 1910). Kottur is short for Ilambayam-kottur, where a temple of stone for Siva was built in the days of Rajadhiraja II, as we shall see later.

On the walls of the main shrine, there are seven inscriptions, all relating to the reigns of two Vijayanagara rulers. Virapratapa Achyutayya deva Maharaja (of *Saka* years 1455, 1456 and 1457) and Vira Venkatapatideva Maharaya (Saka 1530). Of the two earliest (of *Saka* 1455; ARE 238 and 242 of 1910), one relates to the gift of the village of Periya Puliyur *alias* Narasimhapuram to some *brahmanas* for the merit of the king, by one Tittara Pillai, on the occasion of the consecration of Lakshmi-Narasimhamurti; the other also concerns a gift of land to *brahmanas* on the same occasion. An inscription of *Saka* 1457 (ARE 239 of 1910), found on the south wall of the main shrine, relates to a gift of land to *Sri-vaishnavas* by the same Tittara Pillai for the merit of 'Periyasvami Narasa Nayaka' (the father and predecessor of the king), on the occasion of the consecration of the image of Prahlada Purandhara (to be taken in procession) in the "Lakshmi Narasimha Perumal temple at Kuvam- Tyagasamudra-nallur* *alias* Narasanayaka-puram** in Kunrur nadu in Tenkarai Manavir kottam in Chandragiri Rajya in Jayangondasola mandalam."

It is not possible for us to conclude on the basis of the available

---

*—Tyagasamudra was a title of Vikrama Chola.

**—Narasanayaka was a Vijayanagara ruler.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

evidence whether the shrine for Rama, Sita and Lakshmana consecrated in the days of Kulottunga I, was itself the Madhurantaka Vinnagar of the inscriptions on its walls, or whether it was built (as a subsidiary shrine) in the campus of a then extant Vishnu temple of that name. It is however clear that the present main shrine was consecrated to Lakshmi Narasimha Perumal in the Vijayanagara days (presumably in honour of Narasa Raja) and that, at that time, the other shrine (then perhaps in disuse) originally dedicated to Rama in the days of Kulottunga I was converted into a subsidiary shrine for Nachchiyar (the Divine Consort in Vaishnavite temples).

TRISULAM

26 DHARMAPURISVARAR (TIRUCH-CHURAM UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE

Trisulam is a small village situated about 3 km. from the railway station of Pallavaram near the city of Madras. The local Siva temple faces east. The original temple consisted only of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. It is apsidal both in the *garbhagriha* portion and in its superstructure. The Amman shrine and the *madil* are later additions.

There is an inscription on the lintel of the entrance to the temple. It reads "*Tiruch-churam Udaiyar*", which seems to be the old name of the deity of this temple. With the exception of an inscription of the 38th regnal year of Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandya of the 13th century, all the other (thirteen) inscriptions belong to the Later Chola period. They range from the time of Kulottunga I to that of Rajaraja III. The earliest is one of the 36th year and 107th day of Kulottunga I (SII, VII, No. 538; ARE 312 of 1901). It concerns a *tiru-mukham* (a royal order) of 'Sungam tavirtta Kulottunga sola deva'. The temple is called that of 'Udaiyar Tiruchchuram Udaiya Nayanar situated in Pallapuram *alias* Vanavan Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam in Churattur nadu, a subdivision of Puliyur kottam *alias* Kulottungasola valanadu, a part of Jayangondasola mandalam. According to the inscription,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the priest and the temple servants petitioned that the worship in the temple had come to a stand-still and prayed for the revival of the celebration of the temple festival. At the request of Vanarajan, the king made a gift, as *devadana*, of 41 *velis* of land in the village of Munnalur which was renamed Tiru-nirru-chola-nallur (after one of the surnames of Kulottunga I). Another, of his 38th regnal year (ARE 317 of 1901), makes provision for two twilight lamps, while a third inscription (whose regnal year is lost) mentions a gift of land by the local *Mahasabha* for the midnight service of the Lord *(ardhajamam)*.

There are four inscriptions of the days of Vikrama Chola in this temple. In the inscription of his ninth regnal year, the '*Urom*' of Manarpakkam made a gift of land (972 *kuli* in extent) called Tiruch-chura-vilagam for food offerings (ARE 314 of 1911). One, of his 14th regnal year, mentions a gift of land for food offerings to *Palliyarai Nampirattiyar*, the Consort of the Lord. In the 37th regnal year of Tribhuvana Vira deva (Kulottunga III, A.D. 1215), the *Vanigar-nagarattar* of Poondamalli *alias* Uyyak-kondasolapuram made a gift of various temple utensils to Tiruch-churam Udaiya Nayanar; all other inscriptions relate to gifts for lamps.

The following chart brings out the features of the *devakoshta* figures and the respective *torana* figures of this temple:

Devakoshta figures	*Description of features*	*Torana figures.*
Ganesa	with *chhatra* and *chamara*	Vali-Sugriva fight.
Dakshinamurti	seated figure with right leg on Apasmara; sages on either side; *aksha-mala* and fire are held in two hands; front right hand in *abhaya* pose and front left hand resting on the thigh.	Somaskanda
Lingodbhavar	with Vishnu in boar-form with *sankha* and *chakra* at the bottom; with Brahma as a flying	Rishabhantika with Uma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Devakoshta figures	*Description of features*	*Torana figures.*
	swan at the top; with a *ketaka* flower.	
Brahma	a standing figure with three heads and four arms, *akshamala* and *kundika* held in two arms.	Ardhanarisvarar
Durga	a standing four-armed figure on a pedestal, with *sankha* and *chakra* with flames.	Kaliya-Krishna.

The *kirtimukha* of the *sikhara* has an inset figure of Subrahmanya, and the other niche-figures of the *griva* are: Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the south, Yoga Narasimha in the west and a seated Brahma in the north. Brahma has lotuses in the two upper hands, and the other two hands are in the *abhaya* and the *varada* poses. There are some interesting panels of sculptures above the *kodungai* and in line with the *vyala-vari* at the corners; they are, on the right: a cow pouring milk over a *Linga* (Gokarnesvarar), Brahma worshipping a *Linga*, and Kannappa pulling out his eye; and on the left: an elephant worshipping a *Linga*, Vali worshipping a *Linga*, and a monkey riding a crocodile.

This temple, built in the northern part of the (Chola) empire, in the region known as Tondaimandalam, also belongs to the days of Kulottunga I, and its interesting feature is its apsidal structure, a regional characteristic of Tondaimandalam.

SOLAPURAM

27 1. KASI VISVANATHAR TEMPLE (KULOTTUNGASOLISVARAM)
2. KAILASANATHAR TEMPLE
3. BHAIRAVAR (SIVA) TEMPLE

The village of Solapuram which is in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjavur district lies at a distance of 9 km. in a northerly direction from Kumbakonam on the Kumbakonam-Lower Anicut route which is now part of the State Highway from Kumbakonam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to Madras. On the same road about a km further north of Solapuram is another village of importance called Manambadi. In the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, these two villages were part of a common mercantile village known as Viranarayanapuram. In the days of the Middle Cholas (i.e., from A.D. 850 to 1070) this village bore the earlier name of Ilaichchikkudi as we find this village being referred to in the inscriptions of Rajendra I by this name, *alias* Viranarayanapuram. Today, however, there are two distinct villages known as Manambadi and Solapuram, separated by a km distance between them. There are five main temples in these two villages and four of them are in Solapuram and one in Manambadi.

In Solapuram, as the State highway from Kumbakonam to the Lower Anicut (which runs through the village) meanders through the town, it takes an easterly turn for a distance of a hundred metres or so before continuing in a northerly direction; and as one proceeds from the local bazaar in the direction of Manambadi, there is a totally abandoned temple lying to the north (left) of the road. This temple is locally called *Kasi Visvanathar temple*. In addition, on the right hand side (i.e., east of the town bazaar which is on the State highway), there are two more temples adjoining each other, having a common sacred tank in front of them. They both face east; the one on the southern side is a less damaged, tolerably well-preserved temple known as the *Kailasanathar* temple; worship is still conducted here; the northern temple is totally abandoned, and except the *garbhagriha* portion, is in ruins. Locally called the *Bhairavar temple*,* it is now completely surrounded by encroachments and has to be approached through forcibly occupied cultivated land. All these three temples are of stone and belong to the Chola period.

Besides these, there is a fourth temple which is dedicated to Vishnu and is called the temple of *Venkatachalapati* Perumal. It lies to the west of the town (and the main bazaar street). The temple is in a state of disuse and decay. There is a sacred tank at

*We have requested the Tamilnadu Archaeological Department to take up the conservation of this temple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the rear of the temple. The *mulavar* (the main deity) is a standing figure of Vishnu.

We may take up these temples for detailed study.

1. Kasi-Visvanathar Temple (Kulottungasolisvaram)

The temple faces east. It is in a state of utter disrepair. It consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*. The *garbhagriha* is a square of 3.42 metres to a side. The *srivimana* is an *eka-tala* structure. The main cella is of stone. But the *griva* and *sikhara* are of brick. Both are round in cross section. The *bhadrasala* is 1.22 metres broad and projects forward; the *karna* faces are 1.10 metres wide. The niche on the south wall of the *garbhagriha* which must have housed a Dakshinamurti icon is now empty. The image has fallen from the niche and is now half-buried at the foot of the niche. In the *grivakoshta* there is a figure of Dakshinamurti in brick and stucco. In the western niche on the *garbhagriha* wall there should have been a figure of Vishnu; but it is now missing; in the corresponding (western) *griva-koshta* however, there is a diminutive figure of Vishnu. The *garbhagriha devakoshta* figure of Brahma in the west is, however, intact; but the *griva-koshta* Brahma is somewhat displaced from its rightful niche and finds a place to the east of it.

The false *antarala* between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* is adorned with a beautiful *koshta-panchara*. On the walls of the *ardhamandapa* both the niche figures, namely Ganapati in the south and Durga in the north, are intact and are good specimens of stone sculpture of the period.

The *mahamandapa* has partially collapsed and the roof is missing. There is a stray panel of Jyeshta devi on the northern wall of the *mahamandapa*.

The *adhishthanam*, common to both the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*, consists of the *upanam*, *padmam*, *kandam*, *kumudam*, *varimanam* and *vari* mouldings.

The only inscription found in this temple is engraved on the west and south faces of the *adhishthanam* over the *jagati* and *padma*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mouldings and is partially buried in earth.

Of the *parivara-devata* shrines, only the Chandesvarar shrine is in existence, in a bad shape though. It is a brick structure. The stone image inside faces west and has thus been interfered with at some unknown point of time. The temple is surrounded by a thick *madil* and at its south-western corner is an image of Ganapati. A stray loose headless Bhairava image is found close to it. In the north-western corner is an image of Gajalakshmi. It is buried neck deep in debris. The *gopuram* in the east is without a superstructure.

The inscription referred to earlier (ARE 99 of 1931–32) is dated in the 38th year of Rajakesarivarman Kulottunga deva (I), whose *prasasti* begins with *pugal sulnda punari*. It mentions the remission, by the Nagarattars of Viranarayanapuram, of taxes on certain lands purchased by some persons for the temple of Kulottungasolisvaram. The inscription refers to this town of Viranarayanapuram as being located in Milalai nadu in Vadagarai Virudaraja-bhayankara valanadu (Virudaraja-bhayankara is a *biruda* or title or surname of Kulottunga I). The *valanadu* (district) was situated north of the Kaveri and hence was called Vadagarai Virudaraja-bhayankara valanadu (*Vada* = north, *karai* = bank). In the days of Rajendra I, this *valanadu* (or district) was known as that of Rajendrasimha (a surname of Rajaraja I).

This temple is thus a definitely dated temple and must have come into being before the 38th year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1108).

The local villagers have shown considerable enthusiasm for the renovation of the temple and I have requested the Director of Archaeology of Tamil Nadu Government to take up the conservation of this important temple on a priority basis.

2. Kailasanathar temple

This temple, and the Bhairavar temple to be taken up next, adjoin each other and have many common and many totally different features. The former consists of a *garbhagriha*, a false *antarala*, an *ardhamandapa* and a second *antarala*, constituting the original composition; a *mahamandapa* with a *manimandapa* in front of it has been added subsequently; these two separate

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

components have been dovetailed into each other without any attempt to integrate the mouldings of the *adhishthanams* or *upapithams* of the two. In the *antarala* of the original composition, we notice the side entrances, that have since been closed, possibly after the *mahamandapa* was added, and access to the temple has been provided by similar side entrances to the foremost hall, viz., the *manimandapa*. We concern ourselves here only with the original composition.

The *srivimana* is an all-stone structure and consists of a high *upapitham* with plain mouldings supporting an ornate *adhishthanam* consisting of a token *upanam*, a *padmam*, a curvilinear *kumudam*, a *yali* frieze and a *vari*. The *garbhagriha* walls are segmented by octagonal pilasters and cantons mounted with a *kumudam*, *padmam* and *palagai* (in two layers, octagonal below and square above) followed by the tenoned corbel and the *uttiram*. In the *prastara* portion, there are the usual elements, the *bhutagana* frieze, the cornice with massive *kudus* mounted with *simha-mukhas* and then the *yali* frieze above. The *srivimana* is *eka-tala* with *kutas* in the corners and *salas* in the centre on each side of the *hara* over the *garbhagriha* walls. The *griva* and the *sikhara* are octagonal, *nandis* adorning the corners of the platform over which the *griva* rises. The *stupi* is missing. The *garbhagriha* walls are divided into three bays and in the recesses between them are *kumbha-pancharas;* the niche deities are: Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west (rear) and Brahma in the north. Ganapati and Durga are housed in the south and north niches of the *ardhamandapa*. The flanking bays of this hall are bare and bereft of any icons, unlike the Kasi Visvanathar temple, dealt with earlier. The mouldings of the *adhishthanam* and the *upapitham* of the *ardhamandapa* are the same as, and a continuation of, those of the *garbhagriha*, establishing the unity of composition.

There is an improvised *mandapa* in front of the Dakshinamurti icon on the *garbhagriha* wall; and the gargoyle in the north wall is supported by a conch-blowing *bhutagana*, as found in the Kasi Visvanathar temple and also in the Bhairavar temple which we shall discuss shortly, indicating coevality.

There is an Amman shrine to the north of the Siva temple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

It belongs to another age.

Both the shrines are encompassed in a common compound wall. They are under worship and are in a good state of repair.

There are no inscriptions in this temple; we have to take recourse to iconic and art and architectural characteristics to deduce the age. Taking all aspects together like the mouldings of the *adhishthanam*, the *prastara* features as well as the general iconic features, we could assign this temple to the age of Kulottunga I.

3. Bhairavar Temple

As mentioned earlier, this (Siva) temple is an excellent specimen of the Kulottungan style of temple architecture; at the time of our first visit, the temple was overwhelmed by vegetation (as may be seen from the photographs) and encroached on all sides by paddy fields. The Tamilnadu Director of Archaeology has since taken up its conservation, which is in progress as this book goes to the press. Our gratitude to him.

The temple consists of a *srivimana*, all-stone from *pitham* to *stupi*, reminiscent of Gangaikondasolisvaram at Kulambandal (Rajendra I's temple) with an *antarala* (nominal), an *ardhamandapa*, a *mukhamandapa* and a *manimandapa* or a second *antarala* with gateways on its south and north flanks. There is an *agramandapa* in ruins further east of the *manimandapa*, and this is shared between the Amman shrine and the central 'Bhairavar' shrine.

The *srivimana* of the main temple is *ekatala;* the *garbhagriha* rests on an *adhishthanam* which consists of the *upanam*, the semi-circular *kumudam*, and *vyala-vari* mouldings that are simple, high and majestic. The *garbhagriha* is square. The entablature consists of a *bhutagana* frieze, the cornice adorned with *kudus* and a *yali* frieze on top. Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma adorn the *garbhagriha* niches; the pilasters are square, with massive *palagais*, over which rest the bevelled corbels. Over the *garbhagriha* walls there runs a *hara* containing *kutas* in the corners and *bhadra-salas* in the middle of each side. The superstructure, consisting of the *griva* and the *sikhara* crowned by a *stupi*, is octagonal and all-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

stone. On the walls of the *ardhamandapa* are some beautiful sculptures—Ganapati, Nataraja and Kankalamurti on the south face, and Ganga-Jathadharar, Durga and Ardhanari on the north wall (in both cases from east to west). A special feature noticed in this temple, not found elsewhere, is the existence of two niche figures on the *antarala* walls, Bhikshatanar in the south recess and an eight-armed Urdhva-kesa Bhairavar in the north recess constituting the walls of the *antarala*.

The presence of a gargoyle in the *ardhamandapa*, below the niche housing Durga on the north wall (this is in addition to the one on the north wall of the *garbhagriha*) would point to the dual role served by this chamber, i.e., also as a *snapana mandapa*. In the entrance chamber (second *antarala* or *manimandapa)* of the temple which provides access to the shrine through the *ardhamandapa* and the first *antarala*, there are two giant man-size *dvarapalas* (highly damaged and covered by dust and earth), reminiscent of the grandeur of such sculptures of the Middle Chola period.

There are unfortunately no inscriptions in the temple to give us a clue to dating it precisely; therefore, we have to fall back exclusively on architectural and iconographic characteristics and iconic disposition to assess the date.

In this context, it would be worthwhile to examine a few temples which share many characteristics with this temple; Ramanathankoyil near Palayarai, for instance, has a similar temple named in ancient days 'Panchavan Madevisvaram', where the *ardhamandapa* images are Bhikshatanar and Ganapati (in the south) and Gangadharar, Durga and Ardhanari (in the north). There are no sculptures in the recesses between the *ardhamandapa* and the *garbhagriha*. A similar disposition of niche sculptures is found in the Isvarar temple (Kulottungasolisvaram) at Chintamani-Agaram near Villupuram (dealt with in Sec. 47 of Ch. 2). They are: Bhikshatanar, Ganapati and Urdhvatandavamurti (in the south, east to west) and Alinginamurti, Durga and Bhairavar in the north (both sets on the *ardhamandapa* walls). A third temple falling in this group is one at Manambadi, a kilometre or so from Solapuram. We deal with it in the supplement to this book (Sec. 2). This temple is attributable to the days of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rajendra I, as is the Panchavan Madevisvaram mentioned above. We find the following *ardhamandapa* icons here:

	South wall	North wall	
E	Bhikshatanar	Ganga-Jathadharar	E
to	Nataraja	Durga	to
W	Ganapati	Ardhanari	W

Here again the *ardhamandapa-garbhagriha* recess does not have any niche or icon, thus resembling Panchavan Madevisvaram. A comparative chart of the iconic disposition in these four temples is given below for convenience of study:

Place	Niche-figures on the *ardhamandapa* walls					
	South			North		
Manambadi	Bhiksha-tanar	Nataraja	Ganapati	Gangajatha-dharar	Durga	Ardhanari
Ramanathan-koyil	Bhiksha-tanar	?	Ganapati	Gangajatha-dharar	Durga	Ardhanari
Chintamani Agaram	Bhiksha-tanar	Ganapati	Urdhva-Tandava-murti	Uma-Alingina-murti	Durga	Bhairavar
Bhairavar temple, Solapuram	Ganapati	Nataraja	Kankala murti	Gangajatha-dharar	Durga	Ardhanari

Besides the special feature of having Kankalamurti on the *ardhamandapa* wall, the additional ones of recess-niche images of Urdhva-kesa Bhairavar and Bhikshatanar here suggests an evolution in iconic disposition that would bring this temple to the days of Kulottunga I; had there been no recess icons, it would be attributable to the days of Rajendra I or his immediate successors. The latter possibility gets support from the presence of two massive *dvarapalas* on the eastern entrance to the *ardhamandapa* from the outer (second) *antarala* (which as mentioned earlier functions as a *manimandapa*) providing access from the flanks (cf. the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur) to the *ardhamandapa* and the sanctum. There is yet another feature that one notices on close study, viz., the absence of formal niches with pilasters in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

flanks and *makara-torana* on top in respect of icons other than the main five, viz., Nataraja, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga.

Sharing the features of the style of temples that Sembiyan Mahadevi handed over to her grand-nephew and which the Middle Cholas further evolved, the Bhairavar temple at Solapuram could, on balance of features, be reasonably attributed to the Kulottungan period.

The temple derives its present name, wrongly, from the Bhairavar image on the wall of the temple; it is in fact a Siva temple with a fine *linga* in the sanctum. We have lost its original name.

The all-stone Amman temple, not coeval with the central shrine, has many features in common with the Amman shrine in the campus of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur and would appear to be a Pandyan addition.

SINDHUVALLI

28 SANKARESVARA (MULASTHANAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

Sindhuvalli is a small village in the Nanjangud taluk of the Mysore district in the Karnataka State. There is a local temple dedicated to Sankaresvara. When originally constructed, it went under the name of Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar temple.

On a stone north of the temple, there is an incomplete inscription which is dated in *Saka* era 1030 equivalent to A.D. 1108, which says that in the 37th year of the reign of Kulottunga Choladeva, one Satya Papakshaya Gamunda, who was Mutta Gamunda, the son of . . . in Karai nadu of Gangaikondachola valanadu, in Mudikondachola mandala, caused a temple to be erected for Mulasthanam Udaiyar and a sluice to be constructed in the tank bund (Epi. Car., Mysore, Nanjangud, no. 51).

Thus, this temple is a foundation of the 38th regnal year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1108).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHILAKALANERPU

GANGAIKONDASOLISVARAM UDAIYA DEVAR TEMPLE 29

Chilakalanerpu is a village in the Sidlaghata taluk in the Kolar district (of Karnataka State). In the ancient days, when this region was under the control of the Cholas, there was a temple here known as Gangaikondasolisvaram Udaiyar temple.

While we are unable to establish the identity of the temple, on a *virakkal* near Errakunte in Kambam dinne there is an inscription in *Tamil* and *Grantha* characters which commences with the introduction '*svasti sri tiruk-kala-nirppa erum . . na pudava . . . . .*' and mentions a number of generations of a Setti family; Kannara Setti's son Maarama Setti, his son Jangi Setti, his son Sola Setti, his son Ketta Setti, his son Paalaiyan Setti who bore the alternate name of Gangaikondasola Gamundan, his sons, Samundaiyan, Gangaikondasola Gamundan, Kettayan *alias* Kulottungasola Gamundan and their brother Vimaiya Gamundan; the last mentioned brother was wounded in a bear hunt and died; their father raised a temple called Gangai-konda-sola-isvaram-udaiya-mahadevar koyil and a hero's stone *(virakkal)* was erected in front of that temple. The brothers also granted certain lands as *kudangai* to one Ochchikondan Kaaviyasari for doing the stone work (82, Sidlaghata, Kolar, Epi. Car.). There is another record at the same place in *Grantha* and *Tamil* characters, relating to the 39th year of Kovirajakesarivanmar *alias* the emperor Sri Kulottungasola devar, corresponding to A.D. 1108. It mentions that in that year some individual (the name is lost in the inscription) erected a *mandapam* in front of the temple of Gangaikondasola-isvaram-udaiya devar; and adds that Samundaiyan *alias* Gangaikondasola Gamundan and Ketiyan *alias* Kulottungasola Gamundan, both sons of Ketiyan Paapaiyan *alias* Gangaikondasola Gamundan, and their sons Periya (senior) Paalaiyan and Siriya (junior) Paalaiyan, granted as *devadana* for offerings of rice for the God Gangai-kondasola-isvaram-udaiya Mahadevar, an oil-mill for

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

a perpetual lamp and certain lands whose details are specified (83 *ibid.*).

This temple is thus a foundation of the days of Kulottunga I, and named after one of the local chiefs.

CHELLURU

30 VISHNU TEMPLE

Chelluru is a village in the Kakinada taluk of the East Godavari district in Andhra Pradesh. It is about 40 km. from the district headquarters of Rajahmundry in a south-westerly direction, approached through the village of *Pasalapundi;* the more famous ancient city of Draksharama is also approached through the same village, being in a south-easterly direction from there.

There are two temples in the village of Chelluru, one dedicated to Siva and the other to Vishnu; the latter is called that of Sri Gopalakrishnasvami.

In ancient days, it was in the heart of Vengirashtra. Some decades back, a copper plate grant consisting of five leaves (plates) was found in the possession of the '*karnam*' (the village servant) of this village, which turned out to be a grant of Vira Chola made in his 21st year (A.D. 1100). It throws much light on the Eastern Chalukyan rulers of Vengi (ll. 26 to 46) tracing the descent of Vimaladitya (Kundavai's husband) from Kubja Vishnuvardhana and then traces the links of the Later Eastern Chalukyas with the Tanjavur Suryavamsa Cholas (ll. 47 to 78).

This grant conveys an order addressed by the Mahamandalesvara Vira Choda deva (l. 79) *alias* Vishnuvardhana (l. 78) to the inhabitants of Guddavati vishaya. It may be mentioned that during the reign of Kulottunga I, his sons were appointed Viceroys of the Vengi province by turns, and one of them, Vira Choda deva *alias* Vishnuvardhana IX acted as the Viceroy from *Saka* 1001 (A.D. 1079).

The copper plate grant further mentions that in his 21st regnal year (A.D. 1100), Vira Choda made a grant of a village (whose name is not very clear in the Copper Plate but is probably

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kolaru) to a Vishnu temple at the *agrahara* at Chelluru. According to the grant, this temple was founded by the king's Senapati, Medamarya *alias* Gunarathabhashana, son of Potana of the Mudgala gotra, who had also excavated a tank in the same village, and founded two feeding houses *(sattras)* for indigents at Draksharama and Pithapuri, the old name for modern Pithapuram (*vide* Vira Choda Grant*; SII, I, No. 39). Thus we have evidence of yet another temple built in the Vengi province of the Chola empire during Kulottunga I's time.

---

*The relevant portion of the Vira Choda Grant says:

***

(Verse 13)—To these two (Kulottunga I and Madhurantaki) were born (seven) sons, who were as pure as the (seven) streams of the Ganga, who like the (seven) Adityas, had destroyed the darkness (of sin).

***

(Verse 21)—In the *Saka* year, which is reckoned by the moon, a pair of cyphers and the moon (i.e., 1001), while the Sun stood in the Lion (Leo), while the moon was waning on the 13th lunar day, which was a Thursday, while *Vrischika* (Scorpion) was the *lagna* and *Sravana*, the *nakshatra* (asterism), having been anointed to the kingdom of the whole earth, the sinless king, the illustrious Vira Choda, joyfully put on the crown of the world.

***

(Verse 33)—At holy Draksharama and at the sacred place of Pithapuri, this charitable one (Vira Choda) joyfully founded two *sattras* for *brahmanas*, in order that they might daily enjoy their meals (three) till the end of the *kalpa*.

(Verse 34)—On the north side of the lovely *agrahara* of good people, which is famed by the name of Chelluru, he whose mind is full of compassion caused to be constructed a large pond which is filled with sweet water.

(Verse 36)—On the west side of that village, this powerful, mighty and charitable chief of the Vaishnavas *caused to be built a temple of Vishnu*.

(Verse 37)—In this lofty (temple), which is as white as the rays of the moon, which is the abode of splendour (of Lakshmi) and which pleases the eye, the God himself, who is the husband of Lakshmi, made his appearance, his conch and discus being distinctly visible.

***

The purpose of the grant was to record the gift of the village of Kolaru, for the purpose of meeting the expenses on the daily performance of *charu*, *bali* and *puja* and for the repairs of gaps and cracks and towards this end the lands of the village were exempt from all taxes making it the property of the temple.

The grant ends with the usual imprecations customary to all such grants and warns that any one who shall cause obstruction to this grant will become possessed of the five great sins. The last line of the grant mentions that the *sasana* was executed by the five ministers, the *pancha-pradhanah*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

YANNAGUMBA

31 RAMESVARA (RAMESVARAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

Yannagumba is a small village in the Chamaraja taluk of the Mysore district (in the Karnataka State). There is a local temple dedicated to Ramesvara. In the early days, the deity was known by the name of Ramesvaram Udaiyar.

On a stone close to this temple, there is an inscription dated in the 40th year of Kulottunga I, portions of which read as follows:

"In the 40th regnal year of Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva, Malana of Erumaikumba in Ennai nadu, in the Gangaikondachola valanadu of the Mudikondasola Mandala, Nagan . . . kondachola gamunda, ruler of the Gangaikondachola valanadu and Kachchala Kongavela, made a grant of land for the great god Ramesvaram Udaiyar of *engalur* (our village). And the Udaiyar of the *matha* in this village, Devasiva Pandita's son, Amurtakattar and his four brothers will, for the work of *building this temple*, receive the tax on grazing, the tax on digging and any other taxes" (197 Chamaraja, Epi. Car.).

Thus, we can conclude that, at 'Engalur' in Ennai nadu, in Gangaikondasola valanadu in Mudikondasola mandalam, in the year A.D. 1110, a temple was built, dedicated to Ramesvaram Udaiyar. Now the deity is called Ramesvara and the village Yannagumba.

MELAKKADAMBUR

32 AMRITAGHATESVARAR TEMPLE

Melakkadambur is an obscure village in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot district. It is about 32 km. by road from Chidambaram and 4 km. from Kattumannarkoyil (or Kattumannargudi) which was a city founded by Parantaka I and named Viranarayanapuram or Viranarayana chaturvedimangalam after one of his surnames. It is 6.5 km. north-west of Omampuliyur.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

About a kilometre and a half in an easterly direction from this temple is Kadambur-Ilangoyil, a *vaippu-stalam*.

At Melakkadambur, there is a Siva temple which is at least as old as the days of the Tamil saint Appar of the 7th century A.D. He has sung hymns on this Lord. He called the place Tirukkadambur and the temple here *Karakkoyil*. According to local tradition, Indra is said to have worshipped the Lord here and obtained nectar; hence the temple has the alternate current name of Amritaghatesvaram. A fragmentary inscription found on one of the slabs used in the pavement of the *prakara* of this temple gives Kadambur the alternate name of Uttama Chola chaturvedimangalam (ARE 112 of 1946–47). Thus, it is clear that a temple was in existence at the site even during the Early Chola period.

On the outer wall of the *ardhamandapa*, below the sculptures of Agastya and Ardhanari, is found an inscription of the 43rd year of Kulottunga I beginning with one of his many historical introductions, *Pugal madu vilanga* (ARE 110 of 1946–47). It records the provision made for burning a perpetual lamp by the *Mahesvaras* of the temple which is mentioned as being located at Mekkattuk-kadambur in Virudarajabhayankara valanadu, for six *kasus* received by them from Iraiyur Kilavan *alias* Eraman Sanan of Iraiyur situated in Velima nadu in Urrukkattuk kottam included in Jayangondasola mandalam. There is also an earlier inscription of Kulottunga I dated in his 41st year. It is thus clear that this temple was an Early Chola one rebuilt of stone sometime before his 41st or, in the latest, 43rd year (A.D. 1113). This gets confirmation from the style of its architecture and sculptures.

The temple faces east. After passing through the main gateway of the *gopuram*, one finds the porch and a closed *mandapa* of a later period, in which are housed a number of fine old bronzes.

On reaching the southern *prakara*, there bursts into view a unique monument of Dravidian art, a graceful temple in its original form covered with sculptures almost from the bottom to the top, a veritable sculpture-gallery of the early twelfth century A.D. It is in sharp contrast to many other temples, whose pristine glory has been greatly altered, if not completely spoiled, by the modern renovator.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This temple is planned in the shape of a chariot on wheels, two on each side, drawn by caparisoned horses in a prancing posture. It was conceived of as a heavenly chariot come down to earth with the Lord as its occupant.

The main structure of the temple rests on an *upapitham* on whose sides are placed the wheels of the chariot on axles, realistically carved.

Above it rises the *adhishtanam* consisting of a few mouldings: the *upanam*, the *padmam*, the *kandam*, the *kumudam* with ribbed edges and the *agarappattiyal*. There are panels of bas-reliefs between the last two.

The temple as rebuilt in the days of Kulottunga I consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. There are three *devakoshtas* on the walls of the *garbhagriha*. The deities housed in these niches are Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) and Brahma (north). Each *devakoshta* has a projecting porch which rests on two tall pillars. It has a cornice, adorned with an ornamental *kudu* on its facade. Above the cornice is a frieze of *yalis* with twisted tails. Each *devakoshta* is crowned with a huge decorated *kudu* with a *simhalalatam* as its top *(kirtimukha)*.

Each of the big *kudus* has, as an inset, a *panchara* (like a turret) with a deity housed in it; and the top of the *kudu* touches the cornice of the second *tala*, and from behind the *kudu* rises the second *tala*; there is a figure-niche flanked by a rearing lion *(sardula)* on each side.

On the outer walls of the *ardhamandapa*, there are two more *devakoshtas* adorned with porches resting on pillars, similar to those of the *garbhagriha* but not projecting so prominently forward. Ardhanari (south) and Alinginamurti (north) are housed in these niches.

The walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are covered with sculptures in bas relief. Ganapati and Agastya are found one on either side of the Ardhanari-*koshta* (on the south face). The squat standing figure of Ganapati has four hands, holding *ankusa*, *pasa*, a broken tusk and a sweet cake respectively. Agastya, a burly figure, is seated, with his two hands carrying the *akshamala* and the *kamandalu*. He has *jatamakuta* and necklaces and he wears an

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

udarabandha round his corpulent belly. His drapery is vividly indicated by wavy lines. Uma-Sahitar is in another niche. Correspondingly on the north side, there are sculptures of Bhikshatanar, Alinginamurti, Gangadharar, and Durga. A description of these icons is given later in the section.

Further, on the walls of the temple, there are a series of sculptures of *rishis* and *devatas* who are believed to have done penance in this place during the various aeons *(yugas)*. Under the base of each figure, there is a label in *Tamil* and *Grantha* characters of the twelfth century giving the name of the figure. These are the names inscribed: Oromaya Maharishi (Romapada), Devendra, Surya and Chandra in the Treta Yuga, Parvataraja and the Ashta-kula-parvatas in the Dvapara Yuga and Patanjali-deva in the Kali Yuga. A similar tradition is found in Brahmadesam, in the North Arcot district. An inscription found on the north wall of the temple of Chandramoulisvarar there registers the building of that temple in the Kali Yuga at the spot where Agni, Chandra and Romasamuni worshipped the God Pondanatha in the Krita, Treta and Dvapara Yugas (ARE 196 of 1915; also 109 of 1946–47).

Below the cornice of the first *tala*, there are bracket figures resting on the *palagai* of the pilasters. They comprise rampant lions and dancing female figures in supple as well as vigorous poses.

The second *tala* rests on the walls of the *garbhagriha*. In earlier Chola temples, generally a series of miniature shrines called *salas* (rectangular in shape and wagon-roofed) in the centre and *karnakutas* (square shrines with curvilinear *sikharas*) on either side of the *sala* are mounted in the first *tala* over the *garbhagriha* wall. There are no such miniature shrines in this temple. But there are four figure-niches *(koshtas)* in each of the main cardinal points; further, there are four *pancharas* (a single *tala* porch with cornice, *griva*, cupola-like *sikhara*, and circular *stupi*), one at each of the four corners, between the *koshtas*. There is a rearing lion on either side of the *panchara*. The arrangement of the second *tala* here is unique, and marks a new stylistic development in Dravidian architecture.

The outer side of the cornice of the second *tala* has a corrugated finish and is octagonal in shape. Over another *yali* frieze rests the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

griva. There are four figure-niches and four sculptures in the round. Local people say that these are *dikpalakas*, but it has not been possible for us to verify this. The present *sikhara* is circular, with four *kudus* at the cardinal points. It is, however, of recent origin and it seems likely that the original *sikhara* was also octagonal so as to be in harmony with the cornice of the second *tala*. The copper *stupi* is also modern.

The pilasters are heavy and octagonal in shape. Each of them, including the shaft, is covered with scrolls and sculptures in bas-relief. The base has a floral scroll. Above this there is a sculpture-panel with two lions at the end and with three crowning elements; again another set of panels of miniature-sculptures like Urdhva-Tandava of Nataraja, Lingodbhavar, and other figures. The *kalasam* (of the pilasters) is also octagonal and adorned with scrolls. Equally so, the *kumudam*. Above this there is a well-developed *padma-idal* (lotus-petal) on which rests the thin *palagai* (abacus). Bracket-figures—dancing figures with players on musical instruments—adorn the gap between the *palagai* and the cornice.

Sculptures:

This temple is rich in sculptures which could be definitely dated. The more important ones are briefly described below:

Jnana Dakshinamurti: This image of Siva is placed in the southern *koshta* of the *garbhagriha*. Siva sits under a spreading tree, his right leg resting on his left thigh. He wears a *kesabandha* and the matted ends of his locks fall on both sides of his head. His front right hand is in the *chinmudra* pose, and he holds a *pustaka*, a *sarpa* and *agni* in his other hands. Nandi is to the proper right, and the Apasmara-purusha is pressed down under the right foot.

Durga: The sculpture is in a northern *devakoshta*. The head of the buffalo is shown separately below the pedestal on which the Devi stands. There is a spirited lion (her vehicle) behind her. She wears a *karanda-makuta*, necklaces, a breast-band, the *channavira*, armlets and wristlets. The *antariya* is well-designed. She has six hands. Her front right hand is in *abhaya* pose; the other two right hands carry *khadga*, and *chakra* with flames on its rim. The front left hand is in the *katyavalambita* pose and, of the other two left

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

hands, one carries *sankha* with flames and the other is in the *kataka* pose.

Ardhanari: "When Siva is united to Sakti, He is able to create; otherwise He is unable even to move," says Sankaracharya. This figure has two hands on the right and one on the left. Though this sculpture is not as good as its counterparts on the Dharmaraja Ratha, at the Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam and at the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur, this is a good specimen of the twelfth century A.D.

Alinginamurti: The Devi is seated on the lap of Siva. Siva has knicker-like *dhoti* and Parvati has *drapery* with wavy folds. Siva's *yajnopavita* is a thick band. His right hand is extended to the Devi's chin in a caressing gesture.

Gangadhara: This panel represents Siva receiving the Ganga, and Parvati is in an agitated and jealous mood on seeing Her rival.

Ganapati: In addition to the *devakoshta* Ganapati with four hands, there is another, more interesting, one. It is a sitting figure in the sub-shrine in the south-west corner of the temple. The right leg is raised and the left bent. It has two hands and the right holds a broken tusk, and the left a noose. It is a *valampuri* type of Ganapati. Perhaps this is a *Parivaradevata* figure of the old Early Chola temple. There is also a stone sculpture of Bhairavi in the premises of the temple.

Bas reliefs:

There are a few scenes from the lives of the Tamil saints depicted in bas-relief on the plinth. One depicts a *linga* worshipped by devotees. In another, an old man is shown prostrate before a young man who wields an axe. It seems to tell the story of Chandesvara who, offended at the insult to the *linga* offered by his father, cut off his father's leg. Another batch seems to depict two stories. One panel portrays a person trying to prise out an eye-ball with an arrow, in the presence of the *linga*. It is an illustration of the story of Kannappa Nayanar. By its side there is a *linga* in a slanting position, and a person with the help of a rope tries to restore it to its upright position. This illustrates the legend of a female devotee named Tatakai connected with the Lord of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

temple of Tiruppanandal. She used to adorn the Lord with a garland every day. It so happened one day that her *saree* slipped at the time of her adoration. The Lord, to protect her modesty, turned His face away. The efforts of all the local people including the king failed to bring the *linga* to its original upright position. At last the efforts of Kunkiliyakkalaya Nayanar were crowned with success.

Bronzes:

There are some fine bronzes also in this temple. The Alinginamurti is a fine set and may belong to the Early Chola period. Saint Manikkavachakar, Bhikshatanar, Vrishabhavahanar, Nataraja and dancing Balasubrahmanyar may be assigned to about the twelfth century A.D. Parvati may be of a later period.

Pala Nataraja: There is another interesting bronze, of Siva dancing on Nandi. The style of the figures, the *prabha* and the attendant deities seem to indicate its Pala origin. It is likely to have been a trophy brought by Rajendra I in the course of his expedition to the Gangetic delta and presented to this temple (situated so close to the new Chola capital of Gangaikondasolapuram). There is a similar sculpture in the Dacca Museum which P.R. Srinivasan has reproduced in *Roopa Lekha* (Vol. XXVI, No. 2, Fig. 1, against page 6). It is also of Siva dancing on Nandi. It has ten hands. It is in the *chatura* pose. There is no *Apasmara Purusha* to dance on, as in South Indian figures. The right hand—not the left—is in the *gajahasta* posture. Both the sculptures carry the same weapons, though some hands of the Dacca Museum sculpture are broken. There is an additional chain of bells attached to the hind portion of the Dacca figure. Two Gandharvas with garlands in their hands are shown flying, in the *prabha* portion. While there is only Parvati by the side of Siva in the Dacca sculpture, the Melakkadambur bronze has eight small devotees keeping step with the Divine Dancer. This metal is similar in form to, but more graceful, less ornamented and has better finish than, the Dacca sculpture. This posture of the dancing Siva was popular in Bengal in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. (See also plate XLIV, Siva dancing on Nandi, Chapter IX, *Art of Bengal*, and *Trouvailles*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

de Nedoungadou, Tandavas of Siva by P.Z. Pattabhiramin, Pondicherry). There is a figure of Siva dancing on Nandi in the Papanasi temple in the Lingaraja temple campus at Bhubaneswar, and another in the Kapilesvara temple situated $1\frac{1}{2}$ km. to the south of the Lingaraja temple. (See *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar* by K.C. Panigrahi, pp. 49–50 and 175.)

A New Architectural Tradition:

This brief account will bring out the noteworthy features of this temple. It is a dated one built before the forty-first year of Kulottunga I. It is in stone and its *vimana* is fashioned like a chariot—the earliest experiment in this new style of temple architecture so far known. The outer walls are studded with sculptures. The *devakoshtas* have projecting porches surmounted with big *kudus* which have again niche-figures as insets. The second *tala* has new features, with *koshtas* in the centre and *pancharas* having cupola-like *sikharas* at the four corners. These features make this temple very important from the point of view of evolution of South Indian architecture. Here Architecture and Sculpture are so intimately blended that their distinction loses its meaning. This is one of the best-preserved and the finest of existing temples of the age of Kulottunga I.

The temple of Balesvar built by Chavundarasa at Haragoudi (about A.D. 1090?) is said to have resembled the *vimana* of Devendra —which perhaps means that the whole structure was designed as a flying car complete with wheels and horses (See *Early History of the Deccan*, edited by G. Yazdani—p. 426; SII, IX, (i), 163, pp. 19–20).

A distant descendant of Kulottunga I on the female line and a famous Eastern Ganga ruler, Narasimha, built an incomparable Sun temple in the form of a *ratha* at Konark (Orissa, 13th century A.D.). There is a *Ratha-mandapa* at Hampi, and a Garuda shrine in the shape of a *ratha* at Tadpatri (16th century A.D.) in Andhra Pradesh. Melakkadambur set the pace for the *ratha vimana* type of temples.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PERAMBAKKAM

33 CHOLISVARAR (KULOTTUNGASOLISVARAM UDAIYA MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE

In the central shrine of the Cholisvarar temple at Perambakkam, a village in the Tiruvallur taluk of the Chingleput district, there is an inscription on the second tier of the south wall dated in the 42nd year of a . . . kesarivarman *alias* Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva, who should be identified with Kulottunga I, in view of the high regnal year and also the introduction to the king's *prasasti*, which begins with the usual expression, *pugal madu vilanga*. It records the gift of the village of Perumbakkam *alias* Irattapadi-konda-sola-nallur (after a surname of Rajadhiraja I) in Pasali nadu of Manavir kottam, a subdivision of Jayangondaśola mandalam, as *devadana*, free of taxes, to the deity, Kulottunga Cholisvaram Udaiyar of the village, by the *Pagai-yaruttu-konda-solar velaikkarar*, evidently the name of a regiment of the Chola army (ARE 68 of 1947–48). A gift of money is made in the 44th year of the same ruler, for burning a lamp before the deity, Kulottunga Solisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, by one Kuttadi Takkaraisan Telungarayan of the same army unit mentioned above. This record is found on the tiers of the west wall (ARE 69 of 1947–48). On the tiers of the east and the south walls of the central shrine, there are three records of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Tribhuvana Vira deva (Kulottunga III) dated in his 15th, 33rd and 35th years; the first appears to record a donation in money made by a lady to the deity who is still called by the same name; the second records a gift of money for burning a lamp in the temple by a member of the *Niyayam* of Perumbakkam, and the third registers a gift of lamp by one Sankaranti Pallavaraiyan, again a member of the *Niyayam* of Perumbakkam to the deity, called in the inscription Kulottunga Cholisvaram Udaiyar (ARE 64, 65, and 66 of 1947–48). There are three inscriptions of a Rajarajadeva, two of them dated in his 10th year and one in his 13th year, which should be ascribed to Rajaraja III. They respectively mention (i) a gift of money for the expenses of burning a lamp by one Arum-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

banayaka Pallavaraiyan, one of the *Niyayattar* of the village, (ii) a grant by the *Niyayattar* of the village, free of taxes, of three *velis* of land in Anaikattuputtur to Ariya Tolapillai, son of Kuttayavandar, one of the Pauttar-pendugal, after receiving 100 *kasus*, and (iii) that Irumudi Chola Pallavaraiyan *alias* Udaiya Pillai, one of the *Niyaya-mudalis* of the village, donated 3 *kasus* for the expenses of burning a lamp; in these inscriptions, the deity continues to be called Kulottunga Cholisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar (ARE 73, 75 and 72 of 1947–48).

There is an undated inscription on the tiers of the north wall of the shrine recording "the construction of the *prakara* wall of the temple by Irul-nikkinan with the consent of the *Niyayattar* of the village" (ARE 74 of 1947–48).

This temple is a dated one and came into existence in the days of Kulottunga I prior to his 42nd year (A.D. 1112) and was named after the emperor himself. We learn of the administration of the village affairs by a local body called *Niyayattars*, who evidently had quasi-judicial authority as well. Its members also figure as donors in several endowments to the temple. We have evidence of similar bodies in the Chola administrative set-up at the grass-root level, like the *alumganattar*.

TIRUPPALAITTURAI

PALAIVANANATHAR TEMPLE 34

Tiruppalaitturai is in the Papanasam taluk of the Tanjavur district, 1.6 km. northeast of Papanasam town. There is a temple here named that of Kshiravanesvarar or Palaivananathar. There is an Amman shrine to the south of this temple.

Appar has sung the praise of this Lord (seventh century A.D.). The Dharukavana *rishis* (the sages of the Dharuka forest) according to local legends, set up a tiger to attack Lord Siva, who, however, killed the tiger and wore the skin.

There are ten inscriptions on the walls of this temple. The earliest of them (ARE 434 of 1912) is one of the 43rd regnal year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottunga

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

deva I (A.D. 1113). This record registers that at the request of Madhurantakap-paravainattu Muvendavelan, the king granted the remission of *antaraya-pattam* and other taxes in respect of the *devadana* village of Tiruch-chirrambalanallur belonging to the temple of Mahadevar of Tiruppalaitturai in Nallur nadu, a sub-division of Nittavinoda valanadu. An inscription of the 10th year of Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1128) mentions a gift of jewels to the temple of Mahadevar at Tiruppalaitturai. There is an inscription (ARE 440 of 1912) of the 12th year and 264th day of Parakesari-varman *alias* Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rajaraja II (about A.D. 1150). It records a gift of land *(kaval-kadu)* in the grove called Kunjiran *alias* Bhuvana-mulududaiyal, under the new name of Rajagambhira-nallur (after a surname of Rajaraja II), for worship in the temple and for maintaining a flower garden. Reference is also made in this inscription to the revenue survey *(nila-alavu)* of the 16th year of 'Sungam-tavirtta-devar' (Kulottunga I).

There are three inscriptions of Kulottunga III. One, of his 4th regnal year (ARE 439 of 1912), mentions that a person called Periya-devan Nambi of Pennagadam, who had proprietary rights in the *devadana* villages of Tiruch-chirrambalanallur and Raja-gambhira-nallur, consecrated the shrines of Periya devar and Nachchiyar in this temple, evidently named after the donor, and made a gift of gold jewels. Another, of his 12th year and 93rd day (ARE 441 of 1912), registers the distribution and assignment of lands in the village of Kuladipa-nayaka-puram with the corporate consent of the Saliya (weaver) merchants and this arrangement was engraved on the walls of the temple. The third inscription, which is of the 15th regnal year, is very much damaged. The last Chola inscription, of the 28th regnal year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1244), mentions that the shrine of Tirujnana-Sambanda-Isvaram Udaiyar was consecrated in the eastern verandah of the temple of Tiruppalaitturai Udaiyar by one Neela Gangaraiyan and it adds that a gift of land by purchase was made in the villages of Tiruch-chirrambala-nallur and Raja-gambhira-nallur to this newly built shrine.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MADIVALA

GANGADHARESVARA (GANGAIKONDA-ISVARAM UDAIYA MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE 35

In the village Madivala in the Malur taluk of the Kolar district in Karnataka State there is a temple of Gangadharesvara. In ancient days the deity of the temple was called Gangaikonda-isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar.

On the wall to the left of the doorway to the temple, there is an inscription in Grantha and Tamil characters, which begins with the introduction *Pugal madu vilanga Jayamadu virumba etc.* It mentions that in the 43rd year of the reign of Kov-Irajakesaripanmar *alias* emperor Sri Kulottunga Choladeva, one Rajarajan Kulottungasolan *alias* Kulottungasola Atimurkkachchengirai, granted as *devadana* for the god Gangaikonda-isvaram-udaiya Mahadevar of Maaliyur, in Kurukkundaadachchi nadu of Vikkiramasola mandalam, certain lands, specified, together with all kinds of taxes, some named, along with the one *veli* of land granted as a *devadana* to provide for offerings of rice for the same god by Rajarajan Piraan *alias* Rajendrasola Atimurkkachchengirai, lord of Kulalur *alias* Jayavaranallur in Arikesari valanadu (Epi. Car., Kolar, Malur tq. 101—dated in A.D. 1112). On the basement of the same temple to the south, there is an inscription in Tamil and Grantha characters which relates to the third regnal year of 'Posaviraamanaa-Devar' (possibly a reference to the Hoysala ruler Vira Ramanatha). It mentions that one Madhurantakasola Viruvinadalvar *alias* Paalaandai Naayan granted certain lands, specified, for a perpetual lamp and for morning offerings of rice for the god Gangesvaram Udaiyar (98, ibid). In the 38th regnal year of the same ruler, one Aludaiyar, son of Taamaraikilaar Ambalavar, granted for the god Gangisuram Udaiya nayanar of Madaivilagam in Maaliyur certain lands below the tank named Ponnambalap-putteri (99, ibid). This inscription is found in the same place as the former.

To the north-east of the temple, there is again a Grantha and Tamil character inscription, which is of general interest; Prata-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

pachakravarti Poysala Villala devan addresses the following petition to the heads of *mathas* and *sthanikas* in the temples situated in the Mesar Kundaani kingdom, Virivi nadu, Masandi nadu, Murusa nadu, Sokkanayan Parru, Pennaiyaandaarmada nadu, Aimbulugur nadu, Elavur nadu, Kuvalala nadu, Kaivara nadu, Ilaiyakka nadu and all other *nadus* that from 'the date specified, we have remitted all kinds of taxes, several named, hitherto paid on the gifts to temples—*devadanam*, *tiruvidaiyattam*, *madappuram* and *pallichchandam*—of our kingdom and granted, with pouring of water', (such and such) *vibhavanas* for (such and such) gods 'to provide for worship, offerings of rice, enjoyments and temple repairs.'

From these inscriptions we gather that towards the closing years of Kulottunga I's rule in this region, A.D. 1112, there was a temple at Maaliyur village, in Kurukkuntadachchi nadu, in Vikramasola mandalam, the deity of which bore the name of Gangaikondisvaram Udaiya Mahadeva; it could have come into existence in the middle or late 11th century as the name indicates. It was named after either Rajendra I himself or one of the chiefs of this region who bore the name of Gangaikondasolan. This is a Chola period temple.

We know of a Setti family, in this region, who were evidently chiefs of the *nadu;* the members of two successive generations of this family bore the title of Gangaikondasola gamundan. The father Paalaiyan Setti built a temple called Gangaikonda-sola-isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar temple at Chilakalanerpu, nearby, and so it may be a safe guess that this temple at Madivala (which is perhaps a corruption of Madaivilagam) could have come into existence during their time (i.e. about the turn of the 11th century) (see section 29 on Chilakalanerpu).

SURYANARKOYIL

36 SURYA TEMPLE (KULOTTUNGA-SOLA-MARTTANDA-ALAYAM)

Suryanarkoyil is close to the town of Kumbakonam in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tanjavur district, and the village takes its name after the local temple, dedicated to Surya deva (the Sun god) and the attendant planetary deities. This Surya temple is the only one of its kind in South India; though we have numerous temples with shrines therein dedicated to the Sun god, we have nowhere else an independent temple for this deity.

There are two inscriptions of Kulottunga I on the base of the *mukhamandapa*. According to one of them, this temple is called the Kulottunga-sola-marttanda-alayam, the temple of the Sun god named after Kulottunga I. This inscription, of his 44th regnal year, begins with the historical introduction of *Pugal sulnda punari*. It records a royal order granting the accountantship of the village of Dammadana-vinoda chaturvedimangalam and the *devadana* village of Suryadeva to the highest bidder. The other, of his 48th year and 245th day, beginning with the historical introduction *Pugal madu vilanga*, also records a royal order, granting the accountantship of all the *devadana* lands of Suryadeva to two private individuals. There is a third inscription, of the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Krishnadeva Raya (16th century), which records a gift of land made tax-free by a vassal of the emperor on behalf, and for the merit, of Krishnadeva Raya (ARE 229, 231 and 230 of 1927; ARE 1908, para 60, p. 78).

Kulottunga I was on friendly terms with the rulers of the Gahadwal dynasty of Kannauj (A.D. 1090–1194) who were fervent devotees of Suryadeva. In the Chola capital of Gangaikonda-cholapuram there is an incomplete inscription of one of these rulers; it may pertain to Madanapala or his son Govinda Chandra and is coupled with the 41st regnal year of Kulottunga I; though there is no clear indication of the nature of the grant, the association of the Gahadwal rulers of Kannauj with Kulottunga I is well-established. And it is legitimate to infer that the Gahadwals might have been responsible for the propagation of Sun worship in South India during the reign of Kulottunga I. The temple of the Sun God at Suryanarkoyil is a tangible expression of their influence in South India.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the worship of the Sun is as old as the Vedas, and the *gayatri*, the most sacred

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

prayer of the Hindu, is addressed to the Sun. In the preamble which is recited before the *gayatri* is performed, Vishnu is described as being seated in the midst of the sun's disc. In later times the worship merged into that of Vishnu himself as is clear from the fact that the most ancient images of Surya are practically identical with those of Vishnu excepting for a slight variation in symbolism. The name Surya-Narayana given to Vishnu is significant.

The existence of *Aditya grihas* and Sun shrines from early times is to be traced only in North India, while the South can now claim only one temple exclusively dedicated to the Sun deity, namely Suryanarkoyil. In North India, as early as B.C. 400, Ktesias mentions a place of about 15 days' journey from Mount Abu where people worshipped the Sun and the Moon (Vaidya's *Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 255). Bhandarkar (p. 153, *Vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems*) notices an inscription from Mandasor recording the construction of a temple to the Sun god in A.D. 437 by a guild of weavers. There are several temples dedicated to Surya in the northern, western and eastern parts of the country like Martand in Kashmir, Osia in Rajastan and Konark in Orissa.

While separate and independent shrines for Suryadeva are thus a rarity in the South, there are a number of instances of images of Surya being set up as a subsidiary deity of worship in the southern temples. An inscription in the Rajarajesvaram temple, dated in the 29th year of Rajaraja I, mentions the setting up of a copper image of this deity by one of his officers. There is a 11th year record of Rajaraja I on the wall of the central shrine of Tirukkodika(val), rebuilt in the days of Uttama Chola, from which we know that, in Rajaraja I's days, one Ilayan Aditta Pidaran set up an image of Suryadeva in the temple (see my *Early Chola Temples*, p. 176). References to shrines for Suryadeva in the temples set up during the days of Rajendra I are available, as for example in the temples at Alagadriputtur (ARE 289 of 1908) and Ennayiram (ARE 1909, p. 92 and ARE 1918, para 26).

In the time of Kulottunga I, two lamps were presented to the shrines of Suryadeva and Kshetrapala in the temple of Tirumanikkuli in the South Arcot district (ARE 156 of 1902). At Tirup-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

paraitturai in the Tiruchi district, an image of the Sun God was set up in the ninth year of a Parakesarivarman (ARE 177 of 1907). A shrine for Surya deva is referred to in a record of the 10th year of Jatavarman Vira Pandya from Tiruppattur in Ramanatha-puram district (ARE 134 of 1908). In the time of Rajaraja III, a gift of land was made for offerings to the shrine of Surya deva in the temple of Usattanam Udaiyar at Koyilur (ARE 198 of 1908).

The Suryanar temple faces west. The central shrine is dedicated to Surya deva, and near it on a platform are images of Visvesvara and Visalakshi, deities associated with Varanasi. Brihaspati is installed in a shrine opposite the main shrine; all round are those of the other planets as *Parivaradevatas*—Rahu, Sukra, Ketu, Chandra, Angaraka, Budha and Sani.

The *garbhagriha* and the *mukhamandapa* of the main temple are built of stone and the shrines of the other *grahas* are of brick.

PERUNGALUR (PERUNGOLIYUR)

VAMSODDHARAKANATHAR TEMPLE (KULOTTUNGA-SOLISVARAM) 37

Perungalur, called Perungoliyur in inscriptions, is a village in the Alangudi taluk of the Pudukkottai district. There is an ancient temple here, now called that of Vamsoddharaka-nathar. In an inscription, the earliest of those found here, on the south wall of the central shrine, of the 45th year of 'Tribhuvana-chakra-vartin Kulottungasoladeva' (who has to be identified with Kulottunga I in view of the high regnal year), a gift of land to the temple of 'Kulottunga-solisvaram Udaiyar' by the residents of Perungoliyur is recorded (ARE 193 of 1914). Thus the temple must have been built during the reign of, and named after, Kulottunga I.

Two records, found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the shrine, mention gifts of the *Unjalmandapa*, and images of Sundara Perumal and Surya (ARE 195 of 1914), and of a lamp to the image of 'Kuttadum-devar' (Nataraja) in the temple (ARE 197 of 1914).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

There are two inscriptions, of the 14th and 29th years of Jatavarman Vira Pandya (acc. A.D. 1253), co-ruler of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II (acc. A.D. 1257), on the east and west walls respectively of the central shrine (ARE 196 and 194 of 1914). There are two inscriptions of the Vijayanagara days on the walls of the *mandapa* mentioned above; Perungoliyur is described as located in Ten Panangadu nadu, a sub-division of Jayasinga-kulakala valanadu and the main deity is given the name of Alagiya Kulottungar (ARE 200 and 202 of 1914).

There is a separate Amman shrine, the deity being called Mangala Nayaki.

KANNAMBADI

38 KANVESVARA (KANNESVARA) TEMPLE

Kannambadi is a small village in the Krishnarajapet taluk of the Mysore district in the Karnataka State. There is a temple dedicated to Kanvesvara; in the ancient days, however, the deity was known by the name of Kannesvara.

On a stone found near the temple, there is an incomplete inscription, dated in the year A.D. 1115 which runs as follows (translation) (Epi. Car., Mysore, Krj., 34):

> "Kulottunga Chola deva ruling the kingdom of the world: in his 45th year, the year of Jaya, Madiyanna, son of Koramuta Hadeya Baya of Vadugavile, caused the two temples of Kannesvara to be erected".

On a stone to the north of the doorway in the inner enclosure of this temple, there is an inscription dated in A.D. 1119, which mentions the rule of Tribhuvanamalla Vira Ganga Vishnu-vardhana Hoysala deva 'over the kingdom of the world' which reads as follows (extract):

> "for the god Kannagondisvara, the king, being in Talakad in the enjoyment of peace and wisdom, directed his minister . . . ." (The rest of the inscription is lost.)

Another incomplete record dated in about A.D. 1150 found on a loose stone close to the temple mentions that the "Mahamandales-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

vara who captured Talakad, Kongu, Nangali, Uchchangi, Banavasi and Hanungal, the strong armed Vira Ganga Pratapa Hoysala Narasimha deva was in the city of Banavasi ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom—his wife, the senior queen and crowned queen Mailala devi . . ."

On the pillars of the *mandapa* south of the central shrine, there is an inscription which mentions grants made by some residents of the great *agrahara* of Kannambadi for the god Kanvesvara. This is a much later record dated in A.D. 1579 (?)

This temple is attributable to the last decade of Kulottunga I.

NIDUR

SOMANATHESVARAR (UMAIYODU NILAVINA PERUMAL) TEMPLE 39

Nidur is a northern suburb of Mayuram, the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in the Tanjavur district, and a railway station on the main line from Madras to Tiruchy. The deity of the main temple here is called Somanathesvarar and the Amman is called Toli-ammai. The sacred tree of the temple *(sthala-vriksha)* is the *makilam* tree. Tradition has it that the place received its name from its 'eternal character'. Indra, Surya, Chandra, Kali and a crab are believed to have offered worship to the deity. The place has the alternate names of Vakularanyam, Makilaranyam and Magilavanam. The Tamil Saiva Saint Sundarar of the 9th century A.D. has sung the praise of the Lord here and calls Him 'Nidur-kuttan' ('the Dancer of Nidur').

The ancient structure of the temple is no longer there; what we have now is the one rebuilt of stone in the first decade of the twelfth century A.D. On the walls of the *mandapa* at the southern entrance to the central shrine is an inscription of the 46th year of Kulottunga I in Tamil verse, from which we learn that one Kandan Madavan of Kulattur, the Chief of Milalai nadu, built of stone the *vimana* of the temple of 'Umaiyodu Nilavina Perumal' at Nidur, a village in Tiruvindalur nadu in Sonadu, and we further learn that this record was also engraved on the north-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

eastern side of the hall *(ambalam)* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (ARE 535 of 1921). A record (ARE 534 of 1921) of the 48th year of the same ruler, found on the south wall of the central shrine, confirms the fact of construction of this temple by Kandan Madavan who was the *vel* (Chief) of Milalai nadu and the nephew of the Chief who was the patron of the literary figure Amita Sagarar (Amrita Sagarar), the author of *Yapperungalak-karigai*, a treatise on Tamil Prosody.* From these inscriptions we learn that the author Amita Sagarar came to live in Siru-kunra nadu at the instance of an ancestor of Kandan Madavan of Kulattur.

There is an interesting record of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja deva, who must be identified with Rajaraja III, relating to his 16th year (A.D. 1232), which mentions *inter alia* that the country was formerly ruled by Kopperunjinga; this inscription, found on the wall of the southern *prakara*, mentions that the Great Assembly met in the Pugalabharana Vinayaka-pillaiyar temple in Rajasikhamani chaturvedimangalam, a village in Tiruvindalur nadu, a subdivision of Rajadhiraja valanadu, and revised the earlier rules in regard to tenancy cultivation (ARE 536 of 1921). As will be seen in a subsequent chapter, after the Second Pandyan invasion of the Chola country in A.D. 1228 and the defeat of Rajaraja III, he was reduced to a mere titular king and many of his subordinates started asserting their independence; the most spectacular among them was the Kadava chief Kopperunjinga, who functioned from his provincial capital of Sendamangalam. From Vriddhachalam, we get records of Rajaraja III dated in his 14th year, which go to show that his rule still persisted in this region and that as late as that year, the Kadava (Pallava) Chief was a feudatory of the Chola ruler; seeing Rajaraja III worsted in battle by the Pandyas, the Kadava Chief entertained ambitions of building an independent kingdom for himself and so attacked the Chola army at Tellaru, where a furious battle ensued, resulting in the

*The treatise soon came to be regarded as a major contribution to Tamil literature, and its importance was recognised by naming the place where it was composed as Karigai-kulattur.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

defeat of Rajaraja III, who was taken prisoner along with his queen and other relatives and his ministers and confined at Sendamangalam, the Kadava capital. That he and the other prisoners were rescued by the Hoysala king Vira Narasimha, after worsting the Kadava Chief at the battle of Mahendra-mangalam on the banks of the Kaveri, is seen from the Tiruvahindrapuram record of Rajaraja III dated in his 16th year, and as if to confirm that Rajaraja III was back as the Chola monarch we have in this Nidur inscription a reference to the temporary eclipse of the Chola emperor, between his 14th and 16th regnal years.

A beautiful specimen of Later Chola bronzes is found in this temple. Siva with Uma and Skanda on the same rectangular *bhadra-pitham* presents a picture of perfection. Less rounded than bronzes of the Middle period, tending, particularly in the female figure, towards the concept of slender beauty, Siva is shown with the *malu* and the *mriga* in the upper arms. They are held aloft between the stretched fore and middle fingers in both hands. The proper right lower arm is in the *abhaya* pose and the left lower in the *ahuya* pose. *Jata-makuta* adorns the head, and the ears sport the *patra* and the *makara kundalas*. Siva is seated on a *padma asana*, the right leg hung down to rest on the ground, the left being folded in a sitting posture. *Vajibandha*, *upavita*, *udarabandha*, bracelets and anklets adorn the icon. Uma wears a *karanda makuta*, has a sharp narrow waist followed by broad hips and very slim legs. Her left leg is hanging from the (separate) *padmasana* on which she is seated and the foot rests on the ground. The right leg (corresponding to Siva's left) is folded in a sitting posture and raised at the knee as in a *yoga* posture. The left arm is resting on the left thigh and the right arm is holding a lily (missing). Skanda is a diminutive nude figure standing in the *samabhanga* pose, wearing a *karanda makuta*. He stands on a thin rectangular flat platform; all the three figures are on a common *bhadra-pitham*, which has the usual mouldings of *upanam*, *kumudam* and *kantham* with a *vari* on top.

This set of Somaskanda is a fine example of Chola metals of the late 11th century and of the early phase of the Later Cholas.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUNDU-DEVANGUDI

40 NANDANKOYIL (TIRU-ARU-MARUNDU DEVAR TEMPLE)

About 1.60 km. north of Tiruvisalur of Rajaraja I fame, which in turn is about 6.5 km. east of Kumbakonam is a much neglected and dilapidated temple, locally called Nandan Koyil. It is far away from any habitation and surrounded by shrub jungle and cultivated land. The campus of the temple, about 120 metres by 60 metres, presents a pathetic spectacle of fallen glory and local indifference. The ruins with an intact *gopuram* are encircled by what once must have been a moat. From the inscriptions found in the temple, we learn that it was situated in the ancient village of Tirundu-devangudi, which no longer exists. This name however finds mention in Sambandar's hymns.

This temple is among the 275 sacred places sung by the Nayanmars. Sambandar (seventh century A.D.) visited the temple and has eleven stanzas composed in praise of the Lord of the temple.

The name of the deity of the central shrine is Aru-marundu-isar or Karkatakesvarar (Karkataka = crab) and the deity in the Amman shrine is known by the name of Aru-marundu ammai. The original names of the temple and the deity are lost and forgotten. The original name might have been Tiru-Nandu-devar-kudi, which in course of time got corrupted to Tirundu-devan-kudi.

According to local legends, the Lord of this sacred place was worshipped by a crab. This is depicted in a panel on a stone pillar where the crab is in the posture of paying adoration to the deity of the temple. A golden crab crawling on the crown of the *linga* is said to be visible to a devotee, when 'he has offered sacred bath with milk drawn from a number of cows of the same colour'. Hence the name of Karkatakesvarar for the main deity—the Lord worshipped by the crab.

Another local tradition tells of a king who was visited by a fell disease, and finding no cure, resorted to severe penance at the feet of the Lord here. The Lord appeared before him in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

guise of an old mendicant, and rid him of his disease; he also promised to reveal to him the medicine for other diseases and led him to the site of the temple; there he directed him to dig at the place where to-day the main deity is located and, as he dug, blood began to spurt and the old mendicant disappeared. This tradition is corroborated by the Linga, the main deity, being broken in the front at the top.

Thus this temple dates back to the age of Sambandar (7th century A.D.). It was possibly of brick and was converted into a stone temple in the reign of Kulottunga I. The Amman shrine (Aru-marundu-ammai) also should have come into existence almost at the same time. This is confirmed by a damaged inscription of the 47th regnal year (A.D. 1117) of this king, referred to as Rajakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva (obviously a reference to Kulottunga I). It mentions that the village of Tirundu-Devangudi was a *devadana* of Gangaikondasolisvaramudaiyar, a reference to the deity of the main temple at the Chola capital (ARE 51 of 1910). A reference is made in this record to a hall called 'Rajendrasolan' in the palace at Mudikondasolapuram.

The temple consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*. At the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*, on the lintel is recorded an inscription (ARE 53 of 1910) which reads: *It-tiru-mandapam Kulottungasolan*—"This hall known as Kulottungasolan"—an obvious reference to Kulottunga I. The lintel bears a panel just above the inscription depicting Gajalakshmi in the middle and the *ashtamangala-sutra* images in the flanks *viz.*, the lamp, the boar, the bull, the umbrella, the chair, the drum, the *svastika* and the flag staff.

Vikrama Chola made a gift of money for a lamp in his fourth year (A.D. 1122, ARE 48 of 1910); and, in his sixth year (ARE 47 of 1910), there is a record referring to the gift of land to a private individual for playing on the *vina (vinaik-kani)* before the deity, which is referred to as Aru-marundu-udaiyar at Tirundu-Devangudi, in Milalai nadu, a subdivision of Virudarajabhayankara valanadu. In a record (ARE 49 of 1910) of a few decades later found on the north wall of the *ardhamandapa*, dated in the 16th

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

year of Rajarajadeva II (A.D. 1162) mention is made of a gift of money for a lamp by Araiyan Siraladevan *alias* Rajaraja Muvendavelan of Sennimangalam in Tirunaraiyur nadu, a subdivision of Kulottungasola valanadu. Finally in the days of Rajadhiraja II a gift of lamp is made (ARE 50 of 1910).

Since then the temple seems to have gone into insignificance, and today, it is in utter ruin.

The temple* is covered with vegetation (possibly of great medicinal value?). In its days of glory, it should have been a primary medical centre or hospital with an Ayurvedic dispensary; in the earlier volumes we have seen similar hospitals run by temples, viz. *Sundarasolan atular salai* at Tanjavur, the Tirumukkudal hospital etc. This place was also the site of a University *(Ghatika)*, like Kanchipuram**.

Tiruvisalur, associated with Rajaraja I's *tulabharam* ceremony, and Tirundu-devangudi deserve to be clubbed together and formed into a "Gandhi-gram" for social service and rural upliftment, and made into a Primary Health Centre with the divine grace of the Lord of Medicine and Healing (Aru-marundu-devar). It would be appropriate if an Ayurvedic or Siddha School of medicine is attached to this temple of great celebrity and rich associations.

---

*Alexander Rea, Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras visited this temple in 1909 and reported: "This historical old temple now in ruins, is situated in the midst of paddy fields and surrounded by a tank on all sides. The temple is recommended to be placed in the list of monuments". (Report of 1909–10). The conservation of the temple and its inclusion as a protected State monument are overdue. In spite of many pressing commitments, this work should be urgently taken up by the State Department of Archaeology (Courtesy of N. Sethuraman, *Indian Express* dated 4.12.1976).

**Jagatguru Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitham desired that specific mention of this fact should be made in the book.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KOVILANGULAM

AMBALAPPASVAMI (MUKKUDAIYAR) TEMPLE 41

In the village of Kovilangulam in the Aruppukkottai taluk of the Ramanathapuram district, there are the remains of a Jaina temple, dedicated to Mukkudaiyar, which term literally means "the god under a canopy of three umbrellas", i.e., the Jina. This Jaina temple, or whatever is left of it, which is now called Ambalappasvami temple, is in ruins and all that we see now are the basement and two Jaina images placed over it. From a 48th year record of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga deva (I), found on the west and south sides of the base of this temple, we come to know that a golden *vimana* with a *mandapa* for the god Mukkudaiyar was constructed at Kumbanur Sengattirukkai, a subdivision of Venbu valanadu. Two copper images of the god and Yakshi were also presented and land was given for a watershed at the temple-site (ARE 397 of 1914). This inscription of this period from Kovilangulam deserves to be taken note of on account of its contents as well as its literary style not generally found in inscriptions. We learn that about twenty-five persons, of whom some were evidently well-versed in the Tamil language, built for the 'god of the three umbrellas' a temple and a golden shrine and presented stone and metallic images of the god and his Yakshi. They also provided gifts for meeting the expenses of taking out processions of the deity and the upkeep of the various charities made by them.

This temple, of which unfortunately nothing but the bare vestiges remain, was built in the last days of Kulottunga I (i.e., A.D. 1118). This is proof of the continuing royal benevolence towards Jainism even during the Later Chola period. Of active royal patronage we have seen adequate evidence in the days of Rajaraja I at Dadapuram where Kundavai-piratti built, with equal devotion, three temples, dedicated to Siva, Vishnu and the Jina. The fact that the Kundavai Jinalayas at Dadapuram and Polur-Tirumalai as well as this Jaina temple at Kovilangulam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

have been either allowed to collapse or deliberately destroyed would indicate neglect towards Jainism, if not bigotry, of a later period.

KALLAPERUMBUR

42 KAILASANATHAR TEMPLE (KULOTTUNGASOLA ISVARAM)

Kallaperumbur lies on the main road from Tanjavur town to Budalur in the district of Tanjavur. In this place there is a temple dedicated to Kailasanathar. There are five inscriptions on the walls of this temple and a sixth on the *gopuram*. According to these inscriptions, this place was called Rajasundari-chaturvedi-mangalam. The present temple of Kailasanathar is called in an inscription of the 49th year of Kulottunga I as that of Srikailasam *alias* Kulottungasolisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar (SII, XVII, 627 and 628; ARE 581 and 582 of 1904). So this temple should have been built some time before the 49th regnal year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1118–19). There are two inscriptions recorded in the 23rd and 25th regnal years of Kulottunga III, relating to certain gifts (ARE 585 and 584 of 1904). An inscription of the 12th regnal year of Rajaraja III mentions the dismissal of the accountant of the temple for misappropriation of temple funds. The latest Chola inscription is one of the 12th regnal year of Rajendra III (A.D. 1257–8).

UDAIYALUR

43 KAILASANATHAR TEMPLE

Udaiyalur, a small village in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjavur district, is at a distance of about 12 kms. from Kumbakonam and is on the southern side of the Nallur-Valangaiman road (at the second mile stone). It was formerly called, according to local inscriptions, Sivapada-sekhara-mangalam. The Siva temple found here is called Sri Kailasanathar temple now. The

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

earliest of the inscriptions here is found, not on the walls of the central shrine, but on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of it, and belongs to the 49th year of Kulottunga I (= A.D. 1119) (ARE 306 of 1927). Therein, the Lord of the temple is called Sri Kailasam Udaiyar *(alias)* Sivapadasekharisvaramudaiya Mahadevar, and a gift of land by the *Mahesvarap-perundarisanattar* for the chanting of the *Tiruppadiyam* hymns in the temple is recorded.

In an inscription (ARE 303 of 1927) of the third year of Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1121) Sivapada-sekharamangalam is called a Sri Mahesvara-sthanam (a settlement of *Sri Mahesvaras*). A gift of money for purchasing 1½ *velis* of land was made by one Araiyan Ulagudaiyan. An inscription (ARE 305 of 1927) of the sixth year of Vikrama Chola (with the *pu madu punara* introduction) (= A.D. 1126) records a gift of one *kasu* by one Panchanadivanan Parantaka-devan *alias* Kulottungasola Kongarayan of Kurichchi in Vennik kurram, for burning a twilight lamp in the temple of Kulottunga-solisvaramudaiya Mahadevar at Sivapada-sekhara-mangalam, the temple presumably having come to be named after the late ruler. On the base of the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, there is an inscription (ARE 313 of 1927) of the 25th year of Kulottunga III; one Devanayakan Rajarajadevan *alias* Solendrasinga Pichchan, of Sivapada-sekhara-mangalam, consecrated a new shrine to Lord Devanayaka Isvaram Udaiyar, and two individuals made gifts of land for providing worship to this deity. Another inscription of that year records details of several parcels of land aggregating three *velis* and odd, gifted to the images of Nayanmars installed in the temple (ARE 314 of 1927).

There are five inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja III. One, undated, records that some temple documents were lost, and replacements thereof made, in his fifth year. Another of the sixth year, mentions the pilferage of some jewels and vessels belonging to the temple and the penalties imposed on the guilty parties (ARE 309 and 308 of 1927). An inscription of the 24th year informs us that the accountant of the temple was removed and later re-instated and another of the same year mentions a grant of land to him (ARE 304 and 307 of 1927). In his 30th year, provision was made for the chanting of *Tiruppadiyam*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

hymns in the temple (ARE 310 of 1927).

The temple would appear to have been constructed in the closing years of Kulottunga I's rule; in fact, Vikrama Chola had already ascended the throne by the 49th year of his father (which corresponds to his first regnal year) and by the eighth year, the earlier name of Sivapadasekharisvaram had been changed to Kulottungasolisvaram. Thus this temple should be attributed to Kulottunga I.

The temple faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha* 6.00 metres square, an *ardhamandapa* that projects another 6.00 metres eastwards and a *mukhamandapa* nearly 11.50 metres square. There is an entrance to this last mentioned *mandapa* from the southern side also. The images in the wall niches of the *ardhamandapa* and *garbhagriha* are, in a clockwise order:

Dakshinamurti (a substitute), Bhairavar and Agastya (on the south *ardhamandapa* wall), Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma (on the three walls of the *garbhagriha*) and Nandikesvarar, Durga and Ardhanarisvarar (on the north face of the *ardhamandapa*). At the rear of the central shrine there are subshrines for Subrahmanya and Ganesa.

The temple is in a good state.

KANCHIPURAM (Vishnu Kanchi)

44 SRI VARADARAJA PERUMAL TEMPLE

Kanchipuram is an ancient and celebrated city. It was considered as one of the seven *mukti kshetras* of this country. It was a place where flourished many religions—Saivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Buddhism. It was a centre of Sakti and Skanda cults. The *Ghatika* (University) of Kanchi produced great scholars.

Mayurasarman of the Kadamba dynasty came here to study the *Vedas*. Kanchi sent out renowned scholars to Nalanda University and also to other famous foreign universities of Asia. Besides Jaina Kanchi on the western bank of the Veghavati river, Kanchi proper consists of two parts—Vishnu Kanchi (the little Kanchi) and Siva (the big) Kanchi. Of the many temples in this large city,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

there are three in Vishnu Kanchi—the *Tiruvekha* (or Yadyotkari) described in the *Pattuppattu*, *Perumbanarruppadai*, one of the Ten Idylls of the Sangam age, the *Ashtabhujam* and the *Attiyuran* (later known as the Varadaraja Perumal or Hastigiri) temple, sung by Bhutattalvar, one of the three earliest Alvars, of the early Christian era. In later Vaishnavite literature (about the 11th century A.D.) Attiyur becomes changed into Hastigiri (the elephant hill), in connotation of Gajendra, the devotee gaining his salvation by the Lord's grace. Hence the name of the deity is Varadaraja (or Arulala) Perumal. Perhaps the deity's name of Attiyurar stems from the tradition that the original deity was made of the Udumbara (Atti) wood. An inscription at Nagarjunakonda mentions the consecration of the Ashtabhujasvamin (Vishnu) made of the Udumbara wood. It may be added that in the sacred tank called the *Ananta Saras*, there is, in addition to the *Nīrāli-mandapa* in its centre, a four-pillared *mandapa* with a *vimana*. Perhaps it is here that the original but mutilated *adi-atti* Varada image is housed and preserved with due adoration.

The first *prakara* is on the Hastigiri hill. It houses the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala*, and the two co-axial walled *mandapas*. The *garbhagriha* is a square cella housing the *mula bhera* of Varadaraja Perumal—a standing figure. It has a *dvitala vimana* of the *sala* type, called the *punyakoti vimana*. The *garbhagriha* and the two *mandapas* in front have architectural features of the Middle Chola period (11th century). At the western foot of the sanctum is the Narasimha (*Yogic* form) shrine, conceived in the form of a cave. The inner faces of the walls of this shrine are covered with inscriptions; the earliest of these is one of the period of Rajadhiraja I dated in his 32nd year (= A.D. 1050; ARE 519 of 1919). This is also the earliest inscription of this temple. The inscription calls the presiding deity of the temple only by the name of Tiruvattiyur Alvar.

The expansion of the temple campus and further developments took place during the reign of Kulottunga I and his son Vikrama Chola. The second and third *prakaras* and the kitchen bearing an inscription of the Chola General and Minister, Naralokaviran, are to be assigned to this age. An inscription of the third year of Kulottunga I (= A.D. 1073) is found on the basement of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

entrance to the second *prakara*. Inscriptions of the 30th, 31st and 36th years of the same ruler on the third *prakara* wall refer to the construction of the lofty stone-built *prakara* wall *(madil)* for the temple. Mention has already been made of the kitchen of the temple having been built by the Chola general and administrator Naralokaviran.

It was also at this time that the expansion of the temple areas of many of the temples in Chola desa and adjoining *mandalams* took place, as in Chidambaram, Sirkali, Tiruvarur, Tiruvanaikka (val) and Srirangam. This was an age of temple cities and rapid expansion of the campus with additional walls of enclosure.

Among the subshrines and *mandapas* built in this temple campus during the Later Chola period may be mentioned:

1) Karimanikkap-Perumal shrine (A.D. 1129—11th year of Vikrama Chola)
2) Anantalvar shrine (A.D. 1212)
3) *Abhisheka mandapa* (A.D. 1236)
4) Perun-devit-tayar shrine (first half of the 13th century A.D.).

There are eighteen inscriptions of Kulottunga III (covering the regnal years from the third to the 37th), twentyone inscriptions of his successor Rajaraja III (from his seventh year to his 31st year) and some of Rajendra III.

With the weakening of central authority after the end of Kulottunga III's rule, the Chola hold over Kanchi slackened considerably. In fact even in the last days of Kulottunga III, the Pottappi Chola chief took possession of the city of Kanchi and the Chola king had to lead an expedition to retake it (A.D. 1196). During the last days of the Cholas, this city became the cock-pit of contending powers among which the more powerful were the Hoysalas, the meteoric Kopperunjingan, the Later Pallava chief, the Telugu Cholas from the Nellore region and the Pandyas who were rising as a new power. A complicating political element was added to this confusion by a lightning foray by the Muslim rulers from Delhi which resulted in an utter collapse of government. The situation was remedied by the emergence of the Vijayanagar empire that restored peace and order in this region and under

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

their long spell of peaceful governance, this temple received great patronage. It was during this period that the later additions, like the huge eastern *gopuram*, the Kalyana *mandapam*, and the *Tulabhara* and the *Unjal mandapas* were raised. It was the brightest period in the history of this temple city as well as of this temple.

KANIYAMUR

KANAKA-SOLISVARAR TEMPLE 45

Kaniyamur is a village in the Kallakkurichchi taluk of the South Arcot district and is two kms. from Chinna Salem on the Chinna Salem-Kallakkurichchi road. In this village there is a temple called that of Kanakasolisvarar. It is a Later Chola temple. On the north wall of the main shrine, there is an inscription of an unspecified Kulottunga who may be taken to be Kulottunga I.

The temple consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa*, and the *mukhamandapa*. There is a Nandi in front, and the small Amman shrine of Soundarya Nayaki is located just north of it. There is a *prakara* enclosed by walls, with a simple gateway in front.

The *devakoshtas* on the walls of the *ardhamandapa* have a dancing Ganapati and Durga. Dakshinamurti, Vishnu and Brahma are on the *garbhagriha* walls. *Kumbha-pancharas* adorn the front portion of the *garbhagriha* both to the north and to the south.

The *srivimana* is *eka-tala;* the *griva* and the *sikhara* are octagonal. The *griva-koshtas* are adorned with Yoga-Dakshinamurti (south), Yoga-Narasimha (west) and Brahma (north).

Ganapati and Shanmukha are housed in the western section of the *tiruch-churru-maligai*. The Chandesvarar shrine is north of the *ardhamandapa*. Bronzes of Ganapati, Chandrasekharar and Pidari are housed on the platform on the north side of the *mukhamandapa*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ELAVANASUR (Iraivanaraiyur)

46 ARDHANARISVARAR TEMPLE

Elavanasur(-kottai) is in the Tirukkoyilur taluk in the South Arcot district. There is an ancient Siva temple dedicated to Ardhanarisvarar—named in inscriptions Gramardhanathesvarar or Urbhagangondaruliya Nayanar. It is on a hill called Tirumalai perhaps originally part of a fort (*kottai* = fort). It is not a temple visited or sung by the Tamil Nayanmars; though one inscription of Vikrama Chola's mentions the provision for the recitation of Manikkavasagar's hymns, the *Tiruchchalal*.

An interpretation that would appear to be valid and reasonable has been made of the name *Ur Bhagam Kondaruliya nayanar* for the deity of this temple. There was one Purana Tirumalai natha who composed the *Chidambara Puranam* in *Saka* 1430 (A.D. 1508). This *Puranam* throws light on the above-mentioned name: "Deivigan, the Malaiyaman Chief, slays the *asura* Karundan, who was a *brahmin* in a previous birth. Because of this, the sin of *brahmahatti* attaches itself to him. As a measure of expiation, he performs a sacrifice and colonises four neighbouring villages with 400 *brahmins* and takes 400 other *brahmins* to this place. However, he finds that there are 400 more still left to be provided for. When he is unable to solve this problem of housing for these 400, the Lord of the temple appears before him as a *brahmin* and tells him: 'Gift away this village now. Give one half to the *brahmins* and the other half to me alone; then they will be satisfied'. The Chief does so. The *brahmin* disappears and reveals himself as Lord Siva of the temple. From that incident he came to be known as *Ur Bhagam Kondaruliya nayanar*—the Lord who accepted one half of the village".*

In this light the sanskritised version of the name, Grama-

**Vide* the article of M. Arunachalam entitled "Elavanasur Inscriptions", pages 89–92 of '*South Indian Studies*', Society for Archaeological, Historical and Epigraphical Research, Madras.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Ardhanarisvarar, would seem to be incorrect.

There are inscriptions of Rajaraja I and of Rajendra I, but they are either fragmentary or later copies engraved on the walls of the *prakara* of the temple; so the temple seems to have undergone renovation during the Later Chola period. The earliest is an inscription of the seventh year of Rajaraja I found on a slab built into the floor at the entrance to the temple (ARE 176 of 1906). It refers to the 15th year of Uttama Chola, described as the son of Sembiyan Mahadevi. Venkayya's inference that the seventh year of Rajaraja I corresponded to the 15th year of Uttama Chola and consequently that the accession of Uttama Chola is to be fixed at A.D. 977–8 does not seem to be correct. (See V. Rengachary's Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, I, p. 193, no. 534). His inscription of the 14th year (copy) refers to the deity as Urbhagan-gondaruliya Nayanar (ARE 134 of 1906). There are two of his 19th year and one of his 24th (ARE 143 of 1906). There are inscriptions of his son Rajendra I (fifth or 13th year—copies). The Lord is called Urudaiya Paramasvamin in them.

There are a large number of inscriptions of the Later Cholas. Of these, those of Kulottunga I, about eleven, range from his second to his fortyeighth regnal year. His tenth year record gives us Urudaiya Paramasvamin as the name of the central deity (ARE 149 of 1906).

His inscription of the 35th year (ARE 167 of 1906) records that the temple of Urbhagangondarulina Mahadevar was situated at Iraivanaraiyur *alias* Sri Sola-Kerala chaturvedimangalam in Palur kottam, a district of Miladu *alias* Jananatha valanadu. This is the earliest mention of the alternate name of this village as Sola-Kerala chaturvedimangalam. So it seems that Sola-Kerala was a *biruda* of Kulottunga I himself. It need not be the name of one of the relations of Rajendra deva II (A.D. 1052–63) as suggested by V. Rangachary (see p. 137—Elavanasur). His inscription of the 48th year records a sale by the local *sabha* of land which belonged to two absconding accountants who had incurred debts and left the village without discharging them (ARE 164 of 1906).

There are five inscriptions of Vikrama Chola. As stated already the inscription of the 17th year makes a gift of land not only for

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

meeting the daily requirements of the temple but for the recitation every Sunday of Manikkavasagar's hymn *Tiruchchalal.*

There are about six inscriptions of the time of Rajaraja II. In a record of his sixth year there figures an influential local chief called Kudal Alappirandan Mogan *alias* Rajaraja Kadavarayan who claims to have conquered the four quarters *(nalu tikkilum venra)* who is the third Later Pallava chief (in succession) celebrated in an inscription in verse (ARE 74 of 1908, 463 of 1921 and 166 and 170 of 1906. See also my *Kopperunjingan* in Tamil, pp. 10–35). Two records of his sixth year refer to gifts of taxes by this chief to the temple and the building of the *tirumaligai* (walls of enclosure?). An inscription of his 13th year is recorded in the second *gopuram* and so it should have existed even at that time (ARE 163 of 1906). From an inscription of the 17th year, we gather that the village was still called Sri Sola-Kerala chaturvedimangalam.

Two gifts are recorded in the period of Rajadhiraja II. Some records of Sola-Kerala deva and Tribhuvana chakravartin Virarajendra might belong to Kulottunga III. An inscription of the tenth year of Rajaraja III records a gift of 132 cows for a lamp by a person who shot another by mistake in the course of a boar chase. Two gifts are recorded in the 30th year of Pallava Kopperunjinga (= A.D. 1273). There are a number of Vijayanagara records.

The outer *gopuram*, a general view of the temple, three kinds of Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, a dvarapala and Durga with the deer mount in the *mandapa* of the Amman temple are illustrated.

CHINTAMANI AGARAM

47 VAIDYANATHISVARAR TEMPLE (KULOTTUNGASOLISVARAM)

Chintamani Agaram, in the Villupuram taluk of the South Arcot district, is now a small village about two km. to the east of the Villupuram-Madras trunk road, about 12 km. from Villupuram. There is a compact, well-preserved temple in this village locally known as Vaidisvarar Koyil, or merely Isvarar temple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Not far from it is another village by the name of Ayyur-Agaram, which is about 5 km. from Villupuram in a northerly direction. In the latter village is a famous temple built in Rajaraja I's days and originally dedicated to Sasta but now to Siva, called the Abhiramesvarar temple (see my *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 141–4).

The village was known in ancient times by the name of Dina-chintamani-nallur, evidently named so after a queen of Kulottunga I. Kulottunga I, as Rajendra (II) of Vengi, had married Madhurantaki, a daughter of Rajendradeva (II) of the 'Solar race' (Chola dynasty). She is generally referred to as Bhuvanamulududaiyal, or Avani-mulududaiyal, 'the mistress of the world', and she also bore the surname of Dina-chintamani. She seems to have been the chief queen during the first thirty years of Kulottunga I's rule, and on her death was succeeded by Tyagavalli. The village of Chintamani was evidently a creation of the days of Kulottunga I.

The main deity of the temple in this village, now known as Isvarar or Vaidisvarar, was known in ancient days as Kulottunga-cholisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar of Sri Kailasa at Dina-chintamani-nallur, or for short, Cholisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, according to two inscriptions of Parakesarivarman *alias* Chakravartin Vikrama Chola, engraved on the north wall of the temple, one dated in the sixth year and the other without a date. They begin with the usual introduction *pu madu punara* and the undated one records that the members of a regiment of the Chola army designated the "Four thousand of Minavanai Venkandan Vikrama-solanudaiya Velaikkarar*" of Dina-chintamani-nallur in Panaiyur nadu, a subdivision of Rajaraja valanadu, agreed among themselves to set apart the taxes called *kalalavu*, *korkuli* and *angadi-pattam*, levied from their village, for the purpose of conducting festivals of the god Cholisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar (ARE 389 of 1922). The sixth year inscription is unfinished but we get to know from it that some gift was made by a person from Okurppalli in Tirumunaippadi nadu, a subdivision of Rajaraja valanadu, to the god Kulottunga-Cholisvaram-Udaiya Mahadevar of Sri

*This means: "The Four Thousand of the crack-troopers of Vikrama Chola, who defeated the Pandya (Minavan)".

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kailasa at Dina-chintamani-nallur.

Thus we learn from these two inscriptions that (i) the temple was built before the sixth year of Vikrama Chola and was named after Kulottunga I, (ii) the modern village called Chintamani Agaram was named Dina-chintamani-nallur, located in Panaiyur nadu, which was a subdivision of Rajaraja valanadu, which during the days of Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I was known as Vadagarai Rajendrasimha valanadu and (iii) Dina-chintamani-nallur was a part of Nripatunga Jayatangi-chaturvedimangalam. We also get the name of one of the regiments of the days of Vikrama Chola which must have been part of the royal crack-troopers, the term Velaikkarar being applied to those who were at the beck and call of the emperor in any crisis, and often entrusted with the protection and proper administration of temples and their properties.

From the inscriptions found in the Sasta temple at Ayyan-kovilpattu and the Valisvarar temple at Pundottam in the Villupuram taluk of the South Arcot district (ARE 32 to 38 of 1947–48), we learn that these two temples were located in, and these two villages were a part of, a bigger village called Nripatunga-Jayatangi-chaturvedimangalam, which was a *brahmadeya* with the usual adjuncts of the *Sabha* and the governing body called the *alunganattar*. These two villages are close to the modern town of Villupuram, the taluk headquarters, and so are Ayyur-Agaram and Chintamani-Agaram. Evidently, this extensive jurisdiction of Nripatunga-Jayatangi-chaturvedimangalam which embraced all these four villages, was an important centre in the late Pallava and the Chola periods and probably took its name from an important local Chief, he deriving his name in turn from Nripatunga, the well-known Pallava ruler of the 9th century A.D., unless of course it took its name from Nripatunga himself.

Incidentally, we get to know from the inscriptions of Rajaraja I dated in his 20th and 22nd years that the Abhiramesvarar temple was indeed a temple for Ayyanar (Sasta) and it might have been erected during the days of Rajaraja I (ARE 36 and 37 of 1947–48).

The Isvarar temple of Chintamani Agaram faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha* 4.60 m. square, the *sanctum* being a smaller

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

square 3.33 m. to a side, the walls at their thickest being 68 cm. The *adhishthanam* is 1.23 m. in height, consisting of an *upanam*, a *jagati*, a *tripatta kumudam*, a plain *varimanam* and a *vari* mouldings. The *ardhamandapa* projects 5.22 m. forward and is supported by four finely moulded pillars. There is no *prakara* round the temple and no trace of any *madil* or any *gopuram*. The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* constitute a single architectural composition. The *srivimana* is *eka-tala*, the *griva* and *sikhara* being circular.

The main feature of the temple is the set of sculptures found in the niches on the southern and northern walls of the *ardha-mandapa*. They are from east to west:

South wall	North wall
1. Bhikshatanar	1. Siva-Uma-Alinganamurti
2. Ganapati	2. Durga
3. Urdhva Tandavamurti	3. Bhairavar

Besides these, the sculptures in the niches of the *garbhagriha* are: Dakshinamurti in the southern niche, Lingodbhavar in the west, and Brahma in the north. The Dakshinamurti image is dislodged from the *devakoshta* and is now lying on the ground broken into two pieces.

The noteworthy feature of this temple is not merely the disposition of the *devakoshta* images, but the presence of Urdhva Tandava-murti, Siva Uma Alinganamurti and Bhairavar, which are peculiar to this temple. Alinganamurti as a niche figure is found in the rear niche of the Visha-mangalesvarar temple at Tudaiyur (see my *Early Chola Temples*, Illustrations, supplement), near Tiruvasi, in the Tiruchi district. Bhikshatanar is found in a few Early Chola temples as a *devakoshta* sculpture, but so far as my survey goes, this is one of two (or three) temples in all, with Urdhva Tandava-murti and Bhairavar as *devakoshta* images, though they are found installed in *gopurams* of the Later Chola period. The other temple, also of this period, is the Bhairavar temple at Solapuram (Section 27 of this Chapter).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ALAVELY

48 VISHNU TEMPLE

An inscription found at Draksharama in the East Godavari district (A.P.) mentions the construction of a Vishnu temple at Alavely in the 33rd year of Kulottunga I. (ARE 349 of 1893; SII, iv, 1239; E.I., xxii, pp. 138–45). This temple was built by Pallavaraiya Karunakara Tondaiman. He is described as the son of Sirilango of Mandalanjeri in Tirunaraiyur nadu and bore the alternate names of Vanduvaraja and Sadvaishnava. His personal name was Tiruvarangan; he is said to have destroyed Kalinga, conquered the Ganga in battle and humbled Devendravarman and others with the aid of the Kosala army and to have planted Rajendra Choda's pillar of victory in the Odra frontier.

This inscription dated in the 33rd year (A.D. 1103) mentions that he built a temple of black stone to Vishnu at Alavely and endowed land to it by purchase. He also made gifts at Draksharama.

PAUNDARIKAPURAM

49 SIVA TEMPLE

Paundarikapuram, in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjavur district, has a very beautiful, well-preserved but unidentified temple dedicated to Siva. There are no inscriptions on the walls of the temple and, therefore, its dating as well as identification will have to be based on grounds of style. There is a striking similarity between the composition of this temple and that of both the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur and the Gangaikondasolisvaram at Gangaikondasolapuram. At the same time there is considerable iconic similarity with the temples of the Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola periods.

The temple consists of a *garbhagriha* which is square in cross-section with the central bays on the three free faces projecting forward; these bays house in their *devakoshtas* the images of Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, and Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in the north. Unlike the gigantic parallels quoted earlier, this is a much smaller temple, not unlike the Kulambandal temple, with a low plinth comprising an *upapitham* and an *adhishthanam*, the latter containing the *upanam*, *padmam*, *kantham*, *kumudam*, *varimanam* and *vari* mouldings. The *srivimana* is *eka-tala* with a *hara* of *kutas* and *salas*. The *griva* is narrow and tall and the *sikhara* rests perched on it. The *ardhamandapa* is in line with the *garbhagriha;* but further eastwards, the temple bulges out into a big *mahamandapa* as in the case of Gangaikondasolisvaram at Kulambandal. The similarity to that temple in this respect is striking. On the four walls of this *mandapa* there are beautiful, well-chiseled sculptures which may be dated to the period of Kulottunga I/ Vikrama Chola. Among these sculptures may be mentioned a few: Chandesanugrahamurti, Ganga-Jathadharar, Chandrasekharar and Ardhanari. The Chandesanugrahamurti icon that adorns the eastern wall of the *garbhagriha* in the great temple at Gangaikondasolapuram finds a not dissimilar imitation at Paundarikapuram, though the latter is smaller in dimension and occupies a different position in the lay-out (here it is on the western wall of the *mahamandapa*). Parvati too is missing at Paundarikapuram but the tying of the garland over the head of Chandesa is well brought out. Here the right foot of Siva seems to be almost resting on Chandesa's right knee. This iconic representation of Siva blessing Chandesa is rare even in Chola sculptures and Paundarikapuram thus acquires added significance. This icon is not found in the Later Chola period in any of the other temples we have surveyed. The icon of Ganga-Jathadharar bears a striking resemblance to its counterpart in the Kulottungasolisvaram temple at Chintamani-Agaram while both the Chandrasekharar and Ardhanari icons have close resemblance to icons of Kulottunga II/Rajaraja II's period. In other words, the temple at Paundarikapuram marks the transitional phase in sculpture and architecture spanning the end of the Middle Chola and the beginning of the Later Chola periods.

In general, Later-Chola iconic features begin to be noticeable at Paundarikapuram exhibiting an easily discernible similarity of its icons to those found in the first and second tiers of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

basement of the west *gopuram* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, which belongs to the days of Vikrama Chola.

I would therefore date it sometime in the middle of the reign of Kulottunga I.

KULOTTUNGA I'S STYLE

The reign of Kulottunga I marks a significant milestone in Chola art. In the outlying province of Kongu nadu, there came to be built by the local Adiyaman chief a temple dedicated to Nilakanthesvarar at Koyarrur, now called Laddigam (in Chittoor district near Madanapalli), having a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa* enclosed within a *madil* with a simple *sala*-type *gopuram* with a *griva* and *sikhara*, marking a regional idiom of Kulottunga's time. At Trisulam, an ancient centre in the Tondaimandalam region, the local idiom superposes itself on the evolving Chola style, producing a *gajaprishta srivimana* with the usual niche deities. At Melakkadambur, an entirely new concept of temple structure was put on the ground. The *srivimana* and the *ardhamandapa* together were fashioned into a complete chariot, drawn by horses. This new style of temple came to be known as the *terk-koyil* or *Karak-koyil*. And finally, Kulottunga I continued and refined the tradition of building temples in the style brought into vogue by Sembiyan Mahadevi, as structures with a *garbhagriha* and an *antarala*, false or real, followed by an *ardhamandapa* with three niches on each of its lateral faces. Excellent examples of this tradition and style are the temples of Isvarar at Chintamani Agaram and of Bhairavar at Solapuram.

Thus, in Kulottunga I's period, there are four different trends: (i) a provincial style, (ii) the Tondaimandalam style or *gajaprishtha* style, (iii) an altogether new style of temple in the shape of a chariot called the *terkkoyil* and (iv) finally, a further development of the Sembiyan style of temples in the heartland of the Cholas. The features of all these types of temples must be taken into consideration when we enunciate the architectural and art style of the period of Kulottunga I.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Appendix

Temples or parts thereof built and miscellaneous facts

1. 15th year: Konerirajapuram, Tanjavur dist. Uma Mahesvara temple. Stone temple of Chandesvarar built by Tittai Vilumiyan *alias* Pillai Adiyar (ARE 658 of 1909).
2. 16th year: Udaiyarkoyil, a hamlet of Tiruch-chirai, Tanjavur dist. The *sabha* of Sri Bhuti chaturvedimangalam met in the temple of Kulottunga sola Vinnagar and decided on substituting gifts of land turned bad by good ones (ARE 399 of 1902).
3. 22nd year: Kuhur, Tanjavur dist. Tiru mambalam udaiya Mahadevar temple. The stone temple was built by Madam udaiyar Varaguna tondar, whose figure is sculpted above the inscription (ARE 298 of 1917); land-gift to the same (ARE 297 of 1917).
4. 30th year: Melappaluvur, Tiruchi dist. Sundaresvara temple. Construction of the stone-temple by Vanakovaraiyan .... Uttamasolan *alias* Ilangesvaran for the prosperity of the king (ARE 392 of 1924).
5. 30th year, 180th day: Cholapuram, Kanyakumari, Nagarkoil dist. Rajendra Solesvaram built by Kulottungasola Kerala rayan at Kottaru *alias* Mummudisola Nallur, and the king's gift of land to it (ARE 31 of 1896; SII, III, 73).
6. 32nd year: Marudadu *alias* Vikramasola nallur, North Arcot dist. The king's title is given as "*Sungam tavirttu irul nikki ulaganda*". Mentions the name of the temple architect: "*ivvur kanit tachchan Ganavadi Marudadu nattup perun tachchan*" (ARE 408 of 1912).
7. 32nd year: Sivapuri, Ramanathapuram dist. (Pandya desa). Nambi Vitankan *alias* Kulottunga sola tayilar Peraraiyan of Seyamangalam constructed the first and second tiers of the *mandapa* of the temple of Tirut tan tonri isvaram udaiyar at Sola marttanda chaturvedimangalam (ARE 16 of 1929).
8. 33rd year: Draksharama, East Godavari dist., A.P. A number of *birudas* of the king are mentioned. So is the name Pallavaraya Karunakara Tondaiman, son of Siri Ilango of Mandalanjeri in Tirunaraiyur nadu (Chola desa). His personal name was Tiruvarangan. He was also called Vanduva raja and Sadvaishnava. He is said to have destroyed Kalinga, conquered the Gangas in battle, humbled Devendra varman and others with the aid of the Kosala army and planted a pillar of victory for Rajendra Chola on the frontiers of Odra desa (Orissa).
9. 34th year: Agara, Mysore dist., Karnataka. From his palace at Kanchi, the king ordered the setting up of an image of Durga (M.A.R., 1917, pp. 42–44).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

10. 34th and 35th years: Narasingapuram, Chengalpattu dist. A shrine for Rama, Sita and Lakshmana was set up and consecrated at Madhurantaka (nallur)-vinnagar (ARE 249 and 244 of 1910).

11. 38th year: Nidur, Tanjavur dist. A stone-temple to Siva and Parvati was set up by Kandan Madhavan, the *vel* of Milalai-nadu (ARE 534 & 535 of 1921, Epig. Ind. XVIII, No. 8).

12. 40th year: Tiruvaigavur, Tanjavur dist. Erection of stone temple to replace the old brick structure dedicated to Tiru vaiga udaiya Mahadevar by Suriyan Pavalakkunranar (ARE 51 of 1914).

13. 43rd year: Tiruvalanjuli, Tanjavur dist. Adamangalam udaiyan Orriyuran Bhupalan Karunakaran built the Tirupparikala *mandapa* (ARE 621-A of 1902; SII, VIII, 219).

14. 44th year: Chidambaram, South Arcot dist. Gilding of the Tillai managar koyil by the king's younger sister Rajarajan Kundavaiyar (ARE 119 of 1888 and Epig. Ind., V, p. 105).

15. 45th year: (Saka 1037, A.D. 1115), Bhimavaram, East Godavari dist., A.P. Gift of lamp by Madhava *alias* Rajavallabha Pallavarayan, minister of Parantaka I to the Narayana Perumal temple founded by Vaisya Mandaya (ARE 473 of 1893, Epig. Ind., VI, pp. 219–223).

16. 45th year: Kannambadi, Mysore dist., Karnataka. Fragmentary inscription. Two temples built to Kannesvara. (ARE 494 of 1911, Epig. Carn., IV, Kr. 34).

17. 46th year: (Saka 1038, A.D. 1116), Draksharama, East Godavari dist., A.P. (Chalukya) Parantaka set up images of Siva and Parvati and gave them gifts of villages.

18. 46th year: Nidur, Tanjavur dist. In verse form, copy also at Chidambaram. Mentions (1) construction in the 38th year of the king, of the stone temple of Nidur Nilavinar by Kandan Madhavan, the *vel* of Milalai nadu and the ruler of Kulattur of the Karigai of Amitasagara, and (2) construction of the temple of Sonnavaru-arivar and a hall for expounding the *Puranas (Puranal nul virikkum purisai maligai)* (ARE 535 of 1921).

19. 46th year: Tiruvaduturai, Tanjavur dist. An endowment (ten *kasus*) by Rajadhirajan *alias* Rajendrasola Anantapalan to meet the taxes on the land intended to provide *mantra-ponakam* (sacred food offerings) to the Tiruch chirrambalam udaiyar (Nataraja) in the temple. There was provision for the maintenance of singers and dancers in the *nana vida nataka salai* (hall for the performance of different modes of dancing) (ARE 152 of 1925).

20. 47th year: Jambukesvaram, Tiruchi dist. Sale of land by the temple to Villavarayan to provide for offerings to the images of Risha-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

bhavahana devar and Parvati set up by him (ARE 31 of 1891; SII, III, 76).

21. 48th year: Elavanasur, South Arcot dist. The *sabha* of Iraiyanariyur *alias* Sola-kerala chaturvedimangalam carried out an order to sell some lands for paying the *kadamai* due from two absconding accountants of the village. The sale was for the benefit of the Palliyarai Nam-pirattiyar set up by Ponnambalak Kuttan Arumbakkilan, i.e., Naralokaviran (ARE 164 of 1906).

22. 48th year: Kovilangulam, Ramanathapuram dist. (Pandya desa.) Erection of the *sri-vimana*, a *mandapa* and a stone image of Jina and the metallic images of the God and Yakshi and a well for the use of the public—now all in ruins (ARE 397 of 1914).

23. 49th year: Kallaperumbur, Tanjavur dist. The temple of Sri Kailayam *alias* Sri Kulottungasola Isvaram at Rajasundari chaturvedimangalam was endowed with land as *madappuram* (ARE 582 of 1904).

24. no regnal year: Melappaluvur, Tiruchi dist. The original temple of brick and in a neglected condition, without worship, was rebuilt of stone with *gopuras* and *prakaras* by Ilangesvaran and renamed Kulottunga Cholisvaram. (Note: This temple needs a closer study of its evolution). (ARE 393 of 1924).

25. no regnal year: Siddhalingamadam, South Arcot dist.

1) A Sanskrit verse by Andapillai Bhattan of Tirukkovalur records that this temple was renovated by Manavil Adhipati Sabhanartaka Kalingaraja (i.e., Naralokaviran) (ARE 367 of 1909).

2) Saka 1025 (A.D. 1103) Mentions (details such as) the *srivimana*, *prakara* and areca garden of the temple (ARE 369 of 1909; ARE for 1928, Pt. II, 10).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

3

Vikrama Chola

(A.D. 1118–1135)

Vikrama Chola ascended the throne as co-ruler in A.D. 1118 and counted his regnal years from that date even though his father Kulottunga I continued to live for at least two (or, according to some recent reckoning, seven) more years after that date. His asterism was *Uttirattadi* in the month of *Ani*. His *prasastis* take two forms, a shorter form commencing with *pu-madu* (or *-magal*) *punara*, and the other (longer) with *pu madu midaindu*; it is from the modified later form of his longer *prasasti* that we come to know of his benefactions and temple-building activities in Chidambaram and we could date them as having taken place in or before his tenth regnal year (A.D. 1128).

He bore many titles, the most frequently used one being *Tyagasamudram* (the "ocean of generosity") occurring both in his inscriptions and in the *Vikrama solan ula*. This also takes the variant form, *Tyagavarakara; Akalankan* ('one without blemish' or 'spotless') is also applied to Vikrama Chola, though mainly Kulottunga I bore this title (*Ep. Ind.*, vi, pp. 227–30). Very often he assumed to himself the titles of his father even including the Rajakesari, though by Chola practice he was a Parakesarivarman.

Mukkokilan and Tyagapataka are among his better-known queens, the former being the chief, and on her death (A.D. 1126–27), the latter became the chief queen. Nampirattiyar Nariyan Madeviyar was perhaps a third queen.

The late 11th and again the first three quarters of the 12th century A.D. were prolific in quasi-historical literature. The court

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

poet Ottak-kuttan who adorned the Chola court during the reigns of the three emperors, Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II (Anapaya) and Rajaraja II, wrote an *ula* on each of them; he also composed a *parani* (heroic poem) on the Kalinga war of Vikrama Chola. This work is unfortunately lost to us; but reference to this is found in the *ulas* on the latter two kings.

With the accession of Vikrama Chola in A.D. 1118 and his shifting his headquarters from Vengi, that province came under the administrative control of the Velanadu prince, Choda (son of Gonka I). The Western Chalukyan Vikramaditya VI took advantage of this absence of Vikrama Chola from Vengi and established suzerainty over the Velanadu chief; but this was short-lived, and with the death of Vikramaditya VI in A.D. 1126, the region was brought back to the control of the Cholas. Similarly, Vikrama Chola re-established, to a large extent, Chola authority over Gangavadi, which had been lost to the Cholas during the closing days of Kulottunga I.

Vikrama Chola was a great devotee of Lord Nataraja of Chidambaram. In his 10th year (A.D. 1128), he diverted a substantial portion of the revenues of the state to meet the cost of extensive additions to the structures of the Chidambaram temple. Apart from the liberal grants made for worship and offerings to this family deity, he also bestowed considerable attention on the Vishnu (Ranganathasvamin) temple at Srirangam.

The *Vikrama Cholan Ula* mentions a large number of feudatories, who were closely associated with the peaceful administration of the empire. Among them are Karunakara Tondaiman (the conqueror of Kalinga), the General Solakon and the great General Naralokaviran (Kalingar-kon), who distinguished himself in the wars in Pandi nadu, Tondai nadu, Malai nadu and Vengi during Kulottunga I's days and who served his master with loyalty, devotion and distinction. Naralokaviran's son was also a prominent Chief in the days of Vikrama Chola, and bore the name of Surai Narayanan *alias* Madhavarayan, son of Arumbakkilan Ponnambalakkutan *alias* Naralokaviran. The Sengeni Chiefs who bore the title of Sambuvaraya were prominent feudatories, whose descendants were to become quasi-independent ruling Chiefs in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tondaimandalam region, as Chola authority waned in the 13th century.

The reign of Vikrama Chola was one of peace and tranquillity, of consolidation of the empire and of great activity in the field of temple-building, which mostly took the form of enlargement or expansion of existing temples. A few new temples also came into existence during this period. But his greatest contribution was in Chidambaram.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

4

Temples of Vikrama Chola's Time

TIRUPPUGALUR

AGNISVARAR (PUGALUR DEVAR) TEMPLE 1

Tiruppugalur is a village in the Nannilam taluk of the Tanjavur district. The Agnisvarar temple here has already been dealt with in my *Early Chola Temples* (pp. 246–7). From an inscription of the second year of Vikrama Chola found in this temple (ARE 97 of 1927–28), it is learnt that a piece of land was sold for the maintenance of a hospital for tending the sick and the destitute; it was established on the north bank of the Mudikondasolappereri at Tiruppugalur. And the Assembly of Kshatriyanatha chaturvedimangalam met in a hall known by the name of Naralokaviran *mandapa* in the temple of Pugalur devar and made a remission of the tax on land gifted for the maintenance of the hospital.

SUGATUR

SOMISVARAR TEMPLE 2

Sugatur (also spelt Soogutoor in the old records) is a small village in the Sidlaghata taluk of the Kolar district (in Karnataka State). When this region was under Chola suzerainty, Sugatur is said to have been a flourishing local political centre with palaces

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and pavilions, and the regional chief lived here.

There are three inscriptions from this village (*Epi. Car.*, Kolar dist., Siddhalaghata, nos. 8, 9 and 10). They relate to a Somisvarar temple; they are however not found in any temple but in the fields.

No. 9* is dated in *Saka* 1042, corresponding to A.D. 1120. It is in *Tamil*. It says that in the *second year* of the reign of the king of Puli, the head of the family of the Cholas *(Koliyar kula pati) Sri Vikrama Choladeva alias* Sri Rajayar, the renowned Udaya-martanda Brahmamarayan *alias* Kuvalaiya Tantiran, the head of Nallur, with his residence in *Arumolideva-chatuppedimangalam*, the child born of Vichchamai, the senior wife of Paappanapperumal Samundaiyan, who was well-versed in *Tamil*, *caused to be constructed*, in the name of the older brother Selumaraivanan, *the temple of Somichchara*, the holy god with golden matted hair, praised by the celestials, in the village of Sugattur, where damsels learn dancing, situated in *Kaivara nadu* in *Nigarilisola mandalam;* he also presented a footstool made of gold and caused to be set up the images of Siva and Parvati so that these might be worshipped by all the world, and had a tank dug to the west of the temple for the priests. He also provided for worship to the other deities in the temple like Ganapati and Suryadeva.

Another inscription dated in A.D. 1120 (no. 16 *ibid.*) mentions that the members of the Assembly favoured certain lands to the goldsmith Savai Aasaari and confirms that Sugattur was called Arumolidevach-chatuppedimangalam in Kaivaara nadu of Nigarilisola mandalam. Sugutur, Hosapete, Sundrahalli, and Dodda-chokkandahalli seem to be near one another. At Hosapete there is a ruined temple called Kallesvara temple. There is also another temple called Channarayasvami temple. At Dodda-chokkandahalli, there is a Basavanna temple. We are unable to say if any one of these three is the Somisvara temple; or has the

---

*This reads as follows: *Svasti Sri Saka varsham ayirattu narppattirandu; Pu Magal punara pugalmadu valara..... Vikkiramasola devarkku yandu Irandadanil nara nigarilisola-mandalattuk-karavayal sul kaivara nattul mada maligai mandapam ongiya ..... Sugutturil Arumolideva-saduppedi mangalattu udaya Marttanda Biramma Marayan ... Somichchura tiruk-koyil edupittu...*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Somisvara temple gone out of existence? We may assign this temple to the early years of Vikrama Chola's rule.

PERUMUKKIL

MUKYACHALESVARAR TEMPLE 3

Perumukkil is now a small village on the roadside 11 kilometres to the east of Tindivanam on the way to Marakkanam, the ancient port town of Eyilpatna. It is in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot district. There are two temples in this village, one at the foot of a hill and the other on top of it. It is with the latter that we are concerned here. The ancient name of the temple was *Tiruvanmigai Isvaram*.

Perumukkil or Perumukkal was the scene of much severe fighting between the French and the English in the eighteenth century and still bears the battle scars in the shape of the fallen walls and roof of the *prakara* of the temple at the foot of the hill.

Local legend connects the name of the place with the epic *Ramayana* and the place derives its name from the pains of parturition which Sita is believed to have undergone at this place. Accordingly, the locality where the hill is situated is called the hermitage of the sage Valmiki; this also explains the name the temple assumed in the post-Chola period, viz., Valmiki-isvaram Udaiyar temple.

On the west wall of the central shrine of this temple, there is a third-year inscription relating to the period of Vikrama Chola which records that the temple for Tiruvanmigai-isvaram Udaiyar was built by one Kakku Nayakan *alias* Kanakarayan. Thus this temple is a foundation of the third year of Vikrama Chola. On the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the temple is an eighth year record of Parakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Vikrama Chola deva from which we get the alternate name of Palamukkil, in Perumukkil nadu for the village (ARE 45 of 1905). A ninth year inscription of the same ruler, on the west wall of the central shrine, relates to a gift of land to the temple, where the name of the temple is given as Tiruvanmigai-Isvaram (ARE 41

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of 1905). On a rock to the right of the steps to the top of the hill where the temple is situated is a record (ARE 37 of 1905) relating to the 16th year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva (who should be Anapaya), mentioning a gift of 30 cows for a lamp to the temple of Tirumalai Tiruvanmisvaram Udaiya Madevar at Perumukkil. There is mention of the gifts made by Kulottunga I in his 43rd and 45th years to the same deity; this would imply that the temple existed in some form even in the days of Kulottunga I and that in the early years of Vikrama Chola it was reconstructed in stone. In the 16th year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Rajaraja deva (II), a gift of 32 cows was made for a lamp in the temple; and in this record Perumukkil is called Edirili-Cholanallur (perhaps after the name of the future Rajadhiraja II who before his accession bore that name). In the fifth year of Rajadhiraja II, a gift of 32 sheep for a lamp is made to this temple called in the inscription Tiruvanmisvaramudaiya Mahadevar (ARE 44 of 1905). On the north wall of the central shrine, there is another record of the same regnal year of Rajadhiraja II, from which we get the name of Gangaikondanallur for Perumukkil (ARE 39 of 1905). Reference to a chief of the locality belonging to the Vrishabha family is made in a Sanskrit and Grantha inscription dated in *Saka* 1090 (A.D. 1168) found on the south wall of the *mandapa*. A late Pandya inscription dated in the 6th year of Maravarman Vikrama Pandya found on the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the temple refers to a gift of a salt-pan to the temple of Valmikisvaramudaiya Nayanar; it is said that the salt-pan had been in the possession of the temple for a long time but that it had remained unused since the time of Kopperunjinga, the Pallava chieftain of the thirteenth century.

From an undated inscription of the Vijayanagara days, we get to know that a certain Lingappa of Padaividu built the steps leading up to the temple from the foot of the hill (ARE 38 of 1905).

This shrine is now in a state of neglect.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TUKKACHCHI

APATSAHAYESVARAR (VIKRAMASOLISVARAM) TEMPLE 4

The village of Tukkachchi, closely connected with Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola, is situated on the northern bank of the river Arasalaru, a distributary of the Kaveri. It is off the beaten track, about seven km. from Nachchiyarkoyil in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjavur district. One has to take off from Pudukkudi on the road from Nachchiyarkoyil to Puntottam which runs on the southern bank of the Arasalaru, cross the river and proceed about a kilometre and a half along the northern bank of the river in a north-westerly direction to reach Tukkachchi.

In this village, there is a magnificent but much-neglected temple dedicated to Apatsahayesvarar, of which little notice has been taken so far and whose significance in the growth of Chola architecture has not been so far realised. It faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha* (7.35 m. × 5.70 m.), an *ardhamandapa* (7.35 m. × 7.72 m.) and a *snapana mandapa* (12.35 m. × 15.50 m.). The *srivimana* is a *dvi-tala* structure, the superstructure being of brick and mortar. The *griva* and the *sikhara* are circular in cross-section. Icons of Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma adorn the niches on the south, west and north walls of the *garbhagriha* respectively. In the south-western corner, there is a sub-shrine for Ganapati, while in the west is the Subrahmanya sub-shrine. The first *prakara* extends 65.00 m. in length by 38.50 m. in width. Over the eastern portion of the wall of enclosure, there is a three-tiered *(munru-nilai) gopuram* coeval with the main temple. There is a second (outer) *prakara* and a second wall of enclosure with an opening on the eastern wall, over which rises a five-tiered *(ai-nilai) gopuram*. In the north-eastern corner of the second *prakara* is the Amman shrine dedicated to Soundara Nayaki.

In this temple and its neighbourhood, there are three Chola inscriptions. The earliest of them (ARE 6 of 1915) is found on a slab set up in a garden in this village and is an inscription of the fourth year of Rajakesarivarman (an error for Parakesarivarman)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

alias Tribhuvanachakravartin Vikrama Chola deva (A.D. 1122). It records a gift of land free of taxes by the Great Assembly of Vijayarajendra chaturvedimangalam in Tirunaraiyur nadu, a subdivision of Uyyakkonda valanadu to the temple of Ten-Tirukkalatti Mahadevar at Kulottungasola-nallur for the recitation of *Tiruppadiyam (Devaram)* hymns. It also refers to the thirtieth regnal year of Kulottunga I. The place is named Kulottunga-sola-nallur and the Lord of the temple Ten-Tirukkalatti Mahadevar —of the southern Kalahasti, as distinguished from the celebrated northern Kalahasti, a Saiva centre on the northern borders of ancient Tamil Nadu.

The next Chola inscription is one of the 35th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Tribhuvana vira deva, which was the title assumed by Kulottunga III after his third victory over the Pandyas (about A.D. 1213). It is engraved on the south wall of the first *prakara* of the temple (ARE 2 of 1915). It mentions a gift of a lamp to the temple of Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar at Vikrama-sola-nallur by Arayan Rajarajadevan *alias* Munaiyadaraiyan of Gidangil (Tindivanam) in Oyma nadu, a district of Jayangonda-sola mandalam.

By this time, Kulottungasola-nallur becomes renamed Vikramasola-nallur and the temple of Ten-Tirukkalatti is re-christened Vikrama-solisvaram.

The third Chola inscription (ARE 10 of 1918), also inscribed on the same south wall of the first *prakara* of this temple, is one of the 23rd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajarajadeva III (A.D. 1239) in whose time the Chola administration fell to the depths of inefficiency, racked by revolts and defiance of the central power. Rajaraja III was defeated and imprisoned at Sendamangalam by the Pallava ruler Kopperunjinga but was later rescued by the Hoysala Narasimha II (A.D. 1231–32). In this period of disorder is recorded this inscription of the 23rd year of Rajaraja III. From this we learn that the cultivators of the *devadana* lands given as gifts to this temple of Vikrama Cholisvaram Udaiyar by Sendamangalam Udaiyar, Chief of Vikrama-sola-nallur *alias* Irumapundy, for conducting worship and offerings, for supplying unguents and garlands of *Sengalunir* flowers and for

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

meeting the other requirements of the temple, failed to pay the *kadamai* when demanded. And the income was found insufficient to meet the requirements of the temple. Seeing their distress, Sirandan *alias* Muniyadaraiyan, one of the *Kaval-kaniyalars* (officers leasing out lands and realising their assessment) dissuaded the defaulting tenants from absconding by giving them what was required for their maintenance, and personally attended to the daily requirements of the temple and supplemented its funds so that the fixed scale of expenses might be met; he also set up processional images of Sani and Brihaspati, appointed a person to perform a number of prostrations to the Lord of the temple for the welfare of the King, nominated *Nambis* to perform *homa*, and ministered to the wants of *Brahmanas* and *Vellalas* who had taken up residence in the village from outside. In return for all these services, the *Kaniyalan* was given the privilege of entering the temple armed with a bow, of getting one of the *nimandas* (privileges) for himself, of receiving half of the emoluments of the persons who had to carry the God in procession, of getting a house in the temple premises and of letting it out to any person of his choice and to have this order engraved on stone.

He reappointed the persons who had given up cultivation of the lands in previous years and was able to obtain an income of 2000 *kalams* of paddy for the temple.

The temple is named Vikrama-solisvaram and the place is called Vikramasola-nallur, in this inscription.

There is a post-Chola inscription to the left of the entrance of the inner *gopuram* of the temple (ARE 4 of 1918), which records the gift of the image of Pallakku-sokkar to the temple of Vikrama-solisvara-tambiran at Tukkaiatchi—a name nearest to the modern one of Tukkachchi—by an agent of the minister of Kottaniraya Maharaja whose identity and dates are unknown. Does it belong to the post-Vijayanagara period?

Another inscription in modern characters on the outer *gopuram* (ARE 5 of 1975) states that the measuring rod for dry lands was fixed at $16\frac{1}{2}$ units during the time of Samanta Nayaka Ayyan.

The temple, which perhaps existed even earlier in some form, was known as that of Ten-tirukkalatti Mahadevar and the locality

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

was known as Southern Kalahasti; the present name for the village of Tukkachchi or Tukkaiatchi would appear to be a corruption of Ten-Tirukkalatti (Ten-Tirukkalahasti). The place should have assumed some importance even in the days of Kulottunga I, as the temple here is said to be located in Kulottunga-sola-nallur. Even in the early years of Vikrama Chola, perhaps, this temple existed, as deducible from his fourth year inscription. He erected the temple as a new complex, as an all-stone structure (except for the superstructure of the *srivimana*) and the deity was named Vikramasolisvarar, after him.

This temple is of great significance in the evolution of Chola art and architecture during the Later Chola period. Apart from that, its importance lies in the fact that it is perhaps the only big temple built during the days of Vikrama Chola. His contribution to temple-building activity, as observed earlier, was mainly in the form of expanding existing temples—adding new *prakaras* and walls of enclosure and raising multi-pillared halls, a tradition which he and his general Naralokaviran set up in the first three decades of the twelfth century.

At Tukkachchi, Vikrama was not handicapped by any compulsions of existing structures dictating a plan to accommodate buildings already there. Planned as a total unit of building and executed as an entirely new composite structure, the Vikrama-solisvaram temple accommodated the chariot hall, in juxtaposition to the other three chambers. This *ratha mandapa* faces south, while the temple itself faces east. The *ratha* has two wheels and is 'drawn' by two horses. The *mandapa* accommodates an Amman shrine at the northern end. The entire edifice is on a high plinth which it shares with the other three chambers. On the eastern and northern sides, the hall is closed up by walls, except for an opening in the east to allow a direct view from the *gopuram* gate to the sanctum. In the south, the hall has a decorative façade having a multi-pillared covered landing, equivalent to an *agra-mandapa*. This *mandapa* is reached by a flight of steps from the eastern side, and the steps are flanked by a low sinuous balustrade, which on its outer face dons a straining elephant with two riders. The pillars supporting the *agra-mandapa* blaze a new trail in pillar carving.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Round and square pillars with plain surfaces of the earlier period give place to square pillars which are segmented on each face into a number of box and open panels depicting a variety of themes, gods and demigods, animals and flora and so forth. On the outer face of the walls on the south, east and west of this hall, there are niches housing various deities.

The *snapana mandapa* which is an elongated chamber linking the hall-on-wheels with the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*, also has a number of niches, four on each side, on the northern and southern outer faces, some of which are empty, while others house some fine sculptures, like Nataraja and Ardhanari, which are typical of the Later Chola period, in their features.

Vikrama Chola's contributions to temple-building activities are considerable, but the temples built by, and named after, him are only a few. The Tukkachchi temple is a grand edifice built in his time and named after him. There is another temple built in his time, also called Vikrama-solisvaram, at Madarvelur in the Sirkali taluk of the Tanjavur district.

The Amritaghatesvarar temple at Melakkadambur built by Kulottunga I was the proto-type for the Vikramasolisvaram at Tukkachchi which in turn formed the model for the Airavatesvarar temple built by Rajaraja II at Darasuram and the Tribhuvanesvarar temple built by Kulottunga III at Tribhuvanam.

The precursor of the *ratha-vimana* type of temple architecture is however the temple of Balesvara built in about A.D. 1090 by Chamundesvara Halegondi.*

TIRUNARAIYUR

SIDDHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE 5

The Siva temple at Tirunaraiyur, which is at a distance of about 10 km. southeast of Kumbakonam and gets its name from the sweet fragrance of the flowers grown here (*narai* = sweet smell), has been dealt with in my *Early Chola Temples* (p. 178). It is an

*It is a pity I could not visit this temple (see SII, IX, 197, 33–38; also Yazdani, p. 426).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Early Chola temple reconstructed in the days of Uttama Chola.

The *mandapa* in front of the central shrine however seems to be an addition made in the days of the Later Cholas. There are six inscriptions (ARE Nos. 125 to 131 of 1931–32) all belonging to the days of Vikrama Chola, three of them dated in the fifth year, and the other three are also presumably of the same date though in the inscriptions the dates are lost. They are all records of gifts, mostly of twilight lamps. These lend credence to the possibility that the *mandapa* came into existence either late in the reign of Kulottunga I or in the early years of Vikrama Chola's reign.

MELAPERUMBALLAM

6 DAKSHINAPURISVARAR TEMPLE

The village of Melaperumballam (and also of Kilaperumballam) is situated in the Mayuram taluk of the Tanjavur district and is close to Kaverip-pattinam, Akkur and Tillaiyadi, all very ancient centres of importance.

In the Chola days, this village went under the name of Talaichchangadu, located in Akkur nadu which was a sub-division of Jayangondasola valanadu. The deity of the main temple in the village is presently called Dakshinapurisvarar, but in ancient times was known as Tiruvalamburi Udaiyar as seen from inscriptions. It is a dated temple having been built as an all-stone structure by one Tiruvichchi Tiruvalampura-nambi *alias* Kalumalam Udaiyar Aludaiyan Pillaiyalvan. The earliest inscription in the temple is dated in the fifth regnal year of Vikrama Chola and the temple appears to have been completed by about that date. A portrait of the builder is found on the temple wall. Besides some undated inscriptions, there is one of the sixth year of Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1124) found on the south wall of the central shrine (with the *pu malai midaindu* beginning) which relates to a gift of $2\frac{1}{4}$ *velis* of land by one Velan Gandaradittan of Alangudi in Vela nadu, a subdivision of Kulottungasola valanadu, for offering worship to the images of Kuttadum devar (Nataraja), His Consort and Tiruppalliyaraip-Pirattiyar set up by him in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

temple. It is said that the assembly of the village *(mulapaurushai)* met in the hall called the *Mummudisolan Perambalam* and remitted the taxes on the land by accepting cash payment of 70 *kasus* from Gandaradittan (ARE 222 of 1925). The assembly of Perunjirai-nallur, a *brahmadeya* in Nangur nadu in Rajadhiraja valanadu received 40 *kasus* from the temple of Tiruvalamburam Udaiyar at Talaichchangadu in Akkur nadu, a sub-division of Rajanarayana valanadu, and sold some land and remitted some taxes on that and other lands measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ *velis* belonging to this temple (ARE 220 of 1924, dated in the ninth year of Vikrama Chola, north wall of the central shrine). From another record of the same reign, undated, also found on the north wall of the central shrine, we learn that the same Chief Velan Gandaradittan set up images of Kuttadum devar and Tandanganni Nachchiyar and that some private individuals of Marachcheri in Akkur nadu sold land, made tax-free, to the temple of Tiruvalamburam Udaiyar to provide worship and offerings to these images (ARE 215 of 1925). In the days of Kulottunga (II?), the temple paid 100 *kasus* to the assembly *(mulapaurushai)* and gifted land free of taxes for two flower gardens measuring 18 *mas* in extent (fifth year, ARE 221 of 1925). A native of Menmalaip-Palaiyanur in Jayangondasola mandalam set up certain deities in the eighth year of Rajadhiraja II (introduction *kadal sulnda par madarum*) and the assembly gifted some lands, made tax-free, to the temple for worship and offerings to these images (ARE 223 of 1925).

There are four records on the walls of the temple, all undated, which relate to sales of persons to the temple: (i) Kavakasi Kalaiyan Kumaran *alias* Tambirantolan of Talaichchangadu sold eight persons to the temple of Tiruvalamburi Udaiyar in the (same) village, in Akkur nadu, a sub-division of Jayangondasola valanadu (sixth year, ARE 216 of 1925); (ii) Soman Tattan of Nangur *alias* Sripadaduli chaturvedimangalam in Rajadhiraja valanadu sold six persons to the temple for 13 *kasus* 13th year, ARE 217 of 1925); (iii) Arayan Perungadi sold herself and her husband Sodi Tali *alias* Chandesvarap-Peraiyar of Ambar along with six others to the temple (same year as before, ARE 218 of 1925); (iv) Nambanambi Kadugal Nangai, wife of a *Vellala* residing in

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Cholapandyanallur, a hamlet of Talaichchangadu, sold to the temple 15 persons including herself, her daughter, grandson, his children and others for 30 *kasus* (same year, ARE 219 of 1925).

It seems reasonable to conclude that this temple came into being in the present form during the early years of Vikrama Chola and might have been in existence in the last years of Kulottunga I; however, it is possible that even earlier there might have been another structure, as the temple itself seems to be more ancient than the Later Chola period. Some important images were added during the days of Vikrama Chola and Rajadhiraja II: Kuttadum devar, his consort, Palliyarai Nachchiyar, Tandanganni Nachchiyar and some other images.

Kiratamurti and Consort

In this temple there is a metallic image locally called Dakshinaraja accompanied by the Consort. It is two-armed, stands in the *alidha* pose over a *padma-pitham* placed in turn on a *bhadra-pitham*. The left arm is raised in the posture of holding the bow and the right hand is in the *kataka* pose for holding the arrow. The body which is bare with a rotund belly and a deep sunken navel, is criss-crossed by a *channavira;* the face is marked by a narrow forehead, a moustache and a flowing beard; ears are adorned with *patra-kundalas;* the arms don bands of beads and elbow bands *(vaji bandha)*. The image wears the hero's leg band. This is thus a beautiful specimen of Kirata in his natural form, unlike the images found at Tiruvetkalam, Radhanarasimhapuram and others.

The icon is accompanied by its consort, a beautiful metallic image with a charming face, the hair done up in the *dhamila* fashion. The right arm is in the *lola hasta* posture, the left in the *kataka* pose; the arm-band is well turned and so is the *vajibandha;* the breasts are rounded, the waist narrow and the hips broad and sweeping gracefully; the chest is adorned by the *channavira;* the lower garment is held round the waist by a *simha-mukha* clasp. The image has all the features of a Rajarajan-Rajendran bronze and, but for the date of the temple, could be attributed to the Middle period. Though belonging to the Vikrama era, we could say that

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the icons of Kirata and Parvati were the product of the Middle period tradition.

Kuttadum Devar

An image of Nataraja is under worship in the temple. Besides, another image of Nataraja along with his Consort was unearthed in the same village some time back and is now housed in the Madras Government Museum. We are not sure which of these two Natarajas (Kuttadum devar) is the one gifted by Velan Gandaradittan; but it seems the one under worship in the temple may be his gift. They both share the characteristics of the age.

Bhikshatanamurti

It is a fine piece of metal, standing in the *tribhanga* pose with the deer shown leaping towards his finger. This is an interesting metal image representing Bhikshatanar. The upper left arm probably held a *trisula* across the back; the other two arms are in the posture of holding and playing on the *vina*, which makes this image distinct from the rest. This is the first Bhikshatana image depicted as playing on the *vina;* and another feature is that the figure is not shown in his nude form. However the latter is not an uncommon feature in Chola bronzes or stone sculptures. Among the images set up by a Menmalai-Palaiyanur citizen in the eighth year of Rajadhiraja II referred to earlier, mention is made of an image of 'Vattanaipada Nadantha Naayakar'. Dr. R. Nagaswamy has identified the icon of Bhikshatanar found in this temple with this gift. Appar in a hymn addressed to the Lord (deity) of Tiruvalampuram (modern Melaperumballam) called him the 'great Lord Siva, with a captivating smile on his lips and a *vina* in his arms, moving around as a Bhikshatana' (*'territtadoru vinaiyaraaich-chelvar .... Vattanaigal padanadantu mayam pesi ...'*). The term *'vattanaigal pada nadantu'* of Appar's hymn has given the name of *'Vattanaigal pada nadanta nayakar'* for the icon of Bhikshatanar as found in the inscription. It almost seems that the artist tried and succeeded in presenting in a sculptural form what Appar conceived in his fervid

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

imagination. This is thus a dated bronze of great significance, one among a few, enabling us to build up a gallery of such sculptures in metal of the Later Chola period.*

TILLAIYADI

7 SARANAGATA-RAKSHAKAR TEMPLE

The village of Tillaiyadi is situated in the Mayuram taluk of the Tanjavur district and is not far from Tirukkadaiyur, Akkur and Melaperumpallam, all important religious centres.

The Siva temple in this village was evidently in existence during the Middle Chola period as there is a reference to the Gangaikondasolan *chaturalai* (hall) where generally the assembly met to take decisions. Possibly, the central shrine (the *garbhagriha*) has undergone renovation and replacement at a later date with the result that we have no epigraphs of the period prior to the days of Vikrama Chola. However on the west wall of the first *prakara* of this temple is found a record of the sixth year of Vikrama Chola which mentions a gift of 10 *kasus* to the temple towards the charges for measuring a *tuni* and *padakku* of salt on a daily basis from the salt pan called Aiturai *alias* Rajendrasolap-*peralam*, granted by the king for meeting the expenses of offerings during the *ardhayama* service called the Vikramasolan *sandhi* in the temple of 'Tillaiyali Isvaram Udaiyar'. This was possibly the name of the temple during the Middle Chola period (ARE 239 of 1925). But a record of the 12th year of Kulottunga II (*pu mannu padumam* introduction) mentions the name of the deity as Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar at Tillaiyali-nallur. Six individuals sold to the temple for 15 *kasus* two *velis* of land at Sattamangalam after making it tax-free. In this connection the assembly of the village met in the hall called the Gangaikondasolan *chaturalai*. An undated record (possibly of the days of Rajaraja II or Rajadhiraja II) mentions that one Rajaraja Pichchan made over the right of *tiruppadiyakkani* and *madapattiyam* in the temple of Tillaiyali-nallur in Kurumbur nadu,

*Courtesy: Dr. R. Nagaswamy.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

a subdivision of Jayangondasola valanadu, to persons of his own choice. This was done with the approval of the king, granted at the request of Pallavarayar (ARE 236 of 1925).

Much later, in the days of Perumal Parakrama Pandya 'who was pleased to take all countries', the weavers residing in the streets round the temple agreed to raise subscriptions among themselves at the rate of a *kasu* on each working loom for renovation of the entrance *(gopuram)* to the temple of Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar, because it had cracked in many places. This agreement is recorded on the west wall of the inner *gopuram* of this temple (ARE 238 of 1925).

This temple comprising the central shrine and the first wall of enclosure and the *gopuram* thereon was the creation of Vikrama Chola and was named Vikramasolisvaram.

TIRUPPACHCHUR

PACHCHISVARAR TEMPLE 8

In our *Middle Chola Temples* (pp. 293–9), we have already dealt with the magnificent temple at Tiruppachchur, which is at a distance of 48 km. northwest of the city of Madras and about 6.50 km. north of Kadambattur railway station. This temple continued to attract the attention of the Chola princes during the Later Chola period. We have mentioned that the Amman shrine adjoining the central shrine of Vachisvarar could be attributed to Kulottunga I.

Naralokaviran's son who was called 'Surainayakan Madhavarayan, son of Ponnambalakkuttan *alias* Porkoyil Tondaimanar of Manavil' finds mention in a ninth year record of Vikrama Chola at Tiruppachchur (ARE 128 of 1929–30). His presents to the deity include a *makara torana* (aureole) made of gold and silver, together with a pearl parasol crowning it, an image of Gangadevi, a sacred thread of three strings in gold, and a gold plate set with hundreds of pearls and rubies, big and small, and diamonds both cut and uncut, to represent the upper cloth *(angavastram)*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

SIVANKUDAL

9 SIVAKKOLUNDISVARAR TEMPLE

Sivankudal is a village in the Kanchipuram taluk of the Chingleput district and bore the name of Sivak-kudal in ancient days. There is a local temple dedicated to Sivakkolundisvarar.

On the south and west walls of this temple, there are a large number of inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga I, ranging from his fifth year (ARE 284 of 1912) through his 25th, 28th, 49th and 50th years (ARE 278, 280, 281, 282); and all of them are either mutilated or disposed in disorder. There are, however, three Vikrama Chola records on the walls of the central shrine and they are in order; they relate to his 9th, 10th and 11th years respectively (ARE 283, 285 and 286 of 1912). There is, besides, one stray record dated in the third regnal year (ARE 289 of 1912) of Parakesarivarman Rajendra I which is found on a pillar lying in the temple.

It would seem that this temple was in existence even in the days of Rajendra I and possibly also earlier, as this record mentions that the Assembly of Sivakkudal in Nirvelur nadu, in Urrukkattuk kottam, a district of Jayangondasola mandalam, received money from a private citizen and declared certain lands, below the tank of Brahmadhiraya-putteri, rent-free in order to provide for offerings and lamps in the temple of Mahadevar of Sivakkudal.

The records of Kulottunga I all refer to gifts of land and sale of land for gifts to the temple; and the deity is called Sivakkolundudaiya Nayanar (ARE 287 of 1912).

Of the three records of Vikrama Chola, one refers to a sale of land to the temple for conducting a festival of seven days beginning with Ani-Uttirattadi, the asterism under which the king was born; and another refers to the purchase of some land which was later gifted to the temple of Mahadevar or Sivakkolundandar at Sivankudal. The third record of Vikrama Chola is unimportant.

The Amman shrine called that of Maragatavalli Nachchiyar in the temple of Sivakkolundudaiya Nayanar came into existence perhaps during the time of Vijayagandagopala deva, as we have a reference (in his 25th year record: ARE 287 of 1912) to the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

purchase of some land in his days.

I would infer that the temple was possibly in existence even in the Middle Chola period, how much earlier is not known, and that during the days of Kulottunga I, it received extensive attention and gifts and that the *srivimana* of the temple either underwent major repairs or was altogether rebuilt before the tenth year of Vikrama Chola. This conclusion is based on the fact that all the records relating to Kulottunga I are jumbled and mutilated, while those of Vikrama Chola on the walls of the *srivimana* are intact. If this surmise is right, the present structure could be attributed to Vikrama Chola and must have been built between A.D. 1120 and 1128.

The Amman shrine is a foundation of the mid-13th century.

GUDIMALLAM

PARASURAMESVARAR TEMPLE 10

The Siva temple at Gudimallam in the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh derives its importance from the antiquity of the *linga* of the central shrine. T.A. Gopinatha Rao has expressed the view that this *linga* has Scythian features and is the earliest extant *linga* in South India (Satavahana period: 2nd century B.C.). C. Sivaramamurti, in his *Nataraja* (p. 169), describes it as "Siva as Agnirudra and Yajamana as against Siva shown trampling on Apasmara".

We are concerned here with the architectural features of this temple, locally called the Parasuramesvarar temple.

On the west side of the base of the central shrine of the temple, there is a dated inscription of the days of Vikrama Chola, which refers to the foundation of the temple. It reads as follows:

Svasti Sri: Poomadu punarap puvimadu valara naamaadu vilanga .... kopparakesaripanmarana chakravarti sri Vikramasoladevarkku yandu 9-avadu Jayangondasolamandalattu Perumbanappadi Tiruvengada-kkottattu Silainattu Tiruvirpirampettu Mahadevar Parasuramisvara-mudaiyarkku Naranadevan Kulottungasolak-karuppurudaiyaarkku nan-raaga ittirukkarrali eduppittu *or tirunundavilakkum ... ippadi*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

silalekhai pannikkudutten Naranadeva Pudolaraisanana Vikkirama-solak-karuppurudaiyaanen iddanmam rakshippaan sri padam en talaimelena

From this record we learn that one Vikramasolakkaruppurudaiyan constructed the stone temple in the ninth year of Vikrama Chola and made endowments to it for the merit of his father Narayana deva Pudola-araisan *alias* Kulottungasola Karuppurudaiyan. From a record of the previous year (eighth regnal year), we gather that the temple was under erection and that an image of the god Chandesvarar was set up (ARE 213 of 1903).

There are a large number of Rajarajadeva inscriptions both on the walls of the central shrine and on those of the *mandapa* in front. They belong to the reigns of Rajaraja II and Rajaraja III.

One of them (ARE 204 of 1903) found on the south wall of the central shrine dated in the 15th year of Rajaraja deva mentions the name of the deity as Parasuramisuramudaiya Nayanar; in the same year are made a gift of gold for a lamp (ARE 205 of 1903) and another gift of gold and paddy (ARE 206 of 1903 found on the west wall of the central shrine). A ninth year record of Rajarajadeva (III) mentions a gift of land by Chalukki Narayana Yadavaraya *alias* Ghattiyadeva (ARE 210 of 1903).

On a slab set up in front of the central shrine is a fourth year inscription of a Rajakesarivarman, recording a gift of land for offerings to an image set up by Madurantakan Gandaradittar (ARE 222 of 1903). On similar detached stones, we have an inscription dated in *Saka* 820 (A.D.898) of Vijayaditya Mahabali Banaraya, making a gift of gold for a lamp (ARE 223 of 1903), and another of the same ruler in *Saka* 827 (A.D. 905) mentioning a similar gift for a lamp; we have similarly a 32nd year inscription of Madiraikonda Parakesari and one of Vijayadanti Vikkiramavarman of his 49th year (when "Vijayaditya Mahavali Banaraya was ruling the earth") (ARE 226 of 1903). There is again an inscription of the 24th year of Nripatunga, recording a grant made while Vanavidyadhara Mahabali Vanarayar was governing the country to the 'west of the Telugu Road' (ARE 228 of 1903); and finally a 23rd year record of Pallava Nandippottaraiyar records a gift of land made while Vikramaditya Mavali Vanarayar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

was governing the country to the 'west of the Telugu Road' (ARE 229 of 1903).

Thus this temple had been in existence even from the days of the Bana ruler Mahabali Banaraya and had the benefactions of Pallava Nandippottaraiyar and later of Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman Parantaka I. It is not clear if the temple was then of brick and stone. The temple, however, was converted into a stone shrine in the first decade of Vikrama Chola's rule.

MADIVALA BECHIRAK

ISVARA (ULAGISVARAM UDAIYA MAHADEVAR) 11 TEMPLE

The present-day Kolar district continued to be a part of the Chola empire well into the 12th century, long after the Hoysala ascendancy in the Karnataka region. Madivala Bechirak is a small village in the Srinivasapur taluk of this district (in Karnataka State). There is a temple locally known briefly as the Isvara temple. In the days of its creation, its deity went under the name of Ulagisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar. There are some important inscriptions in this temple. On the south basement of the temple, there is an inscription in *Grantha* and *Tamil* characters which reads as follows:

> "*Svasti sri saka varusham ayirattu narpattionbadu mukkokkilana-digalodu virrirundaruliya Kopparakesarivarmar-ana tribhuvanach-chakravartigal sri* Vikkirama sola *devarkku* yandu pattavadu *Nigarilisola mandalattu Pudanattu nattu-kamundan Muduvarayan Marayan ana Rajendra sola Pu . . p-Puda nattu manda . . n magan ta . . . na Vikkiramasola Vira Nulamban Kuranelli* Ulokisvaram Udaiya *Mahadevarkku . . . paanaa distavi-pariyantam srivimanam elundaruluvittu devarkku sripadamum saarduvittu deva . . . viba . . . nellip-perieri-kil pe . . .*" *(61, Srinivasapur taluk, Kolar Dist.,* Epi. Car.)

This means that in the *Saka* year 1049, equivalent to A.D. 1127, which was the 10th year of the reign of Kopparakesari-vanmar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

alias the emperor Sri Vikrama Choladeva, Vikiramasola vira Nulamban, son of the *mandalika* of Puda nadu . . . Muduvarayan Marayan, *alias* Rajendra Sola . . . , the *gamunda* of Puda nadu in Nigarilisola mandalam, caused a *vimana* to be built for the god Ulokisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar of Kuranelli, presented a golden plate to the god and also granted certain lands, whose details are given.

At the same place, on the north and west basements, there are records dated in A.D. 1225 which seem to mention that one Rajasrayan Pulladeva Mandalikan *alias* Varagunap-perumal, son of Sakki deva Mandalikan, who was the original *mandalika* of Puda nadu in Nigarilisola mandalam, made a grant for the god Tiruvalisvaram Udaiyar on the hill of Kuranelli in Puda nadu (63, *ibid.*). One record which is in Tamil is dated in the 38th year of Poysala Iramana devar (A.D. 1292) and merely mentions the name of the *nadu* and *mandalam* and is incomplete. A fourth inscription is found on a stone lying in front of the temple, whose characters are in *Tamil* and *Grantha* and which tells us that Pulladeva Mandalikan along with some other man of Kuranelli made a grant of land to a *Siva-brahmana* of the *Bahudhanya (Bodhayana) sutra* for the god Ulokisvaram Udaiya nayanar; this could be dated about A.D. 1231 (60, *ibid*).

From another inscription found on the basement of the Valesvara temple on the Valesvara hill at Guttapalli, in the same *hobli*, we gather that Makkovai . . . Varagunap-Perumal *alias* Pulladeva Mandalikan, son of Rajapati Sakkideva Mandalikan of Puda nadu in Nigarilisola mandalam made over . . . for as long as the moon and the sun endure, the temple, together with *panchangam*, of the god 'Tiruvalisvaram Udaiyar Who has graciously taken His abode on the top of the hill at Kuranelli of this *nadu*.' He also granted certain lands, with details (specified), for the above god. He had the temple and the *mandapa* of this god and of the god Ulokisvaram Udaiya Nayanar of old Kuranelli repaired. He had the repairs of the temple done at the instance of the *Siva-brahmana* who was the holder of the temple land in Kuranellipperru . . . . This could be dated in A.D. 1231 (49, *ibid*).

Thus we get to know that there were two temples at Kuranelli,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

one dedicated to Tiruvalisvaram Udaiyar on the top of the hill, which temple now bears the name of Valesvara, and another dedicated to Isvara, called in the old days Ulokisvaram udaiyar temple, at the modern village of Madivala Bechirak, which was part of the old town of Kuranelli, in Puda nadu in Nigarilisola mandalam.

Thus this temple of Ulokisvaram could be attributed to the Vikrama Chola period. We have no clue as to when the Tiruvalisvarar temple was built, but we do know that it was in existence by A.D. 1225 (i.e. in the period of Rajaraja III).

ALANGUDI

APATSAHAYESVARAR TEMPLE 12

On the walls of the Apatsahayesvarar shrine at Alangudi, a village about 15 km. south of Kumbakonam, in the Papanasam taluk of the Tanjavur district, there is an inscription of Vikrama Chola which mentions that in the eleventh year and the fifteenth day (after accession), seated on the throne in the hall of Akalankan in his palace at Vikrama Cholapuram and having resolved (to that effect) after two visits, on the 115th day and the 313th day respectively of the tenth year of his reign, to Perumbarrappuliyur (i.e., Chidambaram), the king was pleased to issue an order that in lieu of royal revenue *(kadamai)* due from the village of Jananatha saruppedimangalam (which was the old name of the village of Alangudi) in Mudikondasola valanadu, the said village should pay old paddy fit for consumption *(ponagap-pala-nel)* amounting to 1,181 *kalams*, 2 *tunis* and 2 *nalis*, as long as the sun and the moon endure, towards the maintenance of daily worship in the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram. It was further stipulated that the paddy should be carted and conveyed in safe custody and handed over to the authorities of the temple treasury known as "Udaiyar koyil Ponmeynda Perumal Bhandaram," correct to the standard measure of the temple known as 'seppukkal tiruchchirrambalamudaiyan'. (See my article in QJMS, XXI, No. 3). This order *(ulvari)* was signed by a number of royal officers, and after it

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

had been entered in the account books, it was communicated to the Great *(Perunguri)* Assembly whose members met in full strength. With the approval of their representatives, the royal order was caused to be engraved on the walls of the Tiruvirumpulai* Udaiya Mahadeva temple of Jananatha chaturvedimangalam.

In fact, most of the inscriptions of Vikrama Chola after the tenth year mention, as in this case, the benefactions of the king to the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. From a close reading of the text, one is almost tempted to conclude that in the tenth year of his reign, there must have been a grand celebration (a coronation or a durbar) on his birthday, which was attended in large numbers by his subject princes who brought heaps of precious gifts *(porkuviyal)* and poured them at the feet of their emperor. These tributes were utilised by the king for the construction of buildings to his 'family god' *(tan kula Nayakam)* Nataraja at Chidambaram. Possibly, the tenth year was very significant in the life of Vikrama Chola. He was preoccupied in the first ten years with the task of retaking the territories which had been lost to the empire in the last five years of his father's reign; and having restored the empire to its original extent, he celebrated his achievement by gathering his feudatories and subordinate princes at Chidambaram and ceremonially accepting their tokens of fealty. We shall see more of this in the next section.

CHIDAMBARAM

13 NATARAJA TEMPLE

Vikrama Chola, who participated along with his father in the last years of the latter's reign in the various temple-building and other activities, continued the expansion of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, so elaborately started by his father. It must be noted that during this period the combined efforts of these two rulers and their famous general Naralokaviran brought

*Irumpulai or Tiru-Irumpulai or Tiruvirumpulai was another old name for the present-day Alangudi village.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

about a six-fold expansion of the campus of the temple. As mentioned in the earlier chapter on Vikrama Chola, he brought these constructional activities to a successful conclusion, which should have been around the tenth year of his reign and presumably decided to inaugurate the remodelled temple of Nataraja in a fitting manner, to which we have made reference, as contained in the Alangudi inscription. Vikrama is reported to have given away all the tributes paid to him by the feudatories in his tenth year, towards the building and embellishment of the shrine of Nataraja, his *kulanayakam*, the tutelary deity. Among the structural additions he made out of these funds, he mentions:

1) the *tirumaligai* (wall of enclosure round *Ponnambalam)*,
2) the *gopura-vasal* (tower-gateway),
3) the *kuta salas* (halls), and
4) the *bali pitham*, which he covered with gold.

We are not sure if Vikrama Chola made all these contributions during his reign, or was only toting up the contributions made during the closing years of his father's by the three of them—his father, the general Naralokaviran and himself (SII, V, 458).

An inscription found at Chidambaram registers a gift of land made by a native of Tiraimur for a flower-garden at Manarkudi-Kattalai, a hamlet of Jayangondasola chaturvedimangalam. It also mentions another gift of land in Pannangudichcheri *alias* Parakesarinallur, a hamlet of Perumparrappuliyur, with four tenants, for maintaining the garden and for providing the *mantra-pushpa* in the temple of Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyar (ARE 268 of 1918).

An inscription of his fourth year from Tiruvengadu mentions a gift of land made for a flower-garden by the Assembly of Irukkaiyur (modern Erukkur) in Nangur nadu (now in Tanjavur district) to Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyar at Perumbarrappuliyur (ARE 508 of 1918).

These building activities may have been undertaken by way of completion of continuing construction work on the second wall of enclosure, the gateway of the western tower *(melgopuram)* and the Hundred-Pillared Hall, which had been started by Naralokaviran, his feudatory and general. The western entrance to

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the temple through this second wall of enclosure, which is a grand gateway, was completed and named 'the Akalankan Tiruvasal' (see the photograph of the inscription found on a wall of the entrance). This second wall encloses the Nataraja shrine-complex comprising the *Kanaka Sabha* and the *Chit Sabha*, the Govindaraja shrine, the *dhvajastambham*, the *balipitham*, the *Nritta Sabha* built during the days of Kulottunga I south of the new shrine of Nataraja, the *edir-ambalam* (the original temple of Tiruch-chirrambalam), *yaga-salai* and the famous site (chamber) from which the *Devaram* was recovered by Nambi Andar Nambi.

Among his other contributions to this temple should be mentioned the gift of a temple-car to carry the Divine Dancer in procession during the great festival instituted and named the *Perum Peyar Vila* after the king, the laying of a street also named after him, and the gifts of a *kalpaka* tree, a necklace of pearls, and dishes of pure gold. All these gifts were made on the 15th of April, A.D. 1128. The king takes great pride in calling the Lord of Dance, Nataraja of Chidambaram, his *kulanayakam*. He also constructed a large number of big mansions *(nilai mani maligaigal)* along the road by which Lord Nataraja is said to have been taken in procession for the sacred bath in the eastern sea about eight km. east of the city of Tiruch-chirrambalam.

In spite of the foundation of the Gangaikondasolisvaram temple in the new Chola capital by Rajendra I, the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram, which had won the homage and patronage of Parantaka I and other Early Chola kings, and had acquired a halo of glory after the recovery of the *Devaram* hymns of the trio during the days of Rajaraja I, began to exercise a strong fascination over princes and people alike and the special devotion of this royal house to Nataraja reached the greatest heights in the reigns of Vikrama Chola and his son Kulottunga II.

By the end of Vikrama Chola's reign, the completion of the first (inner) wall of enclosure, called *Kulottunga-* and also *Vikramasolan- tirumaligai*, the construction of the second wall of enclosure *(Vikramasolan tirumaligai)*, the completion of at least the main Amman shrine and the building of the Hundred-Pillared Hall at Chidambaram had taken place. The campus had expanded

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

considerably and was to expand still more in the succeeding decades.

RAJARAJAN-TIRUMANGALAM

BHULOKANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE (VIKRAMA CHOLISVARAM) 14

From Kuttalam railway station on the Southern Railway, Tiruvelvikkudi is 4.8 km. in a north-easterly direction; and about 3 km. from the latter village are located three important villages of ancient fame, viz., Edirkolpadi (or Mel-Tirumananjeri), Kil-Tirumananjeri and (Rajarajan-) Tirumangalam. They are situated in the Mayuram taluk of the Tanjavur district. The temple at Tirumangalam is dedicated to Siva under the name of Bhulokanathasvamin.

From a tenth year record of one Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan, found on the south wall of this temple, we find a royal order at the instance of one Ganitach-chakravarti approving a gift of land as compensation to the temple of Rajendra-solisvaram Udaiyar, for the construction of a new compound wall *(tirumadil)*, a gate-way *(tiruvasal)* and other extensions to the temple of Vikrama-cholesvaram Udaiyar at Rajarajan-Tirumangalam in Virudarajabhayankara valanadu. This temple is obviously attributable to the days of Vikrama Chola though the exact date of its erection is not easy to determine. In a stone set up in front of the Madhyannesvarar temple at Tirumananjeri, also in the same taluk and quite close to Tirumangalam, it is inscribed that the land (where this stone should have been originally set up) was gifted to the god Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar at Irajarajan-Tirumangalam. A *sula* (spear) is engraved at the top of the inscription (ARE 111 of 1927). A sixth year record, found on the north wall of this temple and belonging to Parakesari-varman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Virarajendradeva (Kulot-tunga III), beginning with the introduction *Puyal vaittu*, registers the reassignment of lands belonging to several temples and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

individuals, necessitated by the erosion by floods of the Vikkiramasolappereri.

There is another record found on the east wall of the second *prakara* of the temple, relating to Kulottunga III, which registers a grant of land for the maintenance of one Kasyapan Tirunattamadi Avimuttisvaram Udaiyan *alias* Ananda nayaka Bhatta doing worship in the temple of Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar at Rajarajan-Tirumangalam, in Kurukkai nadu, a subdivision of Virudarajabhayankara valanadu (ARE 112 to 117 of 1926).

There are three pillar effigies in this temple which are worthy of attention; they presumably represent donors or important persons of the locality worthy of recognition, and over the figures are given the following names:

i) Maddalaperumal (for the figure shown beating a drum);
ii) Bhogamattal *alias* Bhuvananayaki Manikkam (for the female figure); and
iii) Yerri *alias* Virapperumal Manikkam.

We may conclude that the temple of Bhulokanathasvamin at (Rajarajan-) Tirumangalam came into being by about the tenth year of Vikrama Chola and was named after him.

KANCHIPURAM

15 ARULALAP-PERUMAL (VARADARAJA PERUMAL) TEMPLE: KARUMANIKKA-VARADAR (VIKRAMASOLA VINNAGAR ALVAR) SHRINE (IN THE SECOND *PRAKARA*)

As we saw in the section on Kanchipuram (Chingleput district)—Section 44 of Chapter 2, this ancient city was divided into three major parts, of which Chinna- or Vishnu- Kanchi was one. This sector of the city was called Tiruvattiyur in olden days. It has three major temples. We have traced the growth of the Arulala Perumal (Varadaraja Permual) temple in the above-mentioned section of the book.

In the second *prakara* of this temple there is a shrine dedicated to Karumanikka-varadar. We learn from an 11th year record of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Chakravartin Vikrama Chola deva found in this temple that the king set up in this temple an icon called Vikramasola vinnagar Alvar, and for its daily worship made a gift of land as *devadana* in the village of Vilvalam which was renamed Akalankan-nallur in Kaliyur nadu, a subdivision of Kaliyur kottam (ARE 590 of 1919). The icon is to be identified with the one in the Karumanikka-varadar shrine.

TIRUVOYMUR

THYAGARAJASVAMIN (VOYMURNATHAR) TEMPLE 16

Tiruvoymur is about 24 km. south-east of Tiruvarur and is about 3 km. to the south-east of Tirukkoli, both sacred places in the hagiology of the Tamils. It is one of the *Saptavitanka Kshetras* and Surya is said to have worshipped the Lord of Tiruvoymur. There is a sacred tank in front of the temple called the Surya-tirtham. The main deity of the temple is called Tiru-voymur-nathar and the Amman is Palinu (m) nanmoli-ammai. The Lord of the place has been sung by both Appar and Sambandar. When Appar was worshipping the Lord of Vedaranyam, He is said to have appeared before him and commanded him to go and worship the Lord at Tiruvoymur; and the tradition is that as he was proceeding there to sing the praises of the Lord of Tiruvoymur, Sambandar also joined him and they sang His praises together.

The temple, presently known as Thyagarajasvamin temple, received the attention of the Early Pandyan and Early Chola rulers, as a number of inscriptions of the Early Pandya kings, Varaguna and Maranjadaiyan, are found engraved on the tiers of the central shrine of this temple (ARE 605 and 608 of 1962–63). The Government Epigraphist has identified Varaguna with the Varaguna figuring in the Aduturai, Kumbakonam and Tiruch-chirrambalam records (SII, XIV, Nos. 7, 8, 14). There are also a few Rajakesarivarman and Parakesarivarman inscriptions and they could be attributed to the Chola rulers of the tenth century. On palaeographic grounds, all these records appear to be copies

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of original inscriptions made in the early 12th century, and the earliest *original* record would appear to be one of Vikrama Chola, dated in his 12th year (ARE 598 of 1961–62). This points to the fact that the temple was reconstructed sometime prior to the 12th regnal year of Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1130).

A 11th year record of Rajadhiraja II (ARE 596 of 1962–63) mentions the existence of the *Amman* (shrine) also, a gift of 50 *kasu* being made and paid into the temple treasury by one Panchavan Villuparaiyan to maintain two perpetual lamps, one to be burnt before the Lord Tiruvoymur Udaiyar for the merit of one Velan Bhattan and the other before the goddess in the temple for the merit of the donor's forefathers. Another record of Rajadhiraja II, found on the south wall of the shrine and dated in his 12th year, corresponding to A.D. 1178, also refers to a gift of money for a lamp (ARE 603 of 1962–63).

The earliest of (Virarajendra) Kulottunga III's records is found on the south wall of the *mandapa* and relates to his sixth year, recording a gift of 112 *kasus* by one Punangai, a *devaradiyal* of Tiruvoymur, for a perpetual lamp. The *Sivabrahmanas* received the amount and undertook to maintain the lamp (ARE 588 of 1962–63). A 26th year inscription of Kulottunga III records a gift of a brass lamp with *narasam* (rod) and 600 *kasus* for maintaining the same, by Udaiya Nachchi *alias* Sivan Perundevi, wife of Vaippur Udaiyan Tirunagisvaram Udaiyan, a merchant residing at Pasai. The *Sivabrahmanas* received the amount and agreed to maintain the endowment (ARE 597 of 1962–63). Another inscription of the same reign whose date is lost records the exemption from taxes granted by the *Perunguri-sabha* of Paramesvara chaturvedimangalam in Rajendrasola valanadu to some lands endowed for worship and offerings, and for meeting the expenses during the procession of some deity set up by an individual whose name is not known (ARE 600 of 1962–63). From another record we get to know that the *Perunguri-sabha* of Kattimangudi *alias* Solapandya-chaturvedimangalam of Vandalaivelur kurram in Rajendrasola valanadu provided funds and undertook to widen the street leading to a *toppu* (grove) to which the deity was to be taken in procession (ARE 579 of 1962–63). Another

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

record of the same ruler (Tribhuvanavira), also dated in his 33rd year, mentions an undertaking given by the *Sivabrahmanas* of the *muppadu-vattattuk-kani* of the temple of Tiruvoymur Udaiyar to provide the necessary commodities for the *tiruk-kalabhach-chirappu* on the occasion of two festivals to *(Adal) vitanka devar* out of the interest on 1200 *kasus* deposited with them by Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan Divakara ... who seems to have received the amount from the *Sribhandaram* of the temple for some lands sold to it (ARE 586 of 1962–63).

A 20th year record of Rajaraja III mentions a gift of 600 *kasus* by one Sembonsodi Vottanaiyadal udaiyar of Kattur for maintaining three *sandhi* lamps to be burnt before the deity Alagiya Vinayakap-pillaiyar set up by him in front of the *sri-pitha* in the temple. The *Sivabrahmanas* received the amount and undertook to burn the lamps (ARE 598 of 1962–63). A 27th year record (A.D. 1243) mentions an exemption from taxes granted by the *Perunguri sabha* of Kattimangudi *alias* Solapandya chaturvedimangalam to lands endowed for services and offerings to Pillaiyar, the deity set up by Sri Krishnan *alias* Udappirappu-Alagiyaperaraiyan, residing near the temple (ARE 584 of 1962–63). A similar exemption was granted in respect of lands in their village endowed to the same deity granted by the *sabha* of Isanur *alias* Paramesvara chaturvedimangalam (ARE 585 of 1962–63). A 29th year record mentions the sale of land as *chandesvarapperuvilai* (temple auction) for 4,000 *anradu-narkasu* (standard current coin) by the authorities of the temple to Pattarayappanivar *alias* Atkondavilli of Neydalvayil, to provide for worship and offerings to the image of Tirujnanam-perra-Pillaiyar (Sambandar) set up by the purchaser of the land (ARE 581 of 1962–63). Another inscription of the 30th year of the same ruler records an undertaking by Sirramur-udaiyan Arayan Kambikkadan Pavalakkunran to provide for the expenses on the *Tirukkappu* day of the festivals, in the months of *Purattasi* and *Chittirai* to god Vattanaiyadal Udaiyar (Nataraja) from the proceeds of some land received by him as *kani* from the temple after paying the specified taxes thereon (ARE 582 of 1962–63). A record of the same ruler in the same year refers to the sale of land for 1400 *kasus* by the authorities

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the temple to Atkondavilli *alias* Pattarayap-panivar of Neydavayil, referred to earlier (compare ARE 581 of 1962–63), who in turn endowed the same to meet the expenses for worship, offerings and taking in procession of god Vattanaiyadal Udaiyar (Nataraja) on the day of *Tiruvadirai* in the month of *Margali* (ARE 587 of 1962–63).

A 11th year inscription of Rajendra III records the declaration of the *Perunguri mahasabha* of Isanur *alias* Paramesvara-chaturvedimangalam exempting from taxes the lands endowed by Vanakkovaraiyar as *madappuram* to the Tirutturai Nayakan *tirumadam* built by him near the temple (ARE 583 of 1962–63). A 20th year inscription (disarranged) records the sale of some land by the authorities of the temple in favour of Kuttan Andapillai of Iraiyankudi who endowed the land as *jivitam* for a guard at the western entrance of the temple after renovating it. The guard was to pay the taxes on the land into the temple treasury (ARE 589 of 1962–63). Another record of this ruler (year not clear) records a tax-free gift of some land to provide for the expenses in a *matha* which was established by a person (name lost) in the street on the southern side of the temple, by Kuttadu-nayan *alias* Rajendrasola Karaikkadudaiyan (ARE 604 of 1962–63). A 21st year record of the same ruler found on fragments built into the *gopuram* of the temple refers to a grant of land made tax-free as *madappuram* for a *matha* by Rajendrasola Karaikkadudaiyan and mentions that it was lying fallow (ARE 619 of 1962–63).

This celebrated temple has had a long and chequered history.

SARKAR PERIYAPALAYAM

17 VARADARAJA PERUMAL TEMPLE (VIKRAMA-CHOLA-VINNAGARAM)

In Sarkar Periyapalayam in the Erode Taluk of the Coimbatore district, there are two temples: (1) Sugrisvarar temple and (ii) Varadaraja Perumal temple. The former belongs to the post-Chola period. The Varadaraja Perumal temple was called in

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the past, according to inscriptions on its walls, Vikrama-chola-vinnagaram.

From one of the two inscriptions in the latter temple, found on the west and south walls and partly damaged, belonging to the reign of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Konerinmaikondan, who should be none other than Vikrama Chola, and the only dated one (14th year), we find that a Vishnu temple called Vikrama Chola Vinnagar, named after the Chola emperor, was set up in his time in the (presumably) newly-established village of Vikrama Chola chaturvedimangalam, also named after him (ARE 317 of 1908). Another inscription, found on the west wall, mentions the name of the deity as Perumal Varadarasar in Mugandanur (ARE 316 of 1908). This place and the temple may be taken to have been named after the Chola king Vikrama Chola.

MADARVELUR

1. VIKRAMA CHOLISVARAM UDAIYAR TEMPLE 18
2. MATALISVARASVAMI TEMPLE

Madarvelur is a village about 6.5 km. west of the railway station of Sirkali on the main line of the Southern Railway.

From the only record on the west wall of the Siva temple here (ARE 38 of 1918), we come to know that in the 19th year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rajarajadeva, a gift of land was made to the temples of Matulisvaram Udaiyar and Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar at Matuli-velur *alias* Akalanka chaturvedimangalam in Venpanaiyur nadu, a subdivision of Rajadhiraja valanadu, by the Great Assembly for offerings and repairs. The christening of the village as Akalanka-chaturvedimangalam would indicate that it was named after a surname of Vikrama Chola. The inscription refers to two temples, both of which may be attributed to Vikrama Chola's period.

The temple has an *upapitham* on which rests the *adhishthanam* which consists of the *upanam*, *padmam*, *jagati* (carrying inscriptions), *vritta-kumudam*, *kantham* and *vedi* mouldings.

It is an *ekatala* stone temple with a circular *griva* and *sikhara*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

On the three free sides of the *garbhagriha* there are three well-adorned *devakoshtas* with a frontispiece fashioned like a *mancha* with pilasters on either side with two engaged pillars at the ends.

This temple may be identified as the Vikrama Cholisvaram of the inscription found on the wall of its *garbhagriha*. (Pls. 190–2).

TIRUKKODIKKA(VAL)

19 TIRUKKOTISVARAR TEMPLE: MAHAMANDAPA AND TIRUCH-CHURRU-MALIGAI

In our earlier book, *Early Chola Temples* (pp. 174–6), we have dealt with the temple of Tirukkotisvarar at Tirukkodikka(val) *in extenso* indicating that this temple was rebuilt of stone in the days of Uttama by queen Sembiyan Mahadevi who ordered that all the inscriptions found in various places in the earlier structure of the temple should be re-inscribed on the walls of the new structure (ARE 36 of 1930–31). While dealing with the Sun temple at Suryanarkoyil and generally Sun worship in the south, we have also mentioned the fact that one Ilaiyan Aditta-pidaran of Korravayil in Tenkarai Panaiyur nadu gifted money to the servants of the temple of Tirukkodikka in Vadakarai Nallarrur nadu to supply offerings to the image of Surya deva which he had set up in that temple (ARE 35 of 1930–31).

In the *maha-mandapa* of the Tirukkotisvarar temple, we find a number of inscriptions belonging to the days of Kulottunga I and his son Vikrama Chola. They all relate to his 42nd and later regnal years. We may presume therefore that this *mandapa* should have come into existence during the last decade of Kulottunga I. Encircling the main central shrine and also the *mandapa* along with the subsidiary shrines of Ganapati and Chandesvarar in the *prakara*, is a wall with a raised, pillared and covered platform running the entire length of the wall; on the east wing of this structure, outside the *prakara*, there is a brief inscription which mentions the words "*svasti Sri Vikkiramasolan tirumaligai.*" Evidently this wall was built during Vikrama Chola's days and at his instance and named after him. We have noticed that in his and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

his father's days a large number of temples were expanded, by adding to the area of the temple campus by building what are termed *tirumaligai* or *tiruch-churru-maligai*, i.e., compound walls round the existing temple, frequently with raised covered platforms running the entire length thereof, thus allowing for a circumambulatory passage and space for sub-shrines for Ganapati and others. We know for instance that Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola built the first and second *prakara* walls of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (ARE 9 to 58 of 1930–31), apart from many others.

CHIDAMBARAM (PARAKESARINALLUR)

VIKRAMASOLISVARAM UDAIYAR TEMPLE 20

Chidambaram, presently the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in the South Arcot district and known in ancient days as Perumbarrappuliyur or Tiruchchirrambalam, was a great temple city, which during the Chola period expanded in extent and importance enormously and covered a number of hamlets *(pidagai)* for miles in all directions. Parakesarinallur was one of these *pidagais*. To the north-west of the town of Chidambaram and about 3 km. from the Nataraja temple lies the comparatively obscure suburb now known as Singarattoppu. It has rich historical associations with the Nataraja temple. Umapati Sivacharya made this place his home and paid worship to Lord Tirukkalan-chedi Udaiyar here. From an 11th year inscription of Koperunjinga found on the south wall of the Brahmapurisvarar temple in this suburb, we learn that the temple of Nayanar Tirukkalanchedi Udaiyar was located in Panangudich-cheri *alias* Parakesarinallur, a hamlet of Perumbarrappuliyur. From other inscriptions in this temple, we learn that there were also other temples in this suburb such as Arumolisvaram. The Tiruttondattogai-isvaram referred to in these inscriptions has been identified with Tiruk-kalanchedi Udaiyar temple (i.e., the present day Brahmapurisvarar temple) (vide *The City of the Cosmic Dance* by B. Natarajan, pp. 29, 35, 36 and 39).

We learn from an inscription in the Nataraja temple at

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Chidambaram that a certain Edirilisolan *alias* Irungolan founded a temple called Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar at Parakesarinallur, after having acquired land for the purpose from various people and after providing for houses for *brahmanas* and temple servants. Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottunga Chola, 'who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya' ordered in his 12th year, 125th day that the assessment of this land be deducted from the revenue of the village, the same be entered in the temple accounts with the original documents preserved in the temple and that the whole transaction be engraved on the walls of the temple (ARE 309 of 1913). It is now found on the north wall of the second *prakara* of the Chidambaram temple.

This temple was a foundation of the period of Vikrama Chola, named after him. The record, however, relates to the period of Kulottunga III and is engraved on the walls of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram.

KUMBAKONAM

21 SAR(A)NGAPANI TEMPLE

Kumbakonam is the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in the district of Tanjavur and is on the main line of the Southern Railway. It is a celebrated city of temples, both Siva and Vishnu. This city has a very long and eventful history. It was known in the past as Tiruk-kudamukku or Tiruk-kudandai.

According to local legends there was a deluge after the *Dvapara yuga:* the Almighty placed in charge of Brahma a pot of nectar *(amrita)* and the seeds of creation, and left it adrift in the deluge. The drifting sacred pot finally got stranded at this place. Siva, as Kiratamurti, appeared on the scene; and with his arrow pierced the pot and spilt the nectar, which flowed all over. The greater part of it flowed into a tank, now called the *Mahamakha* tank, where even today a great bathing festival is celebrated once in twelve years. It is believed that all the river goddesses dwell in this tank. Govinda Dikshitar has built on its banks several *mandapas* for the reception of deities on various festival days. The legend

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

goes that the remnants of the *amrita* were mixed with sand and the Lord of Adi-Kumbhesvarar was created out of it. The deity of the Adi-Kumbhesvarar temple is sung by all the three early Nayanmars.

On the north bank of this tank is the Kasi Visvanathar temple (called later on the Karohana temple). This temple is celebrated by Sambandar in a hymn. One of the important temples of Kumbakonam is the Nagesvarar temple. It is an Early Chola temple and a gem of art. We have dealt with it in detail in our *Early Chola Art, Part I* (pp. 133–5).

Besides, there are two Vishnu temples in this city, the Ramaswami temple and the Sar(a)ngapani temple. The former which is full of rich and elaborate sculptures is of more recent origin, having been erected in the seventeenth century A.D. The earlier and more celebrated temple is that of Sar(a)ngapani. Its importance in South India is next only to that of the Srirangam temple. It is believed that the *Vaidika vimana* of the Sar(a)ngapani temple is the offshoot of the Srirangam *Pranava vimana* and a *replica* of the *vimana* presented to Vibhishana of Lanka by the Ikshvakus of Ayodhya at the time of Rama's coronation.

The *vaidika vimana* is conceived of as a chariot with wheels drawn by horses and elephants, on a grander scale than that of the Melakkadambur temple built in the period of Kulottunga I (early 12th century A.D.). As in *Vaikuntham*, the *srivimana* has two gateways, the *uttarayana vasal* (the northern gate, opened on the *Makara Sankranti* day) and the *dakshinayana vasal* (opened on the 18th of the month of *Adi* in the Tamil calendar).

This temple has had a long past, from the early centuries of the Christian era, as Bhutattalvar and Peyalvar (2nd century A.D.) have sung hymns on the Lord of this temple (*'aiyarum vaippanpasaich-cherndu kudamukkil koyilakkondu'*—Bhutattalvar; *Padamukkinayiravaip-pambanai mel serndai—kudamukkil koyilakkondu'*—Peyalvar). Periyalvar and Andal have sung hymns on the Lord of Kudandai; also Tirumangai alvar (eighth century A.D.). Tirumalisai alvar seems to have spent his last years and attained salvation here. Nammalvar also is associated with this temple.*

*Nathamuni is said to have heard the recitation of one of the hymns of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Though the temple existed in the Pallava and Chola periods, the present structure—a stone temple, in the shape of a chariot—seems to be attributable to the period of the Later Cholas, most likely the reign of Vikrama Chola (modelled after the Melakkadambur temple of Kulottunga I's time). The gateway portion of the *gopuram* of this temple is also attributable to the time of the Later Cholas, but the super-structure of eleven *nilais* (storeys), about 46 metres high, may belong to the Vijayanagara period. (It may also be a later renovation).

The main deity of the central shrine *(mulavar)* is Pallikondar (Vishnu reclining on the snake Adisesha). The processional deity *(Utsava murti)* is Sarngapani. His Consort is Komalavalli. There is a legend associated with these two deities.

Bhrigu *muni* once entered the chamber of Lord Vishnu and Mahalakshmi; he was not recognised; and the *muni* kicked the Lord on His chest and departed. Lakshmi got vexed that Her Lord did not punish the offender. So in a fit of anger She left Her Lord and went to the Earth and settled on the banks of the lotus tank at Kudamukku and did penance to win back the Lord.

In the next aeon, Bhrigu was reborn as Hema Rishi. He repented for his past offence to Vishnu and did severe penance. The Lord was pleased with his devotion and appeared before him and asked him what his desire was. Hema Rishi prayed that Lakshmi be born as his daughter and he be given the privilege of offering her to the Lord as his spouse. The prayer was granted. One day when the *muni* went to the lotus tank, he found a girl on a lotus in the pond. The *muni* took her home and brought her up as his own daughter. When the auspicious time came, Komalavalli, the girl, was offered in marriage to Lord Sarngapani.

Thus Sarngapani and Komalavalli constitute the processional

Nalayira Prabandam—the four thousand hymns of Nammalvar (Sadagopan)—and was eager to unearth the rest of the hymns. And credit is given to Nathamuni for the recovery of the Vaishnavite *Prabandam*. What Nambi Andar Nambi did for the recovery of the *Devaram* hymns of the Saivite Nayanmars, Nathamuni is said to have done for the Vaishnavite hymns. Nathamuni spent his last years in the Chola capital of Gangaikondasolapuram and died there. We saw in our *Middle Chola Temples* (p. 253) that his grandson Alavandar built a temple for Vishnu at the capital as a memorial temple to honour the great *acharya*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

deities of the temple. Sarngapani (as the name indicates, Sarnga being Vishnu's bow) bears a bow in his hand.

The Consort's shrine, dedicated to Komalavalli (*tayar sannidhi*), is to the right of the *Dakshinayana* gateway of the temple.

An interesting feature of this temple is that there are labelled sculptures depicting the *karanas* of Bharata's *Natya Sastra*, found on the first tier of the *gopuram*—in contrast to the arrangement in the generality of other temples containing the *karana* sculptures, where they are found on the wall surface of the entrance portion itself, or on the *kantham* of the *tiruch-churru-maligai* (as in the case of the Tiruk-kamak-kottam Udaiya Nachchiyar temple and also the thousand-pillared hall, both at Chidambaram.) (Pls. 193–202).

PALAYARAI

SOMANATHAR (OR SOMALINGAR) TEMPLE 22

The village of Palayarai in the heart of the fertile delta of the Kaveri was once the celebrated secondary capital of the Pallavas and later of the Cholas. Known as Nandivarma- or Nandipanma- or merely Nandi- puram under the Pallavas, it was the political centre of their hold over Chola mandalam till the rise of the Muttaraiyars and the line of Kochchenganan, Orriyuran, and Vijayalaya. It went into temporary eclipse in the Early Chola period but during the Middle Chola period resumed its importance. In this capital many a Chola monarch got himself anointed. It is referred to in a record of Kundavai Pirattiyar, the sister of Rajaraja I, as the home of her nephew, Rajendra I. It is noticed from a number of grants of the early years of Kulottunga I, including the Tirukkalar copper plate grant that during the Middle Chola period, Palayarai was known by the name of Ahavamalla-kula-kala-puram, evidently so christened to commemorate Chola victory over the Western Chalukyan ruler, Ahavamalla*. But its importance grew considerably during the Later Chola period

*During this period, the nearby Ayirattali bore the names of Mudikondasola-puram, Pandiyanai-ven-kanda-sola-puram etc. Mudikondasola was a title of Rajendra I.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

when many of the ruling monarchs made it their home for long stretches of time. Vikrama Chola would appear to have resided here in preference to the Chola capital and to have built a palace for himself at Palayarai that went under the name of Vikramasolapuram. One hears less and less of Tanjavur or Gangaikondasolapuram; and the area between the Kaveri near Kumbakonam and the (later) Tirumalairajan channel became the cradle of Tamil culture and literature and the focal point of temple building activity. Pattisvaram, Ramanathankoyil*, Tiruchchattimurram, Darasuram, Mulaiyur, Udaiyalur, Kurikkai, Kumbakonam and Tribhuvanam are not more than three or four kilometres from this village. Today it is in utter ruins and bears no relation to the greatness it enjoyed during the heyday of the Later Cholas.

It is about 11 km. south-east of Kumbakonam (along the road) and is approached *via* Darasuram, Pattisvaram and Mulaiyur; Tirumalai-rajan river (canal) lies to its immediate north and is crossed by a temporary bamboo bridge.

A mere cursory look at this temple will immediately place it among the great temples of the Later Cholas; it shares many of the characteristics of Vikramasolisvaram at Tukkachchi, Rajarajesvaram at Darasuram, and Tribhuvanesvaram at Tribhuvanam. With no inscriptional material on its walls to give us a clue to its age (none belonging to the Later Chola period), one has to indulge in some amount of speculation in dating it; but one would seem almost to be sure to put it as a Vikrama Cholan monument which presumably got embellished or completed by Rajaraja II. In any case, it would definitely be a monument built during A.D. 1130–1160, some additions and accretions taking place in the subsequent periods.

The temple has two walls of enclosure. The outer one is in ruins with only the *gopuram* at the eastern side remaining. Even that which should have been a grand seven-tiered gopuram comparable to those of Chidambaram, Tribhuvanam and Tiruvalur is

*The Panchavan Madevisvaram temple here is described as being in Palayarai, in contemporary inscriptions.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in a bad shape, all the upper tiers having collapsed. Portions of the first tier remain to give us an idea of the architectural features of the superstructure. The solid all-stone *gopura-vasal* (the *dvara*, that is the base) is in two tiers, as at the above-mentioned places, and bears a close resemblance to, and is almost identical with, the eastern *gopuram* of the outer-most *prakara* (third wall of enclosure) at Tiruvalur. The pilasters, the niches and the entablatures over them, which now take the form of *salas* in lieu of *makara-toranas* of an earlier period, and more than these, the majestic *vyalas* of graceful form alternating with the niches, point to the unequivocal conclusion that this *gopuram* and the non-extant wall of enclosure must have been the contributions of Kulottunga III. The dance panels, depicting the *karanas* of Bharata's *Natya Sastra*, strung like a festoon down the flanking wall-faces of the entrance through the *gopuram*, bear the same architectural and iconic features as are noticed at Chidambaram, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam. The Later Cholas took the cue for their *gopurams* from the grand *vimana* of the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur and the Gangaikondasolisvaram at Gangaikondasolapuram and adapted the technique to suit their plans of manifold expansion of existing campuses of earlier temples. By and large, the *srivimana* receives diminishing importance, the *gopuram* getting increasing attention. The *gopurams* of Kulottunga III would have for us less of iconographic significance, the heyday of iconic display on the *gopurams* being left behind with the end of Rajaraja II's rule. Inscribed icons as at the western *gopuram* or the inscribed *karanas* (defined from the *slokas* of the *Natya Sastra*) of the classical dance form as found in the eastern as well as the western *gopurams* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram would almost fix their period as of Rajaraja II's. The main Darasuram *gopuram* falls into this group.

The inner wall of enclosure with the *gopuram* at the eastern entrance through it is, however, part and parcel of the Somanathar temple. The inner campus measures 20 m. north-south and 78 m. east-west. The temple faces east and has only one approach through the eastern wall. The *madil* has a *tiruch-churru-maligai* 4.30 m. in width along the lengthwise walls and 5.30 m. along the breadthwise walls. The main shrine consists of a

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

garbhagriha 10 m. square, an *ardhamandapa* 5.16 m. by 4.37 m. inside with uneven external dimensions caused by the new structural innovations that came into being from the Vikramasolisvaram days. The structure is seen to lose the axial balance that characterised the temples of the days of the Middle Cholas; in fact it would be true to say that structural asymmetry was brought about even by Rajendra I as noticed at Kulambandal. The northern wall is flattened out into one continuous straight wall surface with decorative niches evenly placed along the entire length; the southern wall evolves its undulations and embellishments, almost as if to attract the pilgrim to the temple who begins his circumambulation in a *pradakshina* fashion commencing with the southern *prakara;* and only when he has worshipped the lord does he wend his way through the western and finally the northern *prakara* before exiting through the eastern gateway. A look at the temple plan would emphasise this asymmetry. Measured on the northern side, the temple is 42.60 m. long, the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* wall portions measuring 16.25 m. and the remaining chambers measuring 26.35 m. externally. There are ten niches on the northern wall covering the *mahamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*, evenly spaced out (with an intervening distance of 2.64 m.); corresponding to them on the southern face, wherever a niche could be accommodated, we find one and in other places, other architectural innovations like the *sopana* and the platform with an entrance to the *mukhamandapa* make their appearance. The other important feature is the *ratha-mandapa* (or the chariot hall) with horses and wheels, south of the *mahamandapa*.

The *srivimana* is *tri-tala* with *kutas* and *salas* in the *haras* and a circular dome *(sikhara)* on top. Like Vikramasolisvaram at Tukkachchi, the superstructure of this temple is of brick.

In terms of style evolution, we could place this temple midway between Vikramasolisvaram mentioned above and Rajarajesvaram at Darasuram. If one were not conscious of the fact that Kulottunga II concentrated much attention on the Chidambaram temple, one could say that this was a temple of the period of Kulottunga II. The only inscription found here (ARE 254 of 1927) states that the big *mandapa* and the *sopana*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(flight of steps) were constructed by Vanadarayan Narasingadevan of Poruvanur in *Saka* 1375 (A.D. 1453). We must recollect that Palayarai was sacked by the Pandyas after the defeat of Kulottunga III in the closing years of his reign and much of the damage to the temple here and the strange absence of almost all the niche icons would be ascribable to this sack. Evidently Palayarai remained an abandoned city for a long time. The renovation referred to is possibly of the *mahamandapa* and the *ratha-mandapa* and its steps.

The noteworthy feature of the niche figures is the presence of Ardhanarisvarar in the rear niche of the *garbhagriha*—a departure from Later Chola style Lingodbhavar noticed at Darasuram as well as at Tribhuvanam. Ardhanarisvarar as the rear-niche figure occurs again in the Siva temple at Mulaiyur, close by.

The Amman shrine dedicated to Somanayaki is attributable to Kulottunga III, on stylistic grounds.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Appendix

1. 2nd year: (Saka 1042, A.D. 1120) Sugatur, Mysore dist., Karnataka. Erection of Somesvara temple by Udaya marttanda Brahma marayan and gift of land after consecration of the image (ARE 175 of 1911; Epi. Car; X, Sd. 9)
2. 2nd year: Tirup pugalur, Tanjavur dist. Tevur udaiyan Velan Manattukkiniyan *alias* Viratarajan established at Tiruppugalur a combined hospital *(atular salai)* and *matha* on the northern bank of the Mudikonda solap *peraru* for the benefit of the sick and the destitute. Mentions the meeting place of the *sabha* as Naralokaviran *mandapa* (ARE 97 of 1928).
3. 2nd year: Tiruvadaturai, Tanjavur dist. Remission of taxes on temple-lands by the *sabha* of Abhayasraya chaturvedimangalam meeting in the temple of Mani ambalam udaiyar (ARE 157 of 1925).
4. 2nd year: Tiruvaduturai, Tanjavur dist. Remission of taxes by the *sabha* of Pandiyanai ven-konda Chola chaturvedimangalam meeting in the temple of Virarajendra vinnagar Alvar on a gift of land as *madappuram* (ARE 158 of 1925).
5. 3rd year: Perumukkal, South Arcot dist. Construction of the Mukhya Achalesvarar temple by Kakku-Nayakan *alias* Kanakarayan (ARE 40 of 1905).
6. 3rd year: Tiruvaduturai, Tanjavur dist. Gift of two *velis* of land by Pavalakkunru Periyal, maid-servant *(pendatti)* of Queen Mukkokkilan Adigal at Gangaikondasolapuram to the temple of Mangalesvaram udaiya Mahadevar at Kulottungasola nallur (ARE 69 of 1926).
7. 4th year: Tiruvidaimarudur, Tanjavur dist. Royal order of a gift of ten *velis* of land to Kulottunga solisvaram udaiya Mahadevar set up at Mangalakkudi by Svamidevar Srikantha Siva for the merit of the king (ARE 301 of 1907).
8. 4th year: Tiruvilakkudi, Tanjavur dist. Remission of taxes for lands bought from the temple of Tiruvaduturai for founding a temple to Tiruk Kedara Lingam by Alaga Vitankan Uyyavandan *alias* Jnana Sivar of Pundi, a *tapasvin* (ARE 144 of 1926).
9. 4th year: Tukkachchi, Tanjavur dist. Gift of tax-free land by the *sabha* of Vijayarajendra chaturvedimangalam to Ten Tirukkalatti Mahadevar at Kulottungasola nallur for the recitation of *Tiruppadiyam* (ARE 6 of 1918).
10. 5th year: Tiruvaduturai, Tanjavur dist. On payment of 26 1/2 *kasus*, the *sabha* of Tirukkadavur at a meeting in the Tiruch chirrambala Velaikkaran *tirumandapam* in the temple of Kalakala devar made some temple-lands *kasu-kolla-iraiyili* (ARE 60 of 1926).
11. 6th year: Madhurantakam, Chengalpattu dist. Sale of land for a temple called Arulakara Isvaram to be built with a *mandapa*, *tiruchchurru-maligai*, *eduttuk-katti* and a *tiru-nandavanam*. (ARE 128 of 1896; SII, V, 993).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

12. 6th year: Tillaiyadi, Tanjavur dist. Royal gift for meeting the expenses of offerings during the *ardhayama* service called Vikramasolan *sandhi* in the Tillaiyali Isvaram Udaiyar temple (ARE 239 of 1925).

13. 6th year: Tribhuvani, Pondichery. Gift of land for a temple-site, a hall and a flower-garden to Arulakara Isvaram Udaiyar set up in the fifth year by Arumbakkilan Ponnambalakkuttan of Manavil (Naralokaviran) for the prosperity of the king and the village. Records the orders of the *mahasabha* of Tribhuvana Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam. (ARE 175 of 1919).

14. 9th year: Gudimallam, North Arcot dist. Rebuilding of the stone temple of Parasuramesvarar and gift of land for offerings by Naranadevan Pudolarasan *alias* Vikramasola Karuppurudaiyan, for the merit of his father (ARE 212 of 1903; SII, vii, 511).

15. 10th year: Bechirak-madivala, Mysore dist., Karnataka. Construction of a *vimana* (ARE 467 of 1911; E.C., X, Sp. 61).

16. 11th year: Vayalur, North Arcot dist. Gift of a village as *devadana* by the residents of Uttamasola valanadu to God Ammai Vinnagar tiru-virrirunda Alvar and Consort set up in Tiruvedi-malai at Vayalur by Sengeni Sambagarajan Nalayiravan Ammaiyappan *alias* Rajendra-solach chambaga rajan of Munnurruppalli in appreciation of his meritorious acts such as founding villages and constructing temples and tanks (ARE 422 of 1922).

17. 12th year: Aduturai, Tanjavur dist. One Tiruch-chirrambalam udaiyar constructed *maligai* and gopuram. (ARE 16 of 1913).

18. 12th year: Tirumanikkuli, South Arcot dist. Gift of land to Vikrama Cholisvaram Udaiyar set up by the king himself at Tirumanikkuli (ARE 163 of 1902; SII, VII, 788).

19. 12th year: Tirunaraiyur, Tanjavur dist. Gift of land by Sembiyan Madevip Pirattiyar for offerings to the Pidari shrine at Tirunaraiyur (Is it the re-engraving of an old gift?) (ARE 174 of 1908; ARE 1909, II, 46).

20. 14th year: Kalahasti, Chittoor dist., A.P. Installation and provision for offerings to Aludaiyar Ten-Kailasam Udaiyar (ARE 85 of 1922).

21. 14th year: Tiruch (chattu?) chorrut turai, Tanjavur dist. Gift of land for *tiruppalli-eluchi* by the *nagarattar* living in the street called Vikramasolap perunderu at Ayirattali *alias* Ven-kanda-solapuram (ARE 194 of 1931).

22. 15th year: Siddhalingamadam, South Arcot dist. Gift of land to the shrine of the goddess by Alavandal, daughter of Malaiyaman Nanurruvan Malaiyan *alias* Rajendrasola Chediyarayan of Kiliyur, and wife of Malaiyaman Raman Surriyan *alias* Rajendrasola Malaiyakula rajan of the same village. The shrine was built by her mother, Niraitavanjeydal (ARE 401 of 1909).

23. 17th year: (Saka 1054, A.D. 1135) Nidubrolu, Krishna dist., A.P. Maraya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Panda, the *dandadhipa*, and *matula* of Velananti Gonka, built at Ikshupalli a fine temple to Siva and gave lands for worship and lamps (ARE 163 of 1897; SII, VI, 123).

24. no regnal year: Tirukkodikkaval, Tanjavur dist. Tirukkotisvaram is called Tyagasamudram (ARE 49 of 1931); on the east wall, outside the first *prakara*, is an inscription referring to '*Svasti sri Vikrama-solan tirumaligai*' (ARE 56 of 1931).

25. no regnal year: Tirumalam, Tanjavur dist. A *prakara* wall built by Vikrama Chola is called after his name (ARE 99 of 1910).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

5

Kulottunga II

(A.D. 1133 to 1150)

Kulottunga II, the son and successor of Vikrama Chola, became the Crown Prince in A.D. 1133, and his regnal years are counted from then onwards. Vikrama Chola continued to rule for a period of two more years at least. The reign of Kulottunga II, like the latter half of his father's and the entire period of his successor's, was one marked by peace and a welcome freedom from wars. The extent of the kingdom was preserved as it was after Vikrama had re-established Chola suzerainty over the areas seized from the Cholas in the last few years of Kulottunga I's reign; in fact, the restoration of Chola authority over Vengi was complete and effective, as attested by the Chelluru plates. The Western Chalukyas, who had temporarily eclipsed the Cholas in this region, are not heard of there. The Chola overlordship is attested by the prevalence of a large number of Chola inscriptions of this period in this region.

Kulottunga II continued to rule from the old capital of Gangaikondasolapuram or Gangapuri. It is likely that he had a secondary and well-frequented capital at Chidambaram, otherwise called Tillai, which became a centre of considerable attention from the period of the Later Cholas. We have already seen the massive alterations and additions that Kulottunga I, his son Vikrama Chola, and their general and minister Naralokavira had made to the temple of Nataraja. It is likely that Kulottunga II celebrated a coronation in this city, as, in one inscription, he is described as the 'king who wore the crown in such wise as to shed lustre on

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tillainagar' (ARE 155 of 1902). Apart from these two palaces, he would appear to have erected a new palace at Vikramasolapuram, a reference to which is contained in the inscriptions (ARE 271 and 533 of 1921) relating to his third regnal year.

From an inscription at Tirumalavadi, we come to know that he had two queens; the chief queen was called Tyagavalli, alternatively called Bhuvanamulududaiyal; the other was a Malaiyaman princess, by name Mukkokilan (ARE 85 of 1895). We are aware that the Kilur chiefs were wielding considerable authority in the region of the present-day South Arcot district and that they played a vital role in the political activities of this and the succeeding decades.

Kulottunga II was a great devotee of Nataraja of Chidambaram and was a staunch Saivite. In fact, he was the exception to the rule among the kings of the Vijayalaya House and later those of the Chola-Chalukya line, who were catholic in their attitude to religion, paying equal attention to Saivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism. But Kulottunga II was almost a bigot as exemplified by the closure of the worship of Govindaraja in the campus of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram.

Kulottunga II bore many surnames; the most frequent name by which he went was Anapaya; this is borne out by the fact that a large number of old villages were renamed Anapaya-nallur and new villages created with that name; even his Secretary *(tirumandira-olai)* who conveyed the royal orders was named Anapaya Muvendavelan. In the inscriptions and in the *Ula* on Kulottunga II by Ottakkuttan, the Court poet, he is called Anapaya (ARE 271 of 1915; 533 of 1921; 346 of 1911; 531 of 1912). We have noted his intense devotion to Tillai Nataraja and the additions and improvements he made to that growing temple-complex; he covered the sacred *Perambalam* with gold and hence came to be called *Pon-veynda-Perumal*, 'the king who gilded (the Nataraja temple)' (ARE 157 of 1902); for the same reason he also bore the title of '*Tirupperambalam pon meyndaruliya* Rajakesarivarman', as seen from inscriptions (ARE 349 and 315 of 1928–29) from Tiruppalaivanam (also see ARE Report of 1927). Among other titles, less frequently used, are Tirunirruch-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

cholan (a surname he shared with his grandfather Kulottunga I), Edirilisolan and Kalikadinda-solan.

His inscriptions display a large variety of introductions or *prasastis*. They are:

Pu mannu pavai	ARE 53 of 1893
Pu maruviya puvi elum	ARE 85 of 1895
Pu meya (mevi) malar	ARE 422 of 1904
Pu mannu padumam	ARE 255 of 1929
Pu mevu tirumagal	ARE 572 of 1907
Pu mannu yanar	ARE 83 of 1895 (also see ARE 1913, II, 35).

Ottakkuttan whose life spanned three generations of kings wrote an *Ula* on Kulottunga II also, known as the *Kulottunga-solan-ula*. He was also the author of *Pillait-tamil*, a poem on this king, rich in diction and imagery.

Possibly due to the prevailing peace and prosperity in the land, the numerous chiefs and subordinates of the Chola emperor found time to make extensive gifts and contributions to temple-building activities. Among them were the Kadavas. Prominent among them during Anapaya's days was Mohan Alkolli *alias* Kulottungasola Kadavarayan. Towards the closing years of Kulottunga II, this chief's powers had grown considerably and his authority spread over a wide area covering Vriddhachalam, Tirunamanallur, Tirumanikkuli and Tiruvadigai, whose temples were the recipients of his growing benefactions; in fact, he assumed the title of Alappirandan Elisai Mohan *alias* Kulottungasola Kadavar-Adittan, 'the Sun among the Kadavas'.* It is from these humble beginnings that this branch line of the Pallavas grew gradually in strength, till the second quarter of the next (12th) century, when a scion of this line, Kopperunjingan ('the Big Lion'), shook the very foundations of the Chola empire. We shall see in the next chapter the extensive benefactions of this ancestor of Kopperunjingan and contemporary of Kulottunga II.

Kulottunga II's rule appears to have ended about A.D. 1150, giving him a reign of seventeen or eighteen years.

*See *Kopperunjingan* in Tamil by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, Ch.3, p. 35 (Also ARE 46 of 1903).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

6

Temples of Kulottunga II's Time

CHIDAMBARAM

1 NATARAJA TEMPLE

In the earlier chapters, we traced the breath-taking expansion that many temples like those at Srirangam and Kanchipuram underwent, besides the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. The latter held the Cholas under a spell, with the result that successive Later Chola rulers devoted more and more attention and State resources to the expansion and embellishment of this temple of their *kula-nayakam* or *Ishta devata*. We shall briefly survey the expansion of this temple during the reign of Kulottunga II.

The *Kulottunga-solan-ula* sung by his court poet Ottakkuttan attributes to him the gilding of the *Perambalam*, the creation of seven-storeyed *gopurams* and of walls of enclosure provided with inner covered pavilions, the building of the shrine of the Goddess of Tiruk-kamak-kottam Udaiya Periya Nachchiyar and the laying of the four main streets. The *Rajarajasolan Ula* sung by the same poet on Rajaraja II, the son and successor of Kulottunga II, mentions additions to the *Chirrambalam*, *Perambalam*, of cloistered halls with towers, streets, gateways and the shrine of the Goddess (Sivakami) and its front enclosure. The *Takkayagapparani*, a poem by the same poet, credits Anapaya with the installation of a *sri-pitham* resembling Mount Meru.

From these references, we can assume that Kulottunga II

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

carried out the gilding of the *Perambalam*, and the construction of a portion of the third wall of enclosure which was probably completed during the time of Kulottunga III and named the Rajakkal-tambiran Tirumaligai after one of his surnames. The building of at least the stone gateway portion of the eastern and northern *gopurams*, and the completion of the shrine of the Goddess Sivakami and its front enclosure can be attributed to him.

The greatest achievement of his reign from the point of view of literature and art was the composition of the *Periyapuranam* and its exposition in the Thousand Pillared *Mandapa* by its author Sekkilar, the king's scholar-statesman. I am not able to agree with the view of T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar who ascribes its composition to the period of Kulottunga III and with his identification of *Edirambalam* with *Perambalam*. In my view *Edirambalam* is to be identified with the *Mulasthanam* shrine north of the Nataraja shrine and *Perambalam* is the *Deva sabha*, east of the Nataraja shrine.

It is said that Anapaya had Jaina leanings and his minister weaned him away from Jainism by singing the glory of Saivism. After listening to the stories of Saivite Saints as described by Sundaramurti Nayanar and Nambi Andar Nambi, Anapaya wanted Sekkilar to compose a full and detailed account of the lives of the Tamil Nayanmars. A large sum of money was provided and Sekkilar was sent on this sacred errand to Chidambaram. He went there and prayed to Lord Nataraja for divine grace. The Lord blessed and hinted to him to begin his work with the word *Ulakelam*. Thus the *Tiruttondar-puranam* consisting of 4263 stanzas on the lives of the Saiva Saints of Tamil land came to be composed. The king came to Chidambaram and again there was heard a divine voice that the work should be expounded by the author himself in the Thousand-Pillared Hall. The exposition took a year to complete. The king conducted a festival. The *Puranam* was wrapped in silk and placed in a gold-box. The 'Tillai Three Thousand' paid great adoration to it and declared it as the fifth *veda*. Sekkilar was honoured with the title of *Tondar-Seer-Paravuvar*—one who glorifies the Lord's devotees. This greatly enhanced the already growing glory of Chidambaram. Kulottunga is said

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to have celebrated his coronation here—most probably in the Thousand-Pillared Hall. In later times this Hall or *Sabha* came to be called *Raja Sabha*. An inscription from Tirumanikkuli states: "Kulottunga who crowned himself so as to shed lustre on Tillainagar *(Tillainagar Sirappudaitaga-Tirumudi sudiya Sri Kulottungasola devar)*". No wonder that Tillai became 'Kailasa on earth'. A Sanskrit inscription at Tiruvarur calls him "a bee at the lotus-feet of Natesa of the golden hall at Vyaghra-agrahara" (Chidambaram).

THE THOUSAND PILLARED MANDAPA

Fergusson assigned the age of the Thousand Pillared *mandapa* to the sixteenth century A.D. The Archaeological Department (H. Krishna Sastri) held that the hundred- and thousand-pillared *mandapas* were the work of Vijayanagara rulers, especially Krishnadeva raya.

We shall consider the age of the Thousand Pillared *Mandapa* at Chidambaram. Kulottunga I, his son Vikrama Chola and their soldier-statesman-philanthropist, Naralokaviran, enlarged the Nataraja temple-complex six-fold. The two inner walls of enclosure with at least the west *gopuram* gateway in the third wall of enclosure, the Hundred Pillared *mandapa* and the main *sanctum* of the Amman shrine were built during their period. The Amman shrine should have been completed during the time of Kulottunga II. Kulottunga III claims the construction of a *mukha-mandapa* and a *gopuram*. The Later Pallava Kopperunjingan also made a contribution to the *gopurams*—we do not know the exact nature of his additions, apart from the south *gopuram*.

Kulottunga II is credited with the help rendered to Sekkilar for composing and expounding his *Periyapuranam* in this Thousand-Pillared Hall. This great classic recorded its *imprimatur* in this hall. It may be stated that this hall lies east of the Sivaganga tank for which stone steps were provided by Naralokaviran. It is in the third *prakara* of the enlarged Nataraja temple enclosed by the third wall of enclosure called Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai after Kulottunga III's surname and adorned in the centre on

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

all four sides by seven-storeyed *gopurams*. The western *gopuram* had been completed and the foundation laid for the eastern and the northern *gopurams* by the time of Vikrama Chola; so the Thousand Pillared Hall must have received the attention of the Chola kings before Kulottunga III's time. The southern *gopuram* was built by the Pallava Kopperunjingan in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.

Umapati Sivachariyar (A.D. 1244–1320), one of the *gurus* of the Saiva Siddhanta school, has written a poem on the life of Sekkilar. He mentions the existence of the Thousand Pillared *mandapa (Aiyiru-nuru-kal-mani-mandapam)* where the *Periyapuranam* was expounded.

Anapaya's full attention and the huge material resources of a rich and prosperous empire were devoted to embellishing and enriching the noblest of temples of the Tamil land from the point of view of the Saivites. And so it is not unlikely—though we would wish for more positive evidence—that the Thousand Pillared *mandapa* was completed, or at least nearly, during the reign of Kulottunga II. Chidambaram was his *Bhuloka Kailasam* (Heaven on Earth). It may be added that the dance-pose sculptures on the basement of the Amman (Sivakami) temple and the Thousand Pillared *mandapa*, have close affinity.*

UTTATTUR

CHOLISVARAR TEMPLE 2

Uttattur, whose ancient name was Urrattur, is about 3.20 km. to the south-east of Padalur, which is about 34 km. from Tiruchy on the Tiruchy-Madras trunk road. It has an Early Chola temple with a long history. We have dealt with this temple in *Middle Chola Temples* (pp. 256–59).

In the outskirts of Uttattur, there is a dilapidated temple on top of a low mound. It belongs to the Later Chola period. There

*For a full account of the growth and expansion of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram under the Later Cholas, see *The City of the Cosmic Dance*, by B. Natarajan, pp. 22–42.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

are two inscriptions found on the south wall of this temple, one on either side of the entrance. The earlier one, beginning with the introduction *pu mannu padumam*, relates to the 13th year and 124th day of Kulottunga II's reign (A.D. 1146–47), and records that the temple (of Cholesvaram) was built by a certain Vana-vichchadira Nadalvan, the younger brother of Brahmadaraya Muttaraiyar, in the reign of Rajakesarivarman Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva (II). The same inscription further avers that the income from the village of Siruvalaippur in Kannakkiliyur nadu was assigned to this temple (ARE 531 of 1912). The second inscription to the right of the entrance on the south wall of this temple records that in the fourth year and 226th day of the reign of Parakesarivarman Tribhuvana-chakra-vartin Konerinmaikondan Rajaraja deva (II) (A.D. 1150–51), the village of Uluttambadi in Kannakkiliyur nadu was gifted as a *devadana* to the temple of Kulottungasola-Isvaram Udaiyar of Urrattur. The grant is recorded and attested by the Royal Secretary *(Tirumandira-olai)* bearing the name of Rajasraya Pallavarayan (ARE 530 of 1912).

This temple is thus a foundation of the days of Kulottunga II and the deity was named after the Chola emperor. (Pls. 214–8).

MAGARAL

3 AGASTISVARAM TEMPLE (TIRUMAALISVARAM)

Magaral is in the Kanchipuram taluk of the Chingleput district. It is 16 km. south of Kanchipuram on the road to Uttaramerur which is 12 km. further south of Magaral. This village lies on the north bank of the Cheyyaru. At Magaral, there is a celebrated Siva temple called Agastisvaram and across the river is another well-known temple, of Kadambarkoyil. Sambandar has a hymn on the Lord of this place. It is believed that whoever worships the Lord will attain a permanent place in *Sivalokam*. There is a saying current here:

"*Agni-tirtha snanam Agastyesvara darsanam; Yamalokey bhayam nasti Sivalokey nirantaram*,"

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

meaning 'a bath in the Agni-*tirtha* (the name of the sacred tank of the temple) and worship of Lord Agastisvarar (at Magaral) mean permanent attainment of *Sivaloka* (Heaven) and the total absence of fear of the God of Death'.

During the Chola period, Magaral was a very prominent place and finds frequent mention in the records of the period.

The present temple seems to be a Later Chola structure. On the south wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the 11th year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva, with the *pu mevi valar* introduction. It is to be attributed to Kulottunga II. We have no foundation inscription. How much earlier it was built, we do not know. It records a gift of land to Tiru-Agastyesvaram Udaiyar in Magaral nadu of Eyil kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam. It is stated that Periya Udaiyar (Kulottunga II) camping at the *tirumaligai* (palace) at Perumparrappuliyur (either Chidambaram or a local place named after it) listened to the *Devaram* hymns and gave to the temple as *devadana iraiyili* two villages, Kulottunga-sola-nallur and Sivapada-sekhara-nallur yielding 2925 and odd *kalams* of paddy (ARE 215 of 1901). Kulottunga II's devotion to Saivism and patronage to Siva temples are well-known. On the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine there is an inscription of the tenth year of Parakesari Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rajaraja deva II (*Kadal sulnda par madarum* introduction). It registers a gift of land for a lamp by a number of persons in atonement for having caused the death of a person in an irrigation dispute (ARE 219 of 1901).

On the north wall of the *mandapa*, there is an inscription of the 32nd year and 356th day of Tribhuvana Vira deva (Kulottunga III). It records that, at the request of one Nandivarman, certain *devadana* lands which had previously belonged to the Agastyesvaram temple, were restored as *devadana iraiyili* (rent-free); the *Tiru-mandira-olai* was Rajanarayana Muvendavelan (ARE 220 of 1901). A sale of land to the temple by the *sabha* of Ukkal *alias* Vikramabharana chaturvedimangalam is recorded in an inscription of the fifth year of Rajaraja III (ARE 217 of 1901).

There are two inscriptions of the seventh year of Jatavarman

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sundara Pandya I (acc. A.D. 1251). One of them records that a private person opened new streets and settled persons to reside in them.

The temple has in its recent renovation unfortunately lost all its old features.

There is a Vishnu temple in this place, built in the days of Rajaraja III with which we shall deal later.

MUNNUR(U)

4 ADAVALLISVARAR TEMPLE

Munnuru is a village close to Tindivanam in the taluk of the same name in the South Arcot district. There are two temples here, one dedicated to Siva called the Adavallisvarar temple and the other dedicated to Vishnu called the Arulalap-Perumal temple. The latter is an abandoned and neglected one. The former belongs to the Later Chola period and the latter to the Later Pandya period.

The earliest inscription found on the walls of the Siva temple relates to the 11th year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottungasola deva whose *prasasti* begins with the introduction '*pu mevu valar*'. He is thus to be identified with Kulottunga II. In this record a certain Palakannan Kaman Tiruvagattisvaram Udaiyan, a native of Iraiyur in Kunra nadu of Urrukkattuk kottam makes a gift of land to the temple of Mulasthanam Udaiya Mahadevar, for offerings to the image of Udaiya Pillaiyar which he had set up in the temple (A.D. 1144; ARE 65 of 1919). He seems to have been a prominent nobleman of the region; for, some years later (Kulottunga II's 20th regnal year), he is seen making a gift to the Assembly of Munnur *alias* Rajanarayana chaturvedimangalam for strengthening the *bund* of the big tank of the village (A.D. 1153; ARE 66 of 1919). Yagna Bhatta of Pasindipuram, one of the members of the *alunganattars* of Munnur sold land for 8 *kasus* to certain *brahmanas* for maintaining half a lamp which was presented by a shepherd to the temple (of Mulasthanam Udaiya Mahadevar) (11th year of Kulot-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

tunga II, ARE 69 of 1919). Kulottunga II himself makes a royal gift in his 12th regnal year (A.D. 1145) of lands at Nagar *alias* Dinachintamaninallur, constituting them into a new village under the name of Kulottungasolanallur (ARE 75 of 1919) *(pu mevu valar* introduction).

In the reign of his successor Rajaraja II, one Ammaiyappan Siyan Pallavandan *alias* Rajanarayana Sambuvarayan purchased and gifted land made tax-free to the temple of Adavalla Nayanar for celebrating the hunting festival of the god during the month of *Chittirai* (ARE 52 of 1919). Gifts came in flowing during the reign of Rajaraja II. In his second year a certain Periya nachchiyar of Kairur set up the images of Periya-Vinayakappillaiyar and gave land for offerings and lamps to it. She also built the *sopana mandapa* in front of the Dakshinamurti shrine in the temple (ARE 81 of 1919). Sengeni Ammaiyappan *alias* Rajaraja Sambuvarayan made a gift of certain taxes for a flower garden and other requirements to the temple of Mulasthanam Udaiyar (ARE 57 of 1919). A native of Rajasimhapuram of Tirumunaippadi made a gift of money for a lamp to the temple (of Mulasthanam Udaiyar) at Munnur *alias* Rajanarayana chaturvedimangalam in Oyma nadu *alias* Vijayarajendra valanadu in Jayangondasola mandalam (ARE 76 of 1919, introduction *pu maruviya tirumadum*). In the west *prakara* of the temple there is an empty shrine carrying an inscription at the top of the entrance to it which reads that one Ariyan Andan Kamalakara Bhattan set up the image of Visvesvara deva and repaired the temple (ARE 78 of 1919). He made a gift of a lamp to the shrine of Visvesvara deva, confirmed as having been built by him in the western *prakara (tiruch-churru)* of the temple of Aludaiyar Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar (15th year *ekadasi, tiruvadirai, somavara*; ARE 72 of 1919). In the same year another gift is made for offerings and lamps to the same image (ARE 74 of 1919). In the 18th year of Rajaraja II, the grandson of Yajna Bhatta referred to earlier gifted 16 cows for another half a lamp (From this record we get the name of Sokkapperumal for Kulottunga II). In the same year a lady and her two daughters belonging to Silachintamani parigiraha in Naduvil nadu gave a gift of three lamps to the temple (ARE 55 of 1919).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

In the 11th year of Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1177), Sengeni Ammaiyappan Siyan Pallavandan *alias* Rajanarayana Sambuvarayan made a gift of taxes for repairing the 'Ediraganayan tirumaligai' and other structures in the temple and for other repairs generally (ARE 71 of 1919). One Siyan Pallavandan *alias* Edirilisola Sambuvarayan gave a gift of land, made tax-free, in Sirupadi *alias* Kulottungasola-nallur under the orders issued by the king at the instance of Gangeyarayan and others for the temple of Adavallar. The royal secretary Minavan Muvendavelan is mentioned in this connection.

In the days of Kulottunga III, a native of Kiranur constructed the walls of the *mandapa* called 'Madavarayan mandapa' in the second *prakara* of the temple and gave land for a flower garden (year not known, ARE 64 of 1919). In his 33rd regnal year, Kudal Alappirandan Alagiya Pallavan *alias* Kadavarayan confirmed the gifts made to the temple by his grandfather (ARE 64 of 1919). Again in his 38th regnal year, at the request of a certain Vattarayan, the king made a gift of land at Vanniyanallur for a festival in the month of *Avani* named after the king, and for repairs to the temple of 'Adavalla Nayanar' at Munnur (the royal secretary is Rajanarayana Muvendavelan, ARE 50 of 1919).

In the third year of Kopperunjinga (A.D. 1246), Alagiya Pallava Virarayan *alias* Kachchiyarayan confirmed certain gifts made by Aiyadevar for repairs and worship in the temple (ARE 62 of 1919).

In the fifth regnal year of Jatavarman Vira Pandya, the people of Nagaraikkattu nadu gifted two hamlets in Kilinjalur with their names changed into Chittirameli-nallur for worship and repair of the temple of Adavalla Nayanar; in his tenth year, the people of the *nadu* made a gift of the village of Viluvur *alias* Adavallakuttanallur to the temple of Adavalla Nayanar of Munnur for a festival in the month of *Masi* (ARE 64 of 1919).

By the 33rd year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1211), the Kamakshi Amman shrine in the temple would appear to have come into existence. The Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan referred to in ARE 89 of 1919 with a regnal year of 23 years could be Kulottunga III himself; this record mentions that a shrine

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

for Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Periya Nachchiyar was set up in the temple of Adavallar (ARE 89 of 1919).

The main temple of Adavallisvarar (Adavalla Nayanar) faces south. It consists of a square sanctum preceded by an *antarala*, an *ardhamandapa* and a *mahamandapa*. Ganesa, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga are found in the niches of the *ardhamandapa* and the *garbhagriha*. A wall of enclosure with a *tiruchchurru-maligai* with square and cylindrical pillars goes round the temple. There are a pillared *mandapa*, an unfinished *gopura*, a *bali-pitha* and a *nandi* in front of the shrine.

Outside the first *prakara* is the shrine for Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Periya Nachchiyar, now in a dilapidated condition.

Vishnu (Sittirameli vinnagar emperuman) temple

On the north wall of the Vishnu temple in the village, there is a record dated in the tenth year of Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira Pandya which mentions that a tax-free gift of Singavanendal, a *pidagai* of Munnuru with its name changed into Purushottama-nallur was made by the people of Oyma nadu for worship and repairs to the temple of Purushottama *alias* Sittarameli vinnagar emperuman. In view of the presence of this inscription on its walls we could attribute this temple, now called the Arulalap-Perumal temple, to Vira Pandya. A Gajapati (Orissa) chieftain called Dakshina Kapilesvara Kumara Mahapatra son of Ambiradeva (Hamviradeva) made a gift of land for the festival called 'Ahamvira-bhoga'—presumably in the name of the father—and repairs to the temples of Tirumulattanam Udaiya Mahadeva and Perumal Purushottama (ARE 92 of 1919). A copy of the same grant is found engraved also on the east wall of the central shrine of the Siva temple in the village (ARE 51 of 1919). Both the grants are dated in *Saka* 1386 (= A.D. 1464).

The Vishnu temple is a Pandyan foundation of the days of Jatavarman Vira Pandya (13th century A.D.).

Ammaiyappan Siyan Pallavandan *alias* Rajanarayana Sambuvarayan was a powerful chief in the Nadu Nadu region in the days of Rajaraja II and his immediate predecessor Kulottunga II

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and the village of Munnur would appear to have been named Rajanarayana chaturvedimangalam after him. Oyma nadu in Tondaimandalam was renamed Vijayarajendra valanadu after a surname of Rajadhiraja I.*

*Dr. R. Nagaswamy has dealt in detail with two interesting miniature panels carved in sandstone and considerably weathered and found embedded on either side of the entrance to the *garbhagriha* of the Adavallisvarar temple. He calls them the Linga and the Jyeshtha panels. They are attributed to the fifth/sixth century A.D. A similar panel also belonging to the Pallava period was discovered by him at Munnur.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

7

Rajaraja II

(A.D.1146 to 1172)

Parakesarivarman Rajaraja II became the Crown Prince in A.D. 1146 during his father's life time, and Kulottunga II must have lived on for some years after this date as the latest regnal year found in inscriptions of the latter is the seventeenth year. Like his father's reign, Rajaraja II's rule appears to have been peaceful and was a period of great literary activity. The extent of the empire remained unaltered, and abundant epigraphical evidence of Rajaraja II's hold over the Gangapadi and Nolambapadi regions as well as over the Vengi region is available. The feudatory Velanadu Chiefs still owned their loyalty to the Chola Emperor, though they seem to be growing in might and autonomy during this period. A number of inscriptions at Draksharama in the East Godavari district in Andhra Pradesh attest Chola hold over Vengi. We have evidence of temple-building activity by a Kaduvetti chieftain, a subordinate of the Cholas in the Kolar district region of modern Karnataka State; Kongu and the eastern part of the Ganga country were still firmly in the hands of the Cholas, as attested by an inscription from Tagadur nadu, a part of Ganga nadu of Nigarilisola mandalam.

Gangapuri or Gangaikondacholapuram continued to be the capital of the Cholas. Rajaraja II, however, would appear to have stayed mostly in the subsidiary Chola capital of Palaiyarai *alias* Ayirattali; in the *Rajaraja-solan Ula* composed by the Court poet, Ottakkuttan, the capital city is referred to as Rajarajapuri, which must have been a sprawling big city covering the present

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

day villages of Palaiyaru, Mulaiyur, Darasuram and others. The name of his capital city of Rajarajapuri or Rajarajapuram is now borne in a corrupted form by one of the villages mentioned above, viz., Darasuram. What is noticeable is the absence of references in the inscriptions to the movements and tours of the king during this reign; we have noticed that during the Middle Chola period and even during the reigns of Kulottunga I and his son Vikrama Chola, the Chola Suzerain was constantly on the move to different parts of the empire. We find him at his palaces in various regions of the empire; but during the reigns of Kulottunga II and his son Rajaraja II, we notice a comparative relaxation of vigil, which possibly explains the growing power and autonomy of the various feudatories of the Cholas. We have already noticed the Kadava Chiefs becoming prominent; and the Velanadu Chiefs of Vengi were no less quick to grab local power retaining a semblance of loyalty to the overlord. The Kadava Chief during Rajaraja II's reign was Kudalur Alappirandan Mohan *alias* Rajarajak-Kadavarayan, who may be the same Chief who finds mention during Koluttunga II's reign, merely changing his name as was the practice of those days, to identify himself with the then Chola suzerain. Another Pallava Chief is also seen as a prominent feudatory, with his headquarters at Kanchi; for, we hear of him as building a temple of stone on a hill in the Kolar district, to which we have referred earlier. Yet another prominent Chief during this period was the Pallavaraiyar of Karigai Kulattur who built the stone temple of Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar at Pallavarayanpettai; we shall see more of these Pallavaraiyar chiefs later, as they played a crucial part in fighting the cause of the Pandyan claimants to the throne of Madurai, the Sri Lanka king taking the opposite cause. In fact the closing years of the reign of Rajaraja II and almost the entire reign of Rajadhiraja II were marked by continued and savage fighting between the armies of the Chola kings and those of the Pandyas and of the Sri Lanka king Parakramabahu. The growing strength of the Sengeni chiefs, Nittavinoda Sambuvarayan and Rajanarayana Sambuvarayan *alias* Ammaiyappan Siyan Pallavandan is noticed during this period.

Rajaraja II bore other titles like Rajagambhira, Edirilisola

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and perhaps also Neriyudaichchola. In the *Rajarajan Ula* of Ottak-kuttan, he is called Cholendra Simha; in the closing verses of the same *Ula* he is also called Viradhara and Virodaya.

The most common *prasasti* of the reign is the one beginning with *pu maruviya tiru madum;* the others are *pu maruviya polil elum; puyal vayttu valam peruga;* and *kadal sulnda paar maadar.* The third one, occurring in a record of the fifth year of Rajaraja II, was later on adopted by Kulottunga III; similarly, the fourth one, occurring in a record of Rajaraja's tenth year, is adopted by his successor Rajadhiraja II; and in fact, it becomes his chief *prasasti.*

We hear of the names of three queens of Rajaraja II, Avani-mulududaiyal, Dharani-mulududaiyal and Bharani-mulududaiyal; they all appear to be titles and not the personal names of the queens.

Tamil literature received royal patronage during the reign of Rajaraja II and one of his *prasastis* beginning with *pu maruviya polil elum* refers to the flourishing condition of Tamil literature. The king is called *muttamilukkuttalaivan*, 'the patron of the three-fold Tamil'. In the *Takkayagapparani*, his descent is traced in the following terms: "he was the son of the son of the son of the king who abolished tolls", an obvious reference to Kulottunga I who was thus the great-grandfather of Rajaraja II.

The *Rajaraja-solan Ula* and the *Takkayagapparani*, both sung by his court poet Ottak-kuttan, mention his temple building activities. While both Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II concentrated their attention mainly on expanding and embellishing existing temples, construction of new temples being comparatively few, the reign of Rajaraja II saw the coming into being of some magnificent new structures; among them is the Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar or Rajarajapurisvarar temple which he built at the secondary capital of Ayirattali (renamed Rājarajapuri) and named the deity after himself and the new name of the capital; this temple has now come to be called the temple of Airavatesvarar at Darasuram. Another temple of importance also called Rajarajesvaram was built during this reign at Pallavarayanpettai; we have already seen that this was the temple that the Karigai Kulattur Pallavaraiyar built; apart from its art value, it contains a very important

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

historical document in the shape of the famous inscription known as the Pallavarayanpettai inscription of much political and socio-economic importance. We shall deal with these temples in the next chapter.

Rajaraja II ruled for 26 years and must have died sometime in A.D. 1172.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

8

Temples of Rajaraja II's Time

DARASURAM

AIRAVATESVARA TEMPLE (RAJARAJESVARAM AT RAJARAJAPURAM) 1

This is one of the four gigantic all-stone-*vimana* temples built by the Imperial Cholas, the others being the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur built by Rajaraja I, Gangaikondasolisvaram at Gangaikondacholapuram, built by his son, Rajendra I, and Tribhuvanaisvaram built at Tribhuvanam by a Later Chola ruler, Kulottunga III. In grandeur and sheer beauty of sculpturing, each vies with the others and each is great in its own way and unique. The tradition of building big cathedral-like temples, of the Middle Chola period, was continued by the Later Cholas.

The temple-complex, enclosed within a massive compound wall measuring 107.50 metres east-west and 69.40 metres north-south, faces the east, the *dhvajastambha* and the *nandi-mandapa* both being outside this enclosure.

The main temple consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa*, the *mukha-* (or *maha-*) *mandapa*, and the hall *(tiru-mandapam)* of Rajagambhira (i.e., Rajaraja II), which is the *agramandapa*. This entire structure built all at the same time rises from a high plinth *(upapitha)* and covers an area approximately 23 metres by 63 metres. The *garbhagriha* is an unencumbered cell of 12 metres square externally, having thick massive walls on which the *vimana*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

tower rises gracefully. There is no circum-ambulatory passage immediately round the *garbhagriha*. The *ardhamandapa* linking the *garbhagriha* to the *mukhamandapa* is in two parts. The first chamber, which is close to the *sanctum* is a closed one with an entrance from the eastern side only; it is supported by four pillars and has almost all the features of an *antarala*. The other half of the *ardhamandapa* is really a continuation of the *mukhamandapa* and has two side entrances, resting on four pillars. The entire *ardhamandapa* measures 12 metres by 7 metres. On the outer face of the wall separating the two elements of the *ardhamandapa* are two massive and impressive *dvarapalas* flanking the entrance. The next constituent element in the building is the *maha-mandapa*, measuring 23.60 metres by 17.43 metres externally. It is supported by six rows (north-south) of eight pillars each and is enclosed by walls on the south, east and north; the eastern wall, which is thicker than the other two, has an entrance in the middle connecting this *mandapa* with the bigger one, viz. the *agramandapa* (also called the *manimandapa*).

The next constituent in this structure is the *agramandapa*, called the *Rajagambhiran-tiru-mandapam* after the builder. It deserves special attention on account of the fact that it is conceived as a chariot, with artistically and realistically carved out wheels with hubs and spokes, and drawn by caparisoned and straining horses, reminiscent of the Melakkadambur Amritaghatesvarar temple built in or before the 41st year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1111), the *Nritta-Sabha* (the chariot-*mandapa*) housing the Urdhva Tandava Nataraja at Chidambaram, which can be presumed to be contemporaneous with the Melakkadambur temple, as mentioned earlier and the Vikramasolisvarar temple at Tukkachchi. Darasuram thus anticipates the giant-wheeled temple of Konarak in Orissa (A.D. 1235–53) by more than a hundred years and Melakkadambur in turn anticipates Darasuram by half a century. This *mandapa*, which measures 23.60 metres by 21.20 metres externally is supported by nine north-south rows of ten pillars each, the perimeter pillars being panelled up to make the hall a closed one excepting for the porch on the southern side and a gap in the eastern side to permit a direct view of the *sanctum* from the main *dvara*. The porch in the south is a composite part of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

agramandapa, and measures 7 metres by 7 metres. It is reached by a set of ornately carved flights of steps from the east and the west. Facing this *mandapa* on the eastern side is the *balipitham*, outside the main podium, and is approached by an ornately carved balustraded flight of steps, which produce musical notes of varying frequencies. These steps are, therefore, known as the 'singing steps'.

The main temple rests on a high podium and the faces of the *upapitham* (sub-basement) carry named panels depicting scenes from the lives of the Saiva saints *(Nayanmar)* as given in the *Tirut-tondattogai* of Sundarar. Rajaraja II seems to have tried to depict in stone what his father's courtpoet Sekkizhar so admirably succeeded in depicting in verse in the *Tirut-tondar Puranam* or *Periya Puranam* (see Appendix 1 to this section).

The *sri-vimana* has a total height of 83 feet (25.2 m.), the superstructure over the *garbhagriha* being of height 63.5 feet (19.35 m.) and in five *talas*, crowned by a circular *griva* and a *sikhara*. The *stupi* (finial) is damaged, only the central stem being in position. The first two *talas* and the superstructure over the *ardhamandapa* are adorned with *pancharas* in front. The steep, graceful profile of the *vimana* makes it a close parallel to the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur, with this difference that in the last *tala* below the *griva*, there are *karnakutas* here instead of the *nandis* at Tanjavur.

The pillars of the Rajagambhira hall rise from the heads of sitting lions and are crowned and decorated by broad *palagais* and *podigais*. The peripheral pillars support beams which in turn support the parapet wall: this wall is relieved by well-spaced sculptures of *nandis* located all round.

There is only one *prakara*, which is encompassed by the outer compound wall and the adjoining *tiruch-churru-maligai*—a colonnaded raised platform running the full length of the compound wall (part of which has collapsed) and having a width of 5.32 metres in the north and south and 5.18 and 5.46 metres on the west and east respectively. Along the western half of the southern compound wall are sculptures of 108 hymnists who were perhaps engaged in reciting the *devaram*.

A unique feature of the eastern *gopuram* is the series of labelled

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

sculptures which must have once adorned all four faces of its first tier and of which only the labels now remain mostly. The labels on the various faces are:

North: 1. Adi Chandesvara, 2. Gangadevi, 3. Tumburu Naradar, 4. Vaisravana, 5. Chandra, 6. Maha Sasta, 7. Nagaraja, and 8. Vayu.

West: 1. Devi, 2. Rudrani, 3. Vaishnavi, 4. Brahmi, 5. Varunan, 6. Nandidevar, 7. Periyadevar, 8. Santyatita Sakti, 9. Santa devi, 10. Vidya Sakti, 11. Pratishta Sakti, and 12. Nivarti Sakti.

South: 1. Daksha Prajapati, 2. Yamuna devi, 3. Rati and 4. Kamadevan

East: 1. Agni devar, 2. Agastya devar, 3. Sri devi, 4. Durga devi, 5. Devendran, 6. Padma Nidhi, 7. Surya devar, 8. Subrahmanya devar, 9. Kshetrapalar, 10. Sarasvati, II. Visvakarma, and 12. Isana devar.

Some sculptures listed here, but not to be found in the west *gopuram* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram (which also carries labelled sculptures), are: Maha Sasta, Padma Nidhi, Daksha Prajapati, Vaishnavi, Rudrani and Brahmi of the Saptamatrika group, and some Kalasakti cult figures, namely, Santyatita Sakti, Santa devi, Pratishta Sakti and Nivarti Sakti. The inclusion here of these Sakti images is particularly noteworthy.

It is indeed a pity that almost none of the sculptures is extant. They were perhaps casualties of the wars between the Pandyas and the Cholas marked by a victory celebration of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I in A.D. 1228 at Ayirattali near Darasuram or of later invasions or even of vandalism.

A small cella has been improvised in the northern portion of the *agramandapa* to serve as a shrine for the Amman called Deivanayaki. It is supposed to be a later addition, made in the days of Kulottunga III, whose exact contribution to the temple complex is not known. But we cannot rule out the possibility that the cella is of even date with the main shrine, since separate Amman shrines had been ushered into vogue as early as in the days of Kulottunga I. It has been held that this temple at Darasuram is distinctive in style and bears an unequivocal imprint of Chalukyan influence.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

In the Report of the Archaeological Survey, it is said:

> "The *statuary* on the walls include some unique syncretisation of divinities, like an eight-handed, three-faced Ardhanarisvarar, Hari-pitamaha, etc., consistent with the impact of Deccani concepts on the local cults ... some of the niche sculptures of the temple evince an influence of the *art idiom of the Later Chalukyas* of Kalyani—a fact also attested to by the inscribed *dvarapala* figure, which was brought to this temple by the royal builder from Kalyani as a war-trophy."

Goetz in his book *India* dwells at length on South Indian Art. After dealing with the main temples built by the Imperial Cholas, he turns to Darasuram and says as follows:

> "To a certain extent, Darasuram should be considered an exception to the rule (regarding Chola art). After the grand victory that Rajadhiraja I, the Chola ruler, had won over Ahavamalla Somesvara I of the Western Chalukyas, the Crown Prince Vijayarajendran brought home unmeasurable booty and with those sculptures built this temple and understandably the temple has taken on Western Chalukyan features; the Chola king enshrined the *dvarapala* sculptures plundered from Kalyani and reared this temple."

All these views are unsound. For one, this temple is solidly Chola in all its features; it was not any 'Crown-Prince Vijaya Rajendra' who built this temple at Darasuram; this temple is a foundation of a much later date and belongs to the days of Rajaraja II, who was a great-grand-nephew of Rajadhiraja I, the son of Rajendra I, who took Kalyanapuram and brought this *Dvarapala* as a trophy to his capital. Incidentally, 'Vijayarajendra' was none other than Rajadhiraja I, who after his victory over the Western Chalukyas and the sack of Kalyani called himself (as averred by inscriptions) Vijaya Rajendra. This was almost exactly a hundred years before the erection of the Rajarajesvaram at Rajarajapuri (i.e., later Darasuram). Presumably the trophy-sculpture found a respected place in the subsidiary capital of Ayirattali even in the days of Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1018–1054).

The Darasuram temple is, like the grand campuses at Tanjavur and Gangaikonda-solapuram, the concept of a single mind,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the product of one master-plan, and luckily for us, has acquired none of the bizarre later accretions under Pandya, Vijayanagara or Nayak rulers. There is nothing Chalukyan about it; if it does show any marked change from its compeers, it is towards greater stylisation and surface elaboration; the stark grandeur of height, mass and volume is tempered by detailed ornamentation and stylisation. It is in full keeping with Chola traditions, and its sculptures are exquisite. Some of the sculptures, like the complete Bhikshatana group and incidentally the war-trophy sculpture of a *dvarapala*, have been shifted to the Thanjavur Art Gallery where they now stand in mute grandeur, though torn out of context.

Percy Brown in his *Indian Architecture (Vol. I)* indulges in a similar speculation of Pandyan impact on this temple, selectively. He, following many early writers to whom the treasure-house of inscriptional material was either not available, or who, if it was available, did not make use of it, propounded (or, more appropriately, repeated following others, the postulate of) a Pandyan phase of Art after A.D. 1100 and gave Darasuram a place in the Pandyan phase sometime in the early years of the fourteenth century. This view too is incorrect.

This temple called Rajarajesvaram was built between A.D. 1146 and 1173, perhaps in the latter half of his reign, by Rajaraja II, at a time when the Chola Empire was at the height of its glory, peace prevailed all over the empire and the rumblings of its fall were still five decades away. This was a continuation of the golden age of the Cholas begun by Rajaraja I. (For inscriptional material from this temple see Appendix 2 at the end of the section.)

The two temples of Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur completed towards the end of Rajaraja I's reign (A.D. 1014) and of Gangaikonda-solisvaram at Gangaikonda-sola-puram built around A.D. 1020 to A.D. 1040 were simple in design and grand in stature. A two-tiered *garbhagriha* with a *srivimana* of breathtaking slope upwards to the crowning piece has a small *ardhamandapa* integrated into the *srivimana* structure; in fact, with all the other appendages removed, the two constitute a perfect structural design; the *mukhamandapa* in both Tanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram does not contribute either to the balancing of the structural complex, as the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

bhog-mandir does in the case of the Kalinga temples whether at Puri (Jagannath) or at Bhubaneswar (Lingaraj) or at Konarak (the Surya Deul), or add to the sculptural wealth that is found in the three outer faces of the *garbhagriha*. They would appear to be there to satisfy the *agama* requirements and the practical needs of managing the temple and state affairs conducted in the royal temple; the Melakkadambur temple of a century later is designed purely as a chariot and the great stride that the Darasuram temple makes over its illustrious predecessors is to integrate the two plans into a happy blend by adding the chariot-characteristic only to the *agramandapa*, which gives the much-needed balance to the structures of both the Tanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram temples, which is achieved by an increase in the width of the temple and pulling the front out over a greater distance to give the *srivimana* a depth of view commensurate with its height.

Narasimha I of the Eastern Gangas (A.D. 1238–1269) was to add a further element of stability to the structural concept of a chariot-temple in his version built at Konarak by putting the *garbhagraha*, the *ardhamandapa* (an incipient one) and the *mukha-mandapa (bhog mandapa)* all on wheels, leaving the *Nat-mandir* out of the complex, to avoid structural unwieldiness.

Ottakkuttan, the court-poet of three successive Chola rulers, Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II, has sung an *ula* on each of his patrons; besides, he has also sung a heroic poem called *Takkayagapparani*. This work depicts the story of the destruction of Daksha and his associates (who performed an unorthodox *Yaga*) for which purpose Siva created Virabhadra. While, in a *parani*, the victor's story is sung, as in Jayangondar's *Kalingattupparani*, there seems to be, as R. Nagaswamy has pointed out, a slight variation in the theme here. It seems as if the poet has conceived the Lord of this temple of Rajarajesvaram built by Rajaraja II as Himself the hero of this poem. There is a suggestion in this poem that Daksha slighted the Lord Siva of this temple and began his unholy sacrifice. The following lines are quoted to prove this contention:

'*Ellai Nayakan Rajarajapuresar*
Isar Idark-kenum

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tollai Nan-marai nirkka
Kelvi velvi todangiye'

The Lord is portrayed to have taken his Devi round the battle-field and described this heroic deed and the final victory. This is a bold departure from the traditional approach of such works and deserves consideration. One of the magnificent sculptures for which Rajaraja II's age is deservedly famous is the spirited stone-sculpture of Virabhadra in truly ferocious form.

Moreover, the devils *(Peygal)* do not sing the glory of Siva or of Kali but of the Lord consecrated in this temple as the following lines illustrate:

'*Oru marungudaiya ulaganayakiyodu*
Orrai vellaividai oordi mel
Iru marungum marai tola elundaruliya
Rajarajapuri Isare'

The poet no doubt sings the glory of the king but it is conceived as his reflected glory derived from that of the Lord of this temple built and consecrated by Rajaraja II at Rajarajapuram (Rajarajapuri), modern Darasuram. This poem of Ottakkuttan should be considered a glorious description of the construction and consecration of this temple by a contemporary eye witness, namely the gifted court poet patronised by the Chola ruler.

Another important stone sculpture in front of the *mandapa* of this temple is one of Ardhanari with three heads and eight hands (is this a Sakti cult image?). There is also a sculpture of Annapurna Devi.

West of the Rajagambhira *mandapa*, there is a sculpture of Sarabhamurti carved on the wall of the *mandapa*, with a shrine enclosing it. This is the second instance of the appearance of this icon in a Chola temple. At Tribhuvanam, there is a separate shrine for Sarabhamurti with a metal image as well. The first instance of occurrence of Sarabhamurti was noticed in the Vikramasolisvaram temple at Tukkachchi. The Sarabha cult represents a temporary phase of Saivism's dominance over Vaishnavism. Vishnu's incarnation as Narasimha resulted in the infliction of violence and ferocity on the *devas* and men, who appealed to Siva for help. Siva took the form of Sarabhamurti, subdued Vishnu's ferocity

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and released Him to go back to Vaikuntham and thus relieved the world's distress.

Rajaraja I had made provision for the singing of the *Devaram* hymns in his temple at Tanjavur by appointing fortyeight *Tiruppadigam-Vinnappam-seyvar*. At Darasuram, a similar body comprised one hundred and eight. Their original and *diksha* (consecration) names are engraved along with their images in the enclosed *prakara* wall.

The images of Rajaraja II and his queen (as traditionally believed) found in the north *prakara* of the temple are now in the Tanjavur Art Gallery; also those of the *Rishi-patnis* and the Kalyani *dvarapala*.

The age of Rajaraja II marks the ascendancy of Saivism, the patronage of architecture and sculpture and the encouragement of religious and secular literature. (Pls. 225–56).

Note: C. Sivaramamurti writes thus about the Darasuram temple (pp. 266–267) in his '*The Art of India*' :

'The most beautiful Chola monument of this period, a sculptor's dream re-lived in stone, is the temple at Darasuram, which is unequalled in its technical perfection and exuberant ornamentation. The wheel-and-horse *motif* here transforms the *mandapa* into a chariot. This Chola device was appreciated and adopted by other craftsmen in the Eastern Chalukya and Kalinga territories, most notably the sculptor of the famous temple at Konark.'

The model for this chariot-temple is the *ratha vimana* at Melaikkadambur near Gangaikonda cholapuram, built in the 41st year of Kulottunga I–also the *Nritta mandapa* in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. It may be added that Narasimha, the builder of the Konark temple, was a distant descendant of Kulottunga I. A chariot-shaped *mandapa* is also found close to the Vittala temple at Hampi, Vijayanagar (16th century A.D.).

Sivaramamurti has high praise for the excellent quality of the Darasuram sculptures. Among them, he mentions (p. 505), 'there are small reliefs on the pillars illustrating mythological episodes such as the attack of Manmatha on Siva, the penance of Parvati, the birth of Kumara, and Siva's marriage'.

The front of the base of the *mandapa's* extension is decorated

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

with panels showing Tripurantaka, Kamantaka, Kaumari, Virabhadra, Agni, Indra, Brahma, Vishnu and Vayu reverently attending Siva'.

Among the noteworthy sculptures in the main hall may be mentioned a fine Ardhanarisvara with eight arms and three faces (R. Nagaswamy identifies the figure as Tantri Mahamaya*), a four-armed Nagaraja, Agastya, dancing Martanda Bhairava, Sarabhamurti, Narasimha, Ganesa and Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhava, Bhuvanesvari, Tripurantaka, Gajantaka, six-armed Bhairava, and Mahesamurti (pp. 505–506).

*The existence of an ancient temple for a Tantri image called *Chakrayi* of about the 12th century (similar to the Kamalamukhi image of the 7th century in the site-museum at Badami) proves the prevalence of Tantric cults in the region of Darasuram during the period of Rajaraja II) (*vide* R. Nagaswamy's article on pp. 134–143 of *South Indian Studies* published by the Society for Archaeological, Historical and Epigraphical Studies, Madras).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

APPENDIX 1

PERIYAPURANAM SCULPTURES IN THE TEMPLE AT DARASURAM

Detailed descriptions of the scenes *seriatim* are appended below.

NORTH WALL

1) AVANASIYANDAR MUDALAIVAY PILLAI

Here a crocodile disgorges a male child, which is being received by a woman, evidently the mother of the boy; in accordance with the tradition relating to this incident, Sundaramurti Nayanar, by singing a hymn in praise of the local Lord, makes the crocodile in the tank in front of the temple at Avanasi (in the district of Coimbatore) surrender the child which it had swallowed whole while the mother was bathing. The father of the child is close by, his hands uplifted in an attitude of worship.

2) TIRUMURUGANPUNDIYIL PERRAPADI

Enroute to Tiruvarur from the Chera country and very near Tirumuruganpundi, the treasure which Sundaramurti had obtained from the Chera king was carried away by the pseudo-robbers sent by God. At this, he addressed the deity in the temple at Tirumuruganpundi, Who commanded the wealth to be restored to him. The thieves are shown piling up the wealth in front of Sundarar.

3) UDAIYANAMBIYAI VEDAR VALIPARITTA PADI

This also refers to the above incident. The thieves are seen molesting the men who accompanied the treasure and carrying it away.

4) UDAIYANAMBIKKU OLAI VENRARULINAPADI

Herein the sculpture refers to quite a different story altogether from what is understood by the label above. There was a young woman by name Sangili who was leading a life of celibacy, spending her time in the service of the Lord of Tiruvorriyur. Sundarar was enamoured of her and the Lord arranged to get them united in marriage but stipulated that Sundarar should take an oath, as desired by Sangili, 'never to part'. As it was sacrilegious to take oaths in a temple, Sundarar prayed to the Lord to absent Himself from the temple temporarily and stop below a tree. But the Lord instructed Sangili to insist on the oath being taken below the tree under which He would stop. She is shown pointing out the tree, in the sculpture. Every year a grand festival is conducted in commemoration of this event under (what is believed to be) that particular tree.

5) UDAIYANAMBIYAI ANDUKONDARULINAPADI

When the marriage of Sundarar was arranged, God in the form of an aged *brahman* suddenly appeared before him and provided documentary evidence that he was his

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

vassal from his grandfather's time. When asked to point out his residence, the old *brahman* entered the temple at Tiruvennainallur and there miraculously disappeared into the *linga* while Sundarar was looking on.

6) .... VANA-OLAI KATTINAPADI

This portrays Siva displaying the *cadjan* leaf containing the bond referred to in No. 5 above.

7) UDAIYANAMBI ELUNDARULUGIRAR

This sculpture cannot be identified clearly. Probably this refers to the birth of Alalasundara, one of the beloved devotees of God Siva. On one occasion, Alalasundara, while collecting flowers for Siva, met by chance the two celestial women, Anindita and Kamalini, who also had come there to gather flowers for Parvati. There was mutual admiration. Siva on this account directed Alalasundara and the two ladies to be born on earth in order that they might live together as husband and wives. Alalasundara was born as Sundaramurti and the ladies as Sangili and Paravai both of whom married Sundaramurti.

(The above seven scenes relate to miracles in Sundarar's life.)

8) ISAIJNANIYAR

The mother of the great Sundarar.

9) SADAIYANAR

The father of Sundarar.

10) TIRUNILAKANTHAP PERUMBANAR

This *bhakta* (devotee) is reputed for playing, on a harp-like instrument then in vogue, songs in praise of the Almighty. Here he is seen in front of the temple at Madurai, with the instrument. His devoted wife is holding a pair of *jalaras* (cymbals) to help her husband keep to the beat.

11) KO-SENGAPPERUMAL

This is a Chola king, who, by his great devotion, attained to the rank of Saints *(Nayanmars)*. As befits a king, he is represented with a crown.

12) NESANDAR

This weaver of Kampili was so devoted to Saivas that he gave away his all as presents to the deserving and thus attained salvation. He is seen here distributing clothing.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

13) PANDIMADEVI

She was the wife of the Pandya king Nedumaran and the daughter of a Chola king, by the name of Mangaiyarkkarasiyar. When the king favoured Jainism, she, with the help of Sambandar, who had been invited to Madurai, got him reconverted to Saivism, curing him also of his hunch-back in the process (also see no. 27 below).

14) APPALUM ADICH-CHARNDA ADIYAR

This general term applies to staunch Saiva devotees living outside the traditional realms of the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas; three such are represented here in a praying attitude in front of a temple.

15) MULUNIRU PUSIYA MUNIVAR

These are Saiva devotees who smear the sacred ash over the whole body in accordance with the prescriptions of the *Agamas*. Six of them are shown here seated in front of a temple.

16) MUKKALAM TIRUMENI TINDUVAR

Those offering worship to the *linga* thrice a day according to the *Agama* rules are counted among Saiva devotees. Three such in the act of such worship are shown here.

17) TIRUVARUR PIRANDAR

Those born in the holy city of Tiruvarur are automatically reckoned Saiva devotees. Four (presumably such) devotees are portrayed here in front of a temple.

18) PARAMANAIYE PADUVAR

These are devotees who refuse to recognize any God other than Siva. Three such (lady) devotees are shown singing His praises.

19) PATTARAIYE PANIVAR

Those who honour the Saiva devotees are themselves honoured as Nayanmars. Several such are shown here in various postures of adoration of Saiva devotees.

20) KOTPULIYANDAR

This Nayanar of Tirunattiyattangudi in the Tanjavur district was commander-in-chief under a Chola king. When going to serve with the Army, he left instructions that the paddy stored by him be made use of only for services to God, but during a famine his relations used the grain themselves. On his return, he executed them for the sin thus committed, without sparing even a baby. This pleased the Almighty very much, Who appeared before him with His Consort on the sacred bull and admitted him amongst his retinue *(ganas)*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

21) PUGALTTUNAIYAR

This *gurukkal* (temple-priest) of Srivilliputtur was faithfully worshipping the *linga* of the place even during famine days. On account of the poor food he had then and his consequent weakness, he once dropped the brass pot containing water on the *linga* while bathing it and in his state of shock fell into a stupor but the Almighty appeared to him in a dream and gave him to understand that under the *bali-pitha*, there would appear a coin daily, with which he could have his daily needs satisfied. In the illustration, the individual is seen bathing the God and the *bali-pitha* is also shown.

22) SERUTTUNAIYANDAR

He was a native of Tanjavur. While worshipping in the temple at Tiruvarur, the Nayanar observing the wife of Kalarsingar (a devotee who was also present then) smelling the flowers intended for God, could not put up with this sacrilegious act and cut off her nose with a sword. We find another person in a sitting posture preparing garlands out of the flowers given by a lady. (Also see No. 24 below).

23) IDANGALIYANDAR

He was a king of Kodumbalur. A man who stole the paddy in a granary was produced before him to be punished, and he inquired into the case. On ascertaining that the paddy was stolen in order to feed Saiva devotees, Idangaliyandar not only released him but also made it public that anybody in need of wealth to feed *bhaktas* might freely make use of his granary and his treasury. While he is shown seated, another standing below is seen tom-tomming.

24) KALARSINGANAR

This was a Kadava (Pallava) king 'who subdued all other kings and repaired all Siva temples'. One day his queen took a flower intended for worship, without realizing that it was so intended, and smelt it. Seruttunai Nayanar (see No. 22 above), who was witness to this, immediately severed her nose. When news of her disfigurement reached the king, he rushed to the spot, but, on ascertaining what exactly had transpired, he cut off the two hands of his queen, as well, as being the culprits in the sacrilegious act: this action of his is portrayed in this panel.

25) MUNAI ADUVAR

This native of Nidur in the Chola country used to go to the rescue of the weak in battle, and devoted his income to the feeding of the devotees of Siva.

WEST WALL

1) VAYILAR

This Nayanar was a native of Mayilappur and dedicated himself to meditating on

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Siva in total silence. He is portrayed here with a beard and telling his rosary-beads, seated under a tree.

2) NEDUMARANAR

The Pandya king Kun Pandya (the 'hunch-back') who had embraced Jainism was brought back to Saivism through the influence of Saint Sambandar and the efforts of his queen Mangayarkkarasi and his minister Kulasirai. He was also cured at the same time of his hunched back and came to be known from then on as Nedumaranar or Ninra-Sir-nedumarar. The king is shown seated on a pedestal, flanked by attendants.

3) KARIYAR

This native of Tirukkadayur (Mayuram taluk, Tanjavur district) was highly proficient in Tamil literature and was the author of *Tirukkovai*. He obtained plenty of wealth from all three famous lines of kings—Chera, Chola and Pandya—but spent all in renovating Siva temples. Towards the end of his days, he undertook a pilgrimage to Mount Kailasa. In the illustration, he is seen approaching the Holy Mountain.

4) SIRAPPULIYANDAR

Born at Akkur in the Tanjavur district, he spent his time worshipping Saiva devotees, giving them money and feeding them. He is shown here making presents to his fellow devotees.

5) KANAMPULANDAR

He was born at Irukkuvelur (Vaidisvarankoil) in the district of Tanjavur. He was in the habit of regularly burning lamps in temples. Once, in Chidambaram, when he could not get money to buy *ghee*, he began to collect grass, from the sale proceeds of which he started burning lamps. On a certain day, when the grass collected could not find a sale, he burnt the grass itself. But finding that the grass was not sufficient to keep the fire burning until the required hour, he set fire to his own hair. This panel portrays him in this act, with his wife behind him holding a burning grass-bundle (torch?).

6) AIYADIGAL KADAVARKONAR

This Pallava king of Kanchipuram was a dedicated Saiva and relinquished his kingdom in favour of his son and went about renovating Saiva temples. He has sung hymns on the important temples he visited, now found in the anthology called *Kshetrakkovai*.

7) SATTIYANDAR

A native of Varinjiyur in the Chola kingdom, he was in the habit of cutting off the tongues of those that spoke ill of Saiva devotees. Here he is seen in such an act, wielding a sickle for the purpose.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

8) KALIYANAR

This wealthy oil-monger of Tiruvorriyur, after exhausting his wealth in burning lamps in temples, was in the habit of using his wages for pressing oil for burning lamps in temples. On a certain day, when he could not get his wages, he slit his throat and used blood instead of oil to burn the lamp. The Nayanar is seen in front of the temple in the act of severing his head to obtain blood for the purpose.

9) KALIKKAMBANDAR KADAI

This *bhakta* was in the habit of feeding Saiva devotees daily. One day, at meal-time, while about to wash the feet of one who appeared as a *bhakta* he found his wife hesitating to pour water as the individual turned out to be their old servant. This roused his anger and he cut off her hand with a sickle. In this portrayal of that scene, piles of pots with food are shown heaped up; three persons are sitting down at their meal. Siva and Parvati appear seated on their *rishabha* (bull) mount to give salvation to them.

10) ADIPATTAR KADAI

This fisherman of Nagapattinam was in the habit of dedicating the best of the fish he got daily from the sea to the Lord of the place. One day when he secured an only golden fish, he willingly offered it to God. Siva and Parvati appeared on the *rishabha* and gave him salvation. The Nayanar is shown holding the fish in one hand and others drawing the net spread out in the sea.

11) NARASINGA-MUNAIYARAIYAR

This king used to give presents to all wearing holy ashes, especially on the days of the *Ardra* asterism. On such a day, even when a pseudo-Saiva appeared before him, he extended his generosity to him by paying double the usual amount. The king is shown with a beard, seated with his queen beside him. Six others are seen in front receiving presents.

12) PUGALCHCHOLANAR

This Chola king who was ruling at Uraiyur (in Tiruchirapalli district) once ordered his army to proceed against Adigan, a chieftain who failed to pay tribute. On returning thence, they brought the heads and the wealth of the enemies' army. On noticing in the midst of the heaps of heads one with matted hair, and finding it to be one of a *bhakta*, he became compunctious and entered a sacrificial fire with that head placed over his in a gold plate. Then Siva and Parvati appeared before him, as shown in the illustration.

13) POYYADIMAIYILADA PULAVAR

This refers to the poets of the last *sangam* (the learned assembly) of Madurai, who were staunch Saivites. Nine of them are seen in the illustration, between a shrine and a *mandapa*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

14) KURRUVANAR

This devotee conquered many chiefs and acquired enormous wealth. He had all the paraphernalia of an anointed king except the crown. When the *brahmanas* of Tillai (Chidambaram) refused to crown him, saying that they would crown none but the Chola king, he prayed to God Nataraja to crown him with his holy foot. God blessed him accordingly. His vassals are seen paying homage to him.

15) GANANADANDAR KADAI

This devotee of Sirkali (Tanjavur district) was in the habit of daily instructing all who approached him in the matter of performing several kinds of services to God—raising flower-gardens, bringing water for the sacred bath, etc. In the illustration he is seen instructing several disciples, who are standing on either side, in front of the Almighty.

16) SERAMAN-PERUMAL KADAI

This is another name of Perumakkodaiyar (Lord of Mahodai or Musiri, now Cranganore), who was king of the Chera country. As directed by God in a dream, he gave plenty of wealth to poet Banapattirar of Madurai, and with Sundarar reached Kailasa in his last days. In the illustration he is seen getting down from an elephant and worshipping the poet Banapattirar.

17) SIRUTTONDAR KADAI

This devotee of Tiruchengattangudi in the district of Tanjavur was a military officer at the beginning and led a successful campaign against Vatapi (the modern Badami in Karnataka). He would not eat his daily meal unless he found one to partake of the same. Later on, he was residing in his own village and doing service to God, Who, in the disguise of a Bhairava mendicant, commanded him to cook the flesh of his only son for him, which he did without the least hesitation. But then God in disguise would not eat in the house of a childless couple. When the husband and wife were standing perplexed, the mendicant Bhairava commanded them to call for the boy who immediately came running as if nothing had happened. The boy being received by the mother in her arms is shown in the illustration.

18) SAKKIYANAR

This devotee first adhered to Jainism. Finding it to be untrue, he went back to Saivism and spent his days in the worship of *linga*. In the act of worshipping, he forgot himself so much in his devotion that he mistook the bricks that were lying by for flowers and threw them onto the *linga* without perceiving what he was doing. Thinking that this act of his should have had the sanction of Siva Himself, he continued to do the same. Siva was much pleased with this form of worship.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

SOUTH WALL

1) EYARKON KALIKKAMANDAR

He was a hereditary military officer, and became in his later years a true devotee of Siva. He executed repairs to the temple at Tiruppangur near Vaidisvarankoil. On learning that God acted as a mediator between Sundaramurti and his wife Paravai, he got offended with Sundarar. In order to show him what a true devotee Sundarar was, God made him suffer from paralysis and sent Sundarar to cure him of it. Being displeased at the idea of getting cured at Sundarar's hands, he killed himself. When Sundarar approached the house, he was informed that the Nayanar was sleeping on the cot. On approaching the cot, Sundarar recognised the true state of affairs and attempted to commit suicide. Thereupon Kalikkamanayanar was restored to life and in turn prevented Sundarar from killing himself.

2) ALUDAIYA-PILLAIYAR

This is the boy-devotee Sambandar. While yet a child, his father left him on the bank of the tank within the temple of Sirkali. When the child started crying for mother's milk, Siva asked Parvati to feed him instead. He was thus favoured with divine milk in a golden cup. On completing his bath, the father, finding a cup of milk in the hands of his boy, began to chastise him and asked him from whom he got it. The boy pointed to Toniappar in the temple close by. We find the boy depicted holding a cup in his hand and the father with a cane in his hand as if about to punish him.

3) NAMINANDI-ADIGAL

He was a native of Emapperur near Tiruvarur. He was desirous of burning a lamp in the shrine of Araneri within the temple at Tiruvarur. On the Jainas residing near the temple refusing to let him have some *ghee* for the purpose, he was much perplexed, when there arose an aerial voice directing him to burn the lamp with the water of the tank close by, which he did to the astonishment of all. He is seen in the act of carrying water in a pot, on the left side of the panel and lighting the lamp in front of the shrine on the right.

4) SEYJNALUR-PILLAIYAR KADAI

This is Chandesvara whose sculpture is seen installed in all Siva temples. When he was devoutly worshipping the *linga*, his father scolded him and kicked the pot containing the milk intended for the sacred bath. For causing this obstruction Chandesa cut off his father's leg with an axe. Pleased with this high devotion, Siva made him the head of all His devotees and also crowned him with a garland. Both the acts of cutting off of the father's leg and his being crowned with a garland are seen in the illustrations.

5) TIRUKKURIPPUTTONDAR

This washerman-devotee of Kanchipuram was in the habit of washing the clothes of all *bhaktas*. To test his sincerity, God Ekamranatha in the disguise of an old *brahman* gave his rag for being washed and returned before dusk the same day, and at the same time brought on a heavy storm and darkness soon after. Unable to fulfil his promise,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

this Nayanar attempted to dash his head against the washing-stone which God prevented and gave him salvation. To the left in the panel, Siva appears as an old Brahman holding a stick and in front of him this Nayanar with the torn cloth on his shoulder.

6) TIRUNALAIPPOVAR

This is the famous *pariah (harijan)* saint Nandan who joined the *Nayanars* by the grace of God Nataraja at Chidambaram. When he was precluded from entering the temple because he was an outcaste, God Nataraja directed him to get himself 'purified' by entering a sacred fire. This he did as seen in the illustration.

7) ILAIYAMARANGUDI MARAR KADAI

This *bhakta* was fond of feeding all true devotees of Siva. At a time when he had no foodgrains, Siva disguised as an aged *brahman* went to him at midnight and asked for food. He collected the paddy seeds he had just sown in the morning and got the food ready. Then he woke up the aged *brahman* who was pretending to be asleep. The *brahman* manifested himself into Siva with Parvati seated on the sacred bull. The Nayanar is seen (on the left) in the act of holding a basket, and the *brahman* sitting (in the middle); while (on the right) on a bull the God and Goddess are seen.*

**Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1920*, pp. 102–7, *para.* 22. Also see Vol. II of Vellai Varanar's *Panniru Tirumuraigal* ('The Twelve Tirumurais') for correction and a new interpretation of some of these stories (Annamalai University Publication, Department of Tamil).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

APPENDIX 2

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE AIRAVATESVARAR TEMPLE AT DARASURAM

ARE 16 of 1908 — On walls of the central shrine basement: inscribed sculptures of the Tamil Nayanmars (corresponding to Sundarar's *Tiruttondattogai*).

17 of 1908 — East Wall, 1st *prakara*: 21st year of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Rajaraja (II ?) (= A.D. 1167).

18 of 1908 — East Wall, a fragment; Rajadhiraja II, *Kadal Sulnda* introduction.

19 of 1908 — East Wall, unfinished; 12th year of Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1175).

20 of 1908 — South Wall, 8th year of Parakesari Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga (III; A.D. 1186); gift of land for repairs and gilding the *sikhara* of the temple of Rajarajesvaram Udaiya Nayanar at Rajarajapuram. It is likely that the Amman Temple for Deiva Nayaki was built at this time.

21 of 1908 — South Wall, Pandyan: 3rd year of Maravarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira Pandya Devar.

22 of 1908 — Inner *gopuram*, *Saka* 1408 = A.D. 1486, gift for worship and offerings to the temple of 'Irarasuram'.

23 of 1908 — Maravarman Sri Vallabha devar—provision for repairs and festivals in the temple of 'Irarasuram Udaiya Nayanar'.

Note: The names given in ARE 22 and 23 of 1908 are almost the same as the modern name of Darasuram.

24 of 1908 — This inscription is at the base of the *dvarapala* image brought by Vijaya-Rajendra (Rajadhiraja I) after the sacking of Kalyani and the celebration of a *virabhishekam* around A.D. 1054. It reads: '*Svasti Sri Udaiyar Sri Vijaya Rajendra devar Kalyanapuram erindu kodu vanda dvarapalar*'.

This war-trophy must have been deposited in some temple or palace at the then Chola secondary capital of Palayarai. It was discovered located on the front platform on the outer (eastern) side of the inner *gopuram* of the Darasuram temple, and is now housed in the Tanjavur Art Gallery. Rajaraja II ruled about a century later (A.D. 1146–73) than the expedition to Kalyani of Rajadhiraja I's. It is thus contrary to historical accuracy to conclude, as some have, that Rajaraja II built this temple out of the spoils of an expedition to Kalyani. It is fully Chola in style and follows the course of the natural evolution of the cathedral-type temples whose forerunner was the great Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur.

25 of 1908 — On the walls of the outer *gopuram*, labels of the names of the deities whose sculptures were once installed in the niches at the basement of the stone gateway; almost all the sculptures have now disappeared, and only the labels remain.

26 of 1908 — A part of the historical introduction of Kulottunga I is inscribed on two stones in the court-yard of the temple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

27 of 1908 On a (third) stone in the court-yard, near the outer *gopuram*, with the text:

Igai Muvendaraiyar tiruk-gopuram—this *gopuram* was built by Igai Muvendaraiyar.

APPENDIX 3

SOME VIEWS ON THE DATE OF THE DARASURAM TEMPLE

ARE Report for 1908 (pp. 65–66): 'It is not impossible that the Airavatesvara temple was either renovated or built by the Chola king Kulottunga III'.

ARE Report for 1920 (para 22, p. 102): '(It was) definitely built by Kulottunga III'.

Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (pp. 225–226): 'The architecture and sculpture of the temple of Darasuram in Tanjavur district closely resemble those of the temple at Gangaikonda Cholapuram and must be of approximately the same age'.

These views are based on insufficient evidence at the time for fixing the age or are mere surmises based on superficial similarities with others of the fabric and its decorative elements.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KENDATTI

2 CHANDRAMALLESVARA TEMPLE

Kendatti hill is near Holeranalli in the Kolar district of Karnataka State. There is a Siva temple on the hill; the temple is now called that of Chandramallesvara; but its original name was Somisvaram udaiya mahadevar koyil.

On the basement of this temple, there is an inscription in *Grantha* and *Tamil* characters which belongs to the period of Rajaraja II. It contains the usual *prasasti* beginning with *pu maruviya polil elum*. Dated in the seventh year of the reign of this king, who is described as "the lord of the seven cities," this record mentions that Rajendrasola Pallavaradittan *alias* Mukkarasar Ka(n)duvetti, lord of Kanchipura, caused to be built for the god Somisvaram udaiya Mahadevar a temple on the hill called Virasri-tirumalai at Surur situated in Kuvalala nadu of Nigarili-solamandalam and granted Purakuttai as a *devadana* for the god Mahadeva and the temple-servants; and ordered that Udaiya Bhatta should be the owner of this property (*Epi. Car.*, Kolar, no. 75).

We are aware that after the Cholas were pushed back from this region, the Gangas, who had traditionally ruled this region, came back to power, but now as feudatories of the Hoysalas; while under the Cholas, their chiefs bore the combined name of Chola-Ganga. Even under the Hoysalas this tradition evidently continued. We have two inscriptions of these Chola-Gangas in this temple, one relating to Vedumaara Baana *alias* Uttama Sola Ganga, the lord of the city of Kuvalala, a descendant of the Ganga family, Kaveri-vallabha and the lord of Nandigiri, who remitted the land-tax and a few other taxes in the *devadana* of the god Somisvaram udaiya Nayanar of Surur. The inscription is in *Tamil* and is dated in about A.D. 1280. The other record is of his son, Vikkirama Gangan, in which he says that he, and two brothers, one Talaisiyarayan, one of his ministers, and Gangaadaraayan *alias* Viman, his younger brother, the three together granted some lands for offerings of rice for the god Somisvaram Udaiya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Nayanar. They also granted some tax-free temple property to Ponna Bhatta, a *Siva-brahmana* of the Harita gotra. We learn that there were other deities in the temple, like Sri Kailasam Udaiya nayanar and Vimisvaram udaiyar. This record is dated in A.D. 1320 (*Epi. Car.*, Kolar, no 77).

Thus, this temple came into existence during the reign of Rajaraja II and the claim of Vikrama Chola of having restored Chola rule over this region, which had been wrested from the Cholas in the last days of Kulottunga I, seems to be valid; this region appears to have continued as a part of the Chola empire at least till Rajaraja II's rule if not even later. The temple dates back to A.D. 1153.

PONNAMARAVATI

CHOLISVARAR TEMPLE 3

Ponnamaravati is an important town in the Pudukkottai district (formerly Pudukkottai state) and is 37 km. south-west of the district headquarters of Pudukkottai. Situated on the traditional northern borders of the Pandya country, this town was politically and strategically important and many a war between the Pandyas and the Cholas was fought in the region in and around this town. For more than three centuries, this region was under Chola rule (say A.D. 910 to A.D. 1216). After Maduraikonda Parakesari (Parantaka I) took Madurai and integrated the Pandyan kingdom with the Chola empire, Ponnamaravati became and remained a part of the empire till the end of the Middle Chola period. When Kulottunga I, the first Later Chola ruler, was engaged in wars in the north-east borders of the empire, Pandyan resurgence began to raise its head and the Pandyas became a thorn on the side of the Cholas, particularly after the days of Kulottunga II. Foreseeing the difficult situation developing, Kulottunga I established military colonies, not unlike what was done by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. Ponnamaravati was one such colony. During the days of Rajaraja II and his successors, the control over this region vested in a family of vassal chiefs known

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

as the Nishadarajans. They ruled over the adjoining areas of Piranmalai or Kodungunram and hence bore the title of Tiruk-kodungunram Udaiyar. These Nishadarajas continued to rule from Ponnamaravati till the 13th century when they were replaced by the Banas or Banadirajas, who ruled over this region as feudatories till the beginning of the 16th century.

Ponnamaravati played an important role during the Pandya revival in the latter half of the 12th century. The Nishadarajas played therefore a vital part in the wars of the two giants and the city suffered often in the process. The Sri Lanka chronicle *Mahavamsa* describes Ponnamaravati, the provincial capital, as having a royal palace of three storeys, which was destroyed in the first major clash between the Cholas and the Pandyas. This capital city was the scene of the surrender of Kulottunga III before Maravarman Sundara Pandya I which is described in eloquent terms in *prasastis* of the latter's inscriptions.

In a ceremony, already referred to, Sundara Pandya returned the capital city and restored the title of *Solapati* (the Chola lord) to Kulottunga III " . . . *Pandilanda Solapati ennum namamum tonnagarum mila valangi vidaikoduttu vittaruli* . . . "

The same *meykkirti* describes Ponnamaravati in the following words:

"*Kolamalar mel ayanum kulirndulai malum aliya malar sevadi vanangi vangu silai yannam tuyiloliya vandeluppum pungamala valvisul ponnamarapatiyil** . . . "

There are two temples in this town, viz., the Cholisvarar temple and the Alagiya-perumal (Sundararaja) temple. The former belongs to the Later Chola period while the latter came into being during Later Pandyan rule.

Cholisvarar (Rajendrasolisvaram Udaiyar) Temple

There are four Chola records here, two belonging to the time of Kulottunga III and two others (ARE 4 & 9 of 1909) to the

*See p. 76, *Kopperunjingan* (Tamil), by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam; also see Chapter 11 (on Kulottunga III) of the present work.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

time of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajarajadeva. The rest of the inscriptions in this temple are Pandyan, the earliest belonging to the time of Jatavarman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1190–1217). The Chola records refer to the building of the *srivimana* and the consecration of a Siva-*linga* named Rajendra Solisvaram Udaiya mahadevar by the local Chief Vinam Rajendra Solan Keralan *alias* Nishadarajan:

"Svasti Sri Tribhuvanachakravartigal Sri Rajarajadevarkku yandu ettavadu Rajaraja Pandi nattu Rajendrasola valanattu Puramalai nattu Po . . . Nishadarajanar Sivalinga-pratishtaikkum vimanap-pratishtaikkum . . . "

Ponnamaravati is said to be located in Puramalai nadu, in Rajendrasola valanadu, a district of Rajaraja Pandi nadu, by which name the entire Pandi mandalam (the traditional region of the Pandyan kingdom) was known after Rajaraja I's reconquest of that kingdom.

In the 12th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga deva (presumably III), there is a grant jointly made by the Nishadarajan and Udaiyar Tiruppuvanam Udaiyar Tachchacharyan Udaiyar *alias* Adi Acharyan (*Inscriptions of the Pudukkottah State*, 147). Evidently the latter was the temple architect.

From an undated inscription (ARE 13 of 1909), we find that the steps and the verandah around the shrine *(tirunadaimaligai)* were built by one Nilaimai Alagiyan; from an 18th year record (A.D. 1196) of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva (III) (ARE 5 of 1909), we find that a gift of land was made by one Tiruk-kodungunram udaiyan Alagiya Devan *alias* Nishadarajan in favour of a *matha* called Nilamai Alagiya tirumadam, evidently a *matha* built within the temple by, or on behalf of, Nilaimai Alagiyan. Hence we can presume that this *matha* and also the verandah and the steps were constructed in the days of Rajaraja II.

The Editor of the *Pudukkottai State Gazetteer* has contended that the temple of Cholisvaram (its modern name) would appear to have been built by Rajaraja II in memory of his great-grandfather Kulottunga I (who was earlier known as Rajendra Chola II). This seems rather far-fetched, though it is not impossible,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

because, in spite of the apparent gap of generations, Rajaraja II ascended the throne within 26 years of the death of Kulottunga I. It is however reasonable to conclude that the temple was built in the name of the local chief Nishadarajan, who, as we saw, bore the name of Rajendra Solakeralan.

As to when the Amman shrine inside this temple was consecrated we have no direct evidence: but it must have come into existence certainly within two or three decades of the main shrine, as we find that one Tirukkodungunram udaiyan Keralan *alias* Nishadarajan (perhaps the successor of Rajendra Solakeralan) makes certain presents to the shrine of Tirukkamakkottam-udaiya-Aludaiya-nachchiyar in the temple of Rajendrasolisvaram Udaiyar, in the 23rd year of Jatavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasekharadeva (A.D. 1213; ARE 10 of 1909), which would show that this border area was wrested from Chola control in the last days of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178–1218).

The *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mahamandapa* form a single architectural unit. The *sanctum* rises over a moulded *adhishthanam*, having an octagonal *kumudam*. The pilasters are square with thick *palagais* and bevelled corbels. The cornice is thin, and the *kudus* are plain. The niches on the projecting posts of the three sides have square pilasters with arched tops, while those in the recesses are surmounted by *pancharams*. The southern niche contains a sculpture of Jnana Dakshinamurti and the northern one of Brahma, while the western is empty. Pieces of the original *vyalavari*, which were evidently removed when the brick *vimanam* was renovated, have now been built into the *prakara* wall. At the junction of the *ardhamandapa* with the *sanctum*, and in the middle along its length, there are empty niches, each of which is surmounted by an arch; on either side of the central niche are two shallow niches surmounted by *pancharams*. Between the *ardhamandapa* and *mahamandapa* there is a porch, with doorways on the south and north which are now closed. There is a niche surmounted by *pancharams* on either side of the entrance to the *sanctum*. The pillars inside the *mahamandapa* are cylindrical and carry tenoned corbels. To the north of the *mahamandapa* is the Amman shrine which is a crude imitation of the main shrine. Among the bronzes

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in this temple is a Somaskanda group belonging to the Later Chola period. (Pls. 257–60).

Vishnu Temple

The Vishnu temple to the west of the village must have come into existence in the days of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, two of whose dated inscriptions are found in the temple. There are also six inscriptions found on it belonging to *Saka* years 1367 to 1375 (A.D. 1445–53), which refer to the temple of Alagiyaperumal Vinnagara Emperuman at Ponnamarapadi situated to the west of the village. There is a reference to a servant of the temple, who sang the hymns of *Sadagopan* (i.e., Nammalvar). This is a much later foundation, of the period of Maravarman Sundara Pandya of the Later Pandyas.

PALLAVARAYANPETTAI (KULATTUR)

SUNDARESVARAR TEMPLE (RAJARAJESVARAM) 4

Pallavarayanpettai is a village on the outskirts of Mayuram in the Tanjavur district. There is a temple here, now called that of Sundaresvarar. The place as well as the temple would appear to be the creation of a great and powerful Minister of Rajaraja II, called Tiruch-Chirrambalam-Udaiyan Peruma(l)nambiyan *alias* Pallavarayan. Perhaps the place was named Kulattur in fond recollection of his native place called Karigai Kulattur (see below and also Appendixes 2 and 3 to the section), and the temple named Rajarajesvaram in honour of his royal patron.

There are nine inscriptions in the temple of the days of Rajaraja II, one of those of Rajadhiraja II, and one of those of the Pallava Kopperunjinga. One of the inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja II (ARE 427 of 1924) is the foundation inscription; its date is lost and could be any of the first ten years of his reign. It records a gift of sheep for burning a lamp in the "temple of Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar, which had been constructed at Kulattur in Tiruvindalur nadu, a sub-division of Rajadhiraja valanadu, by a certain

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kulatturan Tiruch Chirrambalam Udaiyan Perumal-nambiyan *alias* Pallavarayan, a native of Karigai-Kulattur in Siru-kunra nadu, a sub-division of Amur kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam." Another inscription, of the 10th year (ARE 434 of 1924), records a sale of land to the temple by two private individuals of Tiruvudalur. A third, of the same 10th year, (with the *pu maruviya tirumadum* introduction: ARE 431 of 1924), records the gift of some lands, tax-free, for offerings, worship and a flower-garden to the temple of Rajarajesvaram udaiyar at Kulattur by "Pallavarayan by whom the temple had been built" (mentioned in ARE 427 of 1924). Thus, this temple, built by Pallavarayan, came into existence (was completed) by about A.D. 1155. Two inscriptions of the 14th regnal year refer to gifts of lamps (ARE 429 and 431 of 1924). There are four inscriptions (ARE 428, 430, 436 and 437 of 1924) of the 16th year (A.D. 1162): one of them records an agreement by a shepherd to burn lamps in the temple; others refer to gifts of land to the temple; the last-cited in particular mentions the sale of some land belonging to the adjacent Vishnu temple of Kirttinarayana Vinnagar Alvar to the Rajarajesvaram udaiyar temple.

The (chronologically) next record, on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine (ARE 433 of 1924), is historically very important. It belongs to the eighth year of Rajadhiraja deva II (with the *kadal sulnda par madarum* introduction). It records the circumstances of the king's coronation through the exertions of Tiruch-chirrambalam-udaiyan Perumal-nambiyan *alias* Pallavarayan, after the death of Rajaraja II. Pallavarayan appears to have been the chief among the trusted officers of Rajaraja II, enjoying the king's confidence, honours and preference. Rajaraja II died at the height of his power, leaving behind him two infants aged two years and one year respectively. The times were potentially insecure and perilous. The infants were transported from Ayirattali* to a place of safety in Rajarajapuram+

*This Ayirattali is not to be confused with its namesake *alias* Niyamam (modern Nemam) in Tanjavur district. It was part of the secondary Chola capital of Palayarai—the successor of Nandipuram of the Pallavas.

+Modern Darasuram (Tanjavur district): it was the Chola capital during the days of Rajaraja II—vide Ottakkuttar's *Takkayagapparani*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

After a thorough enquiry and study of the claims of the next of kin of the late king, Pallavarayan raised to the Chola throne Edirilip-perumal, son of Neri-udaip-perumal and grandson of Vikrama Chola, who had been designated by Rajaraja II himself to succeed him; the new ruler was invested with the title Rajadhiraja (II) in the fourth year of his reign *(nalam tirunakshatram)* with the unanimous approval of the chief's retinue on council *(udankuttam)* and of the whole *nadu*. Some overt as well as covert opposition continued to be there, and Pallavarayan carefully guarded the royal infant heirs and maintained law and order in the kingdom.

It was also at this time that Kulasekhara Pandya was driven out of his kingdom by a rival who was supported by the Sinhalese (Ceylonese). Kulasekhara sought and received Chola help for the restoration to him of his throne. The Ceylonese Generals *(dandanayakas)* were defeated and killed and their heads nailed to Madurai's gateway. Arrangements were in full swing for the restoration of Kulasekhara, when, as ill-luck would have it, Pallavarayan fell ill and died. This was a big blow to the Chola king who lost an able, loyal and trusted Minister and General at a critical point. In recognition of his invaluable services to the royal family, his estate *(kani)* of 40 *velis* of tax-free land at Solendrasinga-nallur in Kurukkainadu, a sub-division of Virudarajabhayankara valanadu, was redistributed within the circle of his relatives, by royal order. Besides, the mother, sister and other relations of Rajaraja II were also provided with lands: eight *ma* of land was given to the widowed queen and the children of Rajaraja II; to "the daughter of Vaippur Udaiyan", mother of Rajaraja II, one *veli* of land was given, and two *velis* to his sister, "wife of Valiyur Udaiyan", and her children. The services of Pallavarayan, the pilot who ably weathered the political storm, were suitably and dutifully rewarded by a grateful ruler. The work of distribution of the lands covered by the grant was entrusted to Palaiyanur udaiyan Vedavanam udaiyan Ammaiyappan *alias* Pallavarayan of Men-malai Palaiyanur in Jayangondasola mandalam, who succeeded the late Pallavarayan as Chief Minister. Pallavarayanpettai and the temple of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Rajarajesvaram are a fitting memorial to a loyal and talented General and Administrator who ably held office at a critical juncture in Chola history. (For further details on these two generals, see Appendix 1 to this section.) (Pls. 261–70).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

APPENDIX 1

Three Chieftains mentioned in inscriptions at Arpakkam, Pallavarayanpettai and Palaiyanur-Tiruvalangadu.

1. EDIRILISOLA SAMBUVARAYAN

An inscription at Arapakkam, of the 5th year of Rajadhiraja II (ARE 20 of 1899; SII, VI, 456), mentions the following: 'The army of Sri Lanka, having taken possession of the Pandyan country and driven the king, Kulasekhara, out of Madurai, began offensives against the feudatories of the Chola king. The prospect of war spreading to the Tondai and Pasi districts of the Chola country struck terror into the hearts of its people. The Chieftain Edirilisola Sambuvarayan besought 'Svamidevar' (Umapatideva *alias* Jnana Siva, a native of Dakshina Lata in Gauda desa) to offer prayers, oblations and worship *(japa, homa* and *archana)* to Lord Siva to help avert the calamity. Such worship *(Aghora-supuja)* was conducted for twenty-eight days, and an *olai* (letter) was received from the General, Pillai Pallavarayan, announcing the flight of the Simhala Generals *(dandanayakas)* Jayadhrata, Lankapuri and others. In gratitude to the Svami for his intercession with the divine powers, Sambuvarayan gave the village of Alappakkam consisting of 167 *velis* of land as a tax-free endowment *(eka-bhoga iraiyili)* to the Svami, who, in turn, distributed the income from the village among his relatives. We have already discussed the great Minister and General Pallavarayan in the account on Pallavarayanpettai (ARE 433 of 1924; EI, XXI, 31)—also see below. This Sambuvarayan was the father of that Pallavarayan.

Venkayya (SII, I, pp. 86 ff.) opined that this Sambuvarayan must have been an ancestor of Alagiya Solan (*alias* Edirili) of the Poygai inscription of the 22nd year of Rajaraja III (SII, I, p. 59) and interpreted Sambuvarayan's solicitude for the Chola victory as due to his being a devotee of Siva and of *brahmanas* and the invaders being enemies of both as evidenced by their removing the sacred door and plundering the treasures of the Ramesvaram temple.

2. TIRUCH-CHIRRAMBALAM-UDAIYA PERUMA(L)NAMBI(AN) ALIAS *PALLAVARAYAN*

As noted in the text of this Section, a Pallavarayanpettai inscription of the 8th year of Rajadhiraja II (ARE 433 of 1924; EI, XXI, 31) records the invaluable services to the Chola royal family rendered by this Chieftain, who hailed from Karigai-kalattur (or -kulattur) in Sirukunra nadu, a sub-division of Amur kottam in the district of Jayangondasola mandalam, and served as Chief Minister to both Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II till his death in the eighth regnal year of the latter. (For further details about Karigai Kulattur, see Appendixes 2 and 3.)

Rajaraja II had two sons born late in his life and, to ensure a smooth succession, he designated Edirili Perumal, son of Neri Udai Perumal and grandson of Vikrama Chola, as his immediate successor. At the sudden death of Rajaraja II, it fell to Pallavarayan to give effect to the late king's wish. He removed the two infants, aged two years and one year at the time, to a place of safety in Rajarajapuram from Ayirattali, and with the approval of the royal household and his own adherents *(udan-kuttam)* and the *nadu* in general, he installed Edirili Perumal as king. He further invested the new king, in his

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

fourth regnal year, with the name of Rajadhiraja (II). Thus he came to the rescue of the empire at a crucial time of transition.

Then followed a period of external danger. The king of Sri Lanka invaded the Pandya country and drove out the ruling Kulasekhara into exile. The latter sought the assistance of the Chola king for his restoration to the Madurai throne. Under the guidance of Pallavarayan, the Chola army routed and killed the Simhalese Generals and recaptured Madurai. It was at this supreme hour of triumph that Pallavarayan fell ill and died. The grateful Rajadhiraja ordered that Pallavarayan's estate of forty *velis* in Cholendrasinganallur was to be made into a separate unit called Rajadhiraja Kulattur (in Kurukkai nadu, part of Virudarajabhayankara valanadu), rendered tax-free and distributed among the late chief's widows, sons, their wives, and other relatives. The delicate task of distributionof the estate was left to Palaiyanur Udaiyan Vedavanam Udaiyan Ammaiyappan *alias* Pallavarayan (presumably his namesake's successor in office). Rajadhiraja Kulattur came to be known as Pallavarayanpettai in course of time. (Lands were also assigned at this time to the widowed queen, the mother and the sisters of the late Rajaraja II).

The career of Pallavarayan is reminiscent of that of Naralokavira who as Minister and General rendered signal service in the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola. The temple at Pallavarayanpettai as well as the place itself is a symbol of the greatness of an illustrious 'first servant' of the Chola empire.

3. PALAIYANUR UDAIYAN VEDAVANAM UDAIYAN AMMAIYAPPAN ALIAS *PALLAVARAYAN*

This Chief, who presumably succeeded his namesake *alias* Tiruch-chirrambalam udaiyan as Chief Minister to Rajadhiraja II, is described as a native of Palaiyanur, east of Tiruvalangadu (Chittoor district). Inscriptions relating to him are found at Palaiyanur, Tiruvarur and Tirumayanam. Further, he it was who was entrusted by the king with the task of distributing the personal estate of his late predecessor and namesake among the relatives of the latter.

The earliest reference to him is contained in an inscription of the second year of Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1168) at Tiruvarur (ARE 538 of 1904; SII, XVII, 589). It gives him the *alias* of Rajaraja Vilupparaiyan of Menmalai Palaiyanur nadu in Jayangondasola mandalam. He purchased two pieces of land as 'Rajadhirajap-*peruvilai*' and made a gift of them for food offerings to the Tiruvarur temple. The prefix 'Rajaraja' would indicate his association with the late king as well. An inscription of the 9th year of Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1175) at Tiruvarur (ARE 542 of 1904; SII, XVII, 585) gives him the *alias* of Pallavarayan; he purchased some land in Rajaraja Pottur *alias* Ammaiyappa-nallur (presumably named after him) for 1500 *kasus* and made a gift of it to the temple of Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar of Tiruvarur. Again, in the 10th year of the same ruler, the Chief bought as 'Rajadhirajap-*peruvilai*' a plot of land in Solakerala-nallur and endowed it as *kani* to Goddess Paraloka-men-moli-nachchiyar in the shrine of Tirukkamakkottam udaiya periya Nachchiyar in the temple at Tiruvarur. In the 8th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1186: ARE 537 of 1904; SII, XVII, 582), he made a gift of land for the maintenance of three lamps at the shrines of Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar, Vithi-vitankap-Perumal and Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Nachchiyar. The land was entrusted to two persons who agreed to supply the ghee required for the purpose.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

We may mention here that, according to an inscription of the 14th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1192) at the Brahmapurisvarar temple in Sirkali, a gift was made by the wife and daughter of this Chief to the shrine of Tiruttonipuram udaiya Nayanar for the merit of their husbands, themselves and their descendants (ARE 124 of 1896).

At Palaiyanur, there are two inscriptions, of the 12th and 13th years of Rajadhiraja II. The first (ARE 465 of 1905; EI, XXI, pp. 187–8) is historically of great value, as it gives us an idea of the role of Vedavanam Udaiyan in the Pandyan war; a copy of this inscription, of the same date, is found at Tirumayanam (ARE 211 of 1925). It narrates how this Chief (given the *alias* of Annan Pallavarayan) counteracted the continuing machinations of the Simhalese king, Parakramabahu; the latter had mobilised another expedition and collected his forces at Uratturai, Pulaichcheri, Matottam, Vellikamam and Mattival and was making preparations for a naval attack on the mainland. At this, the Chola king sent word to Srivallabha, a nephew of the Simhalese king and a former claimant to the throne, and placed a large army at his command. The camps of the Simhalese army were destroyed, some elephants captured and the land devastated; some Simhalese chiefs were taken prisoner. The booty was presented to the Chola king by the General Vedavanam Udaiyan Ammaiyappan *alias* Annan Pallavarayan. Meanwhile the Pandyan king Kulasekhara had played into the hands of the Simhalese king and turned traitor to the Cholas, driving out the Chola general and army unit stationed in the Pandyan country. The Cholas counteracted this by supporting the claims of Vira Pandya, son of Parakrama Pandya (and a former protege of Sri Lanka), to the Pandyan throne. Vedavanam Udaiyan accomplished these tasks smoothly, and in recognition of this, the king honoured the victorious General by granting him ten *velis* of land in Rajarajan-Palaiyanur. This fact is recorded in an inscription at Palaiyanur-Tiruvalangadu.

The inscription of the 13th year of Rajadhiraja II at Palaiyanur records a gift of three lamps by this Chief to the temple (ARE 474 of 1905).

Vedavanam Udaiyan was thus another great General and Minister of Rajadhiraja II and a worthy successor to Tiruch-chirrambalam udaiyan.

APPENDIX 2

TIRUVANAKKOYIL

TIRUVALISVARAR (TIRU VALAK KOYIL UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE

The village of Tiruvanakkoyil in Chingleput district and the adjacent one of Kalattur were perhaps once part of the village called Karigai-Kulattur (or -Kalattur) in Tondaimandalam, hometown of the famous Tiruch chirrambalam udaiyan *alias* Pallavarayan, minister and general to both Rajaraja II and Rajadhiraja II. (Presumably in fond memory of his native soil, this Chief founded a village which included the present-day Pallavarayanpettai and named it Rajarajan-Kalattur (or -Kulattur).) There is a temple here known as the Tiruvalisvarar temple but known in inscriptions as Tiruvalakkoyil—of which the present name of the village appears to be a corruption.

The earliest inscription in this temple is on the south wall of the central shrine and pertains to the 27th year of Kulottunga I (ARE 357 of 1911). It registers a gift of four cows for a lamp by a native of Arrur in Urrukkattuk kottam, and also names two Kala-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mukhi priests—Gomadatta Jnanasri Pandita and Sailasri Pandita. An inscription of the 10th year of Vikrama Chola on the same wall registers a gift of land situated in Sirutandalam to Lord Chandrasekharar (a bronze image?) at Tiruvalakkoyil by a number of people—among them being one from Koduvur and another from Pattinam. An inscription of the 12th year (293rd day) of 'Konerinmai-kondan' Kulottunga II (ARE 359 of 1911), found on the west wall, registers a royal order making a gift of some lands in the village of Arumbakkam, a suburb of Ulalur *alias* Rajarajanallur in Kalattur kottam, to be clubbed together under the name of Anapaya nallur, for maintenance of worship in the temple of Tiruvalakkoyil udaiya Mahadevar. (A similar order was issued at Kalattur: ARE 346 of 1911, as we shall see in Appendix 3). A similar royal order was issued on the 293rd day of the same year to a Chief, Tondaiman, to grant certain lands in the village of Nenmeli in Valla nadu, to be clubbed together under the name of 'Kulottungasolan Tiru nirruch chola Nallur' for maintaining worship in the temple. The royal secretary in both instances was one Anapaya Muvendavelan. As we know, Anapayan and Tiru nirruch cholan were both surnames of Kulottunga II.

On the east wall, there is an inscription of the 26th year of Rajaraja III, registering a gift of land by one Karikalasola Tamiladaraiyan for burning a lamp on the hill north of the temple of Tiruvalakkoyil udaiya Nayanar (ARE 365 of 1911).

There are three inscriptions bearing the 3rd, 10th and 12th 'regnal' years of a Chieftain calling himself 'Sakala-bhuvanachakravartin Rajanarayana Sambhuvarayan', who assumed independence in the aftermath of the Chola empire. The twelfth year inscription records that the *tiru madai vilagam* and surrounding lands were given as a *sarva-manya* grant to the *sthanattar* of the temple for maintaining worship and for repairs. This Chief was co-regent for a time (till A.D. 1339) with his father, Venru-man-konda Sambhuvarayan, who faced the furious onslaught of Malik Kafur's hordes: the son's own 'reign' lasted during A.D. 1337 to 1360, the last known record of his being of the 19th year (ARE for 1935, Part II, p. 55) at Arakandanallur. An inscription of his seventh year reveals that he was one of the valiant few who fought to defend the Hindu religious institutions of South India against the vandalism of the invading hordes. His inscriptions are found at Virinchi-puram, Mamallapuram, Siddhalingamadam, Tirumalai (near Polur) and Arakandanallur (*vide* ARE for 1921, Part II, p. 112).

APPENDIX 3

KALATTUR
MUNKUDUMI ISVARAM (PERUN TIRUK KOYIL)

In Appendix 2, we have referred to Kalattur in Chingleput district. One of the two temples here is now called Munkudumi Isvaram, but is referred to in inscriptions as the temple of Perum tiruk koyil Mahadevar at Kalattur. The present structure of the temple seems to be Later Chola. The earliest inscription here is one of the 5th year of Kulottunga I, recording a gift of money for two lamps (ARE 340 of 1911). There are three other inscriptions of his days. One (ARE 339 of 1911), on the west wall of the main shrine, records a gift of land by some *devaradiyar* ('women dedicated to the service of the Lord' in the literal sense, but often loosely and incorrectly translated into 'dancing girls'): we learn that Kalattur had the alternate name of Gangaikondasola chaturvedimangalam. Another of the same year registers a gift of land by two *devaradiyar* who were sisters; one of them

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

also set up an image of Kshetrapalar in the temple. An inscription of the 23rd year records a gift of three lamps (ARE 341 of 1911). We have an inscription of the 15th year of Vikrama Chola, on the west wall of the central shrine, which records a gift of two lamps 'to the temple of Perun tiruk koyil Mahadevar at Kalattur' by a *brahmana* of the village. Next comes one of the 12th year (293rd day) of 'Tribhuvana chakravartin Konerinmai kondan' Kulottunga II (ARE 346 of 1911). It registers a royal order to one Tondaiman to grant certain lands in and around Kulattur, clubbed together under the name of 'Kulottunga-solan Tiruttondat-togai nallur', as *devadana* to the temple for the *tirumadai-vilagam* and a flower-garden. The royal secretary communicating the order is the same as in the contemporaneous records at Tiruvanakkoyil, namely, Anapaya Muvendavelan.

There is an Amman shrine here, built by a certain Arulala Perumal *alias* Rajaraja Villuparaiyan for the merit of his mother, in the 15th year of 'Tribhuvana chakravartin Vijaya Gandagopala', who ruled over the region around Kanchi, nominally as a vassal of Rajaraja III but in effect independently.

A slab built into the floor of the *mukha mandapa* contains a fragmentary Pallava inscription of the 14th year of 'Nandivarma Maharaja': it makes mention of the names of Kalattur kottam and Paramesvara. This fact points to the existence of a temple at the site during the pre-Chola period. There is no clue as to its form or structure.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUVANCHIYAM (SRIVANCHIYAM)

5 VANCHISVARAR (VANCHI-LINGESVARAR) TEMPLE

Tiruvanchiyam lies about 18 km. north-west of Tiruvarur on the main road to Kumbakonam. The Lord of the local temple (Vanchisvarar, Vanchinathar or) Vanchi-lingesvarar has been sung by the three great *Nayanmars*, as also by Manikkavachakar who sings of the miracle of the Naga-kannika who worshipped this Lord and became one with Him as Ammai-appan.

The earliest inscription here is found on a pillar of the Dakshinamurti shrine in the temple. A mutilated record of the 39th year of Kulottunga I, it records a gift of land to the goddess 'Tirup palliyarai Nam pirattiyar', whose image was presented to the temple of 'Tiru vanchiyam udaiya Mahadevar' by a native of Momangudi (ARE 72 of 1911).

On the walls of the central shrine itself, there are three records: a damaged one of the 18th year of 'Tribhuvana-Chakravarti Rajarajadeva' and two, of the 3rd and 11th years, of 'Rajadhirajadeva'. Another record of the former's days lists lands owned by the temple and its subordinate shrines (ARE 66 of 1911). From a later record, dated in the 10th year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya deva (ARE 68 of 1911), we get the alternate name of Rajagambhira chaturvedimangalam for Tiruvanchiyam: Rajagambhira was, as we have said earlier, one of the surnames of Rajaraja II.

On the walls of the Mangalambika (Amman) shrine in the temple, there is an unfinished record of the 18th year of 'Tribhuvana chakravarti Rajaraja deva', which refers to the building of this shrine and the consecration of the image of the goddess 'in the temple of Tiruvanchiyam Udaiya Nayanar' (ARE 70 of 1911). There is also a damaged record of the 20th year of the same ruler: it seems to register gifts of land made to the temple in different years of the king's reign and mentions the places Perumbarrap puliyur (Chidambaram) and Tiruvellarai (ARE 71 of 1911).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

There are also a number of Pandyan inscriptions here; we have already referred to one.

On the basis of the above information, we may conclude that the original temple dates back to at least the days of Kulottunga I, and that the renovation of the entire temple and the building of the separate Amman shrine took place during the days of a Rajaraja who may be identified as Rajaraja II, especially in view of the village bearing the alternate name of Rajagambhira chaturvedimangalam. It is likely that the pillar in the Dakshinamurti shrine, referred to earlier, was earlier part of the original main shrine and that the Dakshinamurti shrine itself was newly constructed (as was the Amman shrine), at the time of renovation of the main shrine, partly with material from the older structure. (Pls. 271–3).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

9

Rajadhiraja II

(A.D. 1166 to 1182)

Rajadhiraja II was not in the direct line of descent of the Cholas. Interesting if somewhat incomplete information regarding the circumstances leading up to his accession is contained in an inscription found in the temple of Rajarajesvaram built at Pallavarayanpettai during Rajaraja II's days. Finding himself without a son ready to succeed him *(tiru abhishekattukku uriya pillaigal inriye irukkirapadiyai parttu)*, Rajaraja II caused enquiries to be made into the rights of possible successors to the throne according to the prevailing practice of those days *(annalile kariyam irundapadi vicharanai seydu)* and in the end chose Edirili Perumal, son of Neri udai Perumal and a grandson of Vikrama Chola's, to succeed him temporarily. (See Appendix I to this chapter for other views). After four years of probation, this cousin was anointed co-ruler under the title of Rajadhiraja (in A.D. 1166), such investiture having the approval of the King's Council *(udan kuttam)*. From A.D. 1166 to A.D. 1172, Rajadhiraja II must have served as co-regent.

The closing years of Rajaraja II saw the beginnings of a war of Pandyan succession that, after his death, was fought with fluctuating fortunes and swapping of sides by the Pandyan claimants to the throne, till almost the end of the rule of Rajadhiraja II. The first rude shock which threatened the very existence of the Chola empire came in these days, when the Pandyan claimant Kulasekhara sought the help of the Cholas to fight against the Sri Lanka forces which, at that king's behest, had taken up the cause

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of Parakrama Pandya, who was then in occupation of the Madurai throne. This war lasted from A.D. 1169 to 1177, when finally the Sri Lanka forces were driven out of the mainland and their ships destroyed. But it also provided the first fissures in the edifice of the Chola empire which till then had been solid and in fact had seen almost half a century of unparalleled peace (from A.D. 1120 to 1169). We shall see more on this later.

Soon after the death of Rajaraja II, we saw, Pillai Pallavarayan *alias* Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan Perumanambi, the trusted lieutenant of Rajaraja II, who played a vital role in the preservation of the Chola empire in those troubled days and bore the brunt of the Sri Lanka invasion of the mainland and expelled the Simhalese forces after bitter fighting, was evidently worried about the safety of the two children of Rajaraja II aged one and two years, as well as of the dowager queen; and so he had them whisked away from the cantonment at Ayirattali, which virtually functioned as the Chola capital during the reign of Rajaraja II, as seen earlier. Safety from whom? What was the particular interest of Pallavarayan in taking upon himself the onus of securing the safety of the children of Rajaraja II? Who were the persons likely to harm the infant children? These questions will remain sources of speculation and have been speculated upon, but are beyond the scope of this book. It was this Pallavarayan who led the Chola army to its victory in the first phase of the war, which occurred even while Rajaraja II was alive; but Pallavarayan did not long survive Rajaraja II and appears to have died sometime around A.D. 1172.

We noticed that the Pandyan kingdom never really accepted Chola supremacy and was chafing under their domination during the Middle Chola period. However, by a system of appointing ('Chola-Pandya') viceroys and stationing substantial troops at various military stations located at strategic places like Kottaru, Rajaraja I and his successors kept down the Pandyan movement for independence; and Kulottunga I had considerable trouble during his early years in keeping a firm hold over this part of the empire; how he had to demonstrate his strength in bloody battles and assert his authority, we have seen in the chapter on

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kulottunga I. However, during the closing few years of that ruler, the signal for them to assert their independence was seen in the temporary loss of the Chola hold over Gangavadi and even over Vengi for a short while; and it needed all the energy and diplomacy of Vikrama Chola to re-establish and maintain his hold over these regions. After this, for some decades we hear nothing of the Pandyas till almost the end of the reign of Rajaraja II. However, from the epigraphical material relating to this region and period, it could be said that even though the Pandyan rulers owed allegiance to the Chola overlord, they exercised considerable autonomy and in fact indulged in their own wars and quarrels without reference to the centre and put out their own *prasastis*, a practice discontinued during the Middle Chola period and even during the days of Kulottunga I.

Three years before the death of Rajaraja II and three years after Rajadhiraja II's co-regency began, a civil war broke out in Madurai (in A.D. 1169); at that time Parakrama Pandya was occupying the Pandyan throne; finding it difficult to defend the city that was besieged by the army led by Kulasekhara, his rival claimant to the throne, he appealed to the Sri Lanka ruler Parakramabahu (A.D. 1153–86) to send him assistance to help him thwart the investment; accordingly, Parakramabahu, only too happy to interfere in the affairs of the mainland and resume the old rivalry with the Cholas, sent a big army under a general named Lankapuri. Before, however, the army could reach Madurai, the city had been stormed by Kulasekhara who killed Parakrama Pandya, his queen and children. Parakramabahu advised his commander to continue with the effort, wrest Madurai from Kulasekhara and hand it over to the scions of Parakrama Pandya. Reading the narration of the events of this period given in the Buddhist account, *Mahavamsa*, in conjunction with the eleborate inscriptions found in the Tamil country on this subject, we can piece the sequence of events together somewhat as follows. The Sri Lanka forces routed the army of the Pandyan prince Kulasekhara; Kulasekhara sought the Chola king's protection and a large army under the command of Pallavarayan and other generals was sent to counter the depredations of the Sri Lanka army, with

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

orders that the Pandyan throne should be given to Kulasekhara and that Lankapuri Dandanayaka and other Chiefs commanding the Sri Lanka army should be killed and their heads nailed to the gates of the city of Madurai. We have already referred to the interesting inscription from Arpakkam dated in the fifth year of Rajadhiraja II, which contains the earliest reference to these crucial days and the fighting that was going on; it mentions that the depredations of Lankapuri in Pandi mandalam struck terror even into the minds of the people of Chola desa; worship was abandoned in the Ramesvaram temple and its treasure plundered; and a worried father, Edirilisola Sambuvarayan, anxious that the Chola army commanded by his son, Pillai Pallavarayan, should stem the tide of Chola defeat, sought the intercession of Svami devar, a holy man from Dakshina Lata in Gauda desa, who, after performing *puja* for twenty-eight days* brought divine wrath to bear on the Sri Lanka army; and soon after the *puja* came the news of Pallavarayan's success against the *Pradhanis* of the Simhalese army; their *Dandanayakas* (commanders) Jayadratha and Lankapuri and the entire army were driven out of the mainland. Kulasekhara thereupon returned to Madurai as the undisputed king. Another inscription dilating on the same theme, found at Pallavarayanpettai, and dated in the eighth regnal year of Rajadhiraja II, says that thus was prevented the conversion of the Pandyan country into a province of Sri Lanka *(pandinadu ilanadaagadapadi pariharittu)*. The story does not end here. Evidently, Parakramabahu did not accept this defeat and was making warlike preparations for a fresh invasion of the mainland. Having come to know that the Sri Lanka king was mustering a big fleet in Uratturai, Pulaichcheri, Matottam, Vallikamam, Mattival and other places, Annan Pallavaraiyan *alias* Palaiyanur-udaiyan Vedavanam Udaiyan Ammaiyappan set up Srivallabha, the nephew *(marumaganar)* of the king of Sri Lanka, as a claimant to the Simhalese

*According to Sri Bujandar's version (*vide Aruludaich-cholamandalam* by N. Sethuraman, p. 19) the *puja* (for Kali) was performed at Pattisvaram by Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan but according to the Arpakkam inscription, it was the father of Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan who performed the *(agni) puja* at Arpakkam. This point needs clarification (pp.19–20).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

throne and put him at the head of a big expeditionary force, which attacked the island and captured and destroyed the ports of Pulaichcheri, Matottam and others, where Parakramabahu was mustering his naval forces for the proposed attack on the mainland; the Chola commander Annan Pallavaraiyan gathered the booty and duly placed it at the feet of Rajadhiraja II.

In recognition of the services rendered by this Chief in the cause of the preservation of the Chola empire and thwarting the designs of the Sri Lanka king on the Pandyan kingdom, a gift of land was made which is reported in the inscription dated in the twelfth year of Rajadhiraja II found in the North Arcot district (ARE 465 of 1905).

But the war did not end here. Parakramabahu, finding the Chola diplomacy of setting up a counter claimant to the Sri Lanka throne in the person of Srivallabha who, assisted by the able Chola general, had gained spectacular successes against the Sri Lanka army, disconcerting, tried to pay the Chola king back in his own coin by suddenly withdrawing his support for Vira Pandya, the scion of Parakrama Pandya, and bestowing it on his erstwhile enemy Kulesekhara; tempted by generous presents and promises, Kulasekhara made a *volte face* and joined hands with Parakramabahu in attacking the Chola Chiefs in Pandi nadu with a view to driving them out; the Chola ruler instructed Pallavaraiyan to instal Vira Pandya on the Pandyan throne. These were anxious days, and evidently the Cholas were taken by surprise by the unexpected turn of events and the shifting loyalty of Kulasekhara, who, assisted by Parakramabahu's army, would appear to have made deep inroads into the Chola territory before Annan Pallavaraiyan could gather his forces to roll back the intruding Sri Lanka army and place Vira Pandya on the Madurai throne. We gather that Annan Pallavaraiyan successfully brought this about. This culminating act may have taken place in A.D. 1177. This brings us to almost the beginning of the rule of Kulottunga III, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178. Thus it would appear that the entire reign of Rajadhiraja II was devoted to the preservation of the integrity of the Chola empire and the worsting of the attempts of Parakramabahu to interfere

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in the affairs of the mainland—a mission whose success was due mainly to the two Pallavarayan Chiefs. The Chola empire that Kulottunga III inherited from Rajadhiraja II was essentially the same in extent as at the end of the reign of Vikrama Chola. Nandalur, Kalahasti and Nellore contain a number of inscriptions of this period and Nandalur in particular continues to be a centre of considerable religious activity during this period.

Rajadhiraja II celebrated the defeat of the Sri Lanka forces at the hands of his generals by giving himself the surname of 'he, who was pleased to take Madurai and Ilam' *(Maduraiyum Ilamum kondarulina)* (ARE 36 of 1906; 731 of 1909). He also called himself Karikala, as in inscriptions from Chidambaram and Attur. His inscriptions and the *prasasti* sometimes combined the surnames, calling him Tribhuvanachakravartin *alias Maduraiyum Ilamum kondarulina Karikala Choladeva.*

We hear of another Chief from around the tenth regnal year of Rajadhiraja II. An expedition seems to have been taken out against Kollimalai (Valappur nadu), which represented the region around modern Namakkal of Salem district, under the command of Virrirundan Seman(dar) *alias* Pillai Akalanka Nadalvar of Tiruttavatturai (Lalgudi) in Idaiyarrur nadu, a subdivision of Pandikulasani valanadu; Kollimalai nadu is said to be a subdivision of Virasola mandalam of the Chola empire; this Chief enters into a number of agreements with local petty Chiefs, the Malayala nattar of some villages, for various benefactions to the Arappallisvarar* temple in Valappur nadu (ARE 496, 499, 500 and 501 of 1929–30). We gather from some inscriptions from Srirangam that three Kaikola Mudalis, Nayan *alias* Alagiya Manavala Marayan of Tiruvarangam, Araiyan *alias* Kidarattaraiyan and Ulagan *alias* Alaganaichchola Marayan

*Incidentally this temple would appear to have been in existence even in the days of Uttama Chola, *vide* an inscription on the door-jamb (right of entrance) of the central shrine dated in his 16th year which states that Parantakan Madevadigal *alias* Sembiyan Madeviyar, the mother of Gandan Madhurantakan *alias* Uttama Choladeva, deposited 100 *kalanjus* of gold with the *urar* of certain specified villages in Kollimalai nadu for meeting the expenses of monthly *sankramanas* in the temple of Tiruvarappalli Alvar on the Kollimalai, the *urar* agreeing to pay the monthly interest to the *sabha* (ARE 503, 504, 505 of 1929–30).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

bound themselves to serve this Chief unto death as *velaikkarar* (ARE 267, 268 and 269 of 1929–30).

Rajadhiraja's *prasastis* begin with one of three forms: *kadal sulnda par magalum (madarum)*, similar to the *prasasti* of Rajaraja II; *pu maruviya tisai mugatton*, occurring from his fifth year records onwards; and *kadal sulnda parelum*. They do not furnish any information of a historical nature and seem to be purely rhetorical.

We hear of one Narayanan Muvendavelan as the royal Secretary *(tiru-mandira-olai)* in an inscription dated in his second year, 121st day, and again of one Minavan Muvendavelan as another incumbent of that office (Pallavarayanpettai).

Rajadhiraja II would appear to have ruled for sixteen years and his reign must have ended in A.D. 1182, though the reign of his successor Kulottunga III is dated from A.D. 1178.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

APPENDIX I

Note on N. Sethuraman's views on Rajadhiraja II.

We have described the views and conclusions of N. Sethuraman on the date of accession of Kulottunga I. In his *Aruludaich Cholamandalam*, he discusses fully and critically the Pallavarayanpettai inscription. He suggests a slight variation in the generally accepted order of succession. The two views are stated below:

GENEALOGY OF THE LATER CHOLAS
(A.D. 1070–1280)

(a) Accepted version.

Kulottunga I
(1070–1125)
|
Vikrama Chola
(1118–35)
|
Kulottunga II (1133–50) — Neri udaip-Perumal
|
Rajaraja II (1146–73) — Edirilip-Perumal *alias* Rajadhiraja II (1166–82)
|
Kulottunga III
(1178–1218)
|
Rajaraja III
(1216–1253)
|
Rajendra III
(1246–58–79)

(b) N. Sethuraman's version.

Kulottunga I
(1070–1125)
|
Vikrama Chola
(1118–35)
|
Kulottunga II
(1133–50)
|
Rajaraja II (1146–73) — Neri udaip-Peruma (daughter)
|
Kulottunga III
(1178–1217)
(2nd son)

Edirilip-Perumal *alias* Rajadhiraja II
(1166–78 as Chola ruler; later ruled in Vengi region till A.D. 1215)

N.B. Rajadhiraja II was the great-grandson of Vikrama Chola, not his grandson, as per this version.

An important difference between the two views is that in the earlier view Edirilipperumal was the son of Neriyudaipperumal (supposedly a younger brother of Kulottunga II) who in turn was a son of Vikrama Chola. Sethuraman suggests that Neriyudaipperumal was a daughter of Kulottunga II and a younger sister of Rajaraja II, and that Edirilipperumal was the son of this Neriyudaipperumal, and thus a great-grandson of Vikrama Chola. And he cites the analogy of the earlier Chola precedent in which Kulottunga I

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Rajiga or Rajendra), the son of Ammanga devi, sister of Vira Rajendra, was made the Chola emperor, after the death of Vira Rajendra and his son Adhi Rajendra.

The closing years of Rajaraja II's rule were a critical period in the history of the Cholas. The king was old and ailing. He had two sons— one and two years old. The war of disputed succession to the Pandyan throne had had its impact on the Chola empire. In the face of these dangers—domestic and foreign—Rajaraja II held consultation with his Council of Ministers and (according to N. Sethuraman) got the approval of the *Nadu* to appoint Edirilip-perumal as his successor till one of his sons came of age to be crowned king of the Chola country. Edirilip-perumal ascended the Chola throne as a co-ruler in A.D. 1166 and ruled for 12 years under the name of Rajadhiraja II.

He stood by his promise to Rajaraja II. In A.D. 1178, he handed over the sovereignty of the Chola kingdom to Rajaraja II's second son, Kulottunga III, in accordance with his promise to and understanding with Rajaraja II and retired to Vengi desa and ruled that principality with full regal powers and authority till his death there in A.D. 1215. A noble soul!*

APPENDIX II

EIGHTH YEAR INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II AT PALLAVARAYANPETTAI (A.D. 1173–74) (ARE 123 OF 1912; SII, IV, 626)

Rajaraja II died in A.D. 1172. About a year later, Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan also died suddenly. Vedavanam Udaiyan of Palaiyanur succeeded him as the Prime Minister and General. He distributed (not a royal gift) the landed property of Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan among the close relatives of the deceased Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan, including some portions to the dowager queen of Rajaraja II. (We saw that after settling the domestic problem, Vedavanam Udaiyan carried on the second war with the Pandyas who were being helped by the Simhalese (A.D. 1170–78). His victory in this second war against the Pandyan-Simhalese alliance was rewarded by the grateful Chola ruler with a gift of ten *velis* of land at Palaiyanur (12th year of Rajadhiraja II, Tiruvalangadu inscription).)

*See N. Sethuraman's book *Aruludaich Cholamandalam* (Kumbakonam) and the pamphlet *Rajadhirajan II* issued at the meeting of the Archaeological Society on 21.6.1976 at Kumbakonam.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

10

Temples of Rajadhiraja II's Time

TIRUVENGAIVASAL

1 VYAGHRAPURISVARAR TEMPLE SHRINES OF SADIRA VITANKA NAYAKAR AND PIRATTIYAR (CONSORT)

In the village of Tiruvengaivasal in the Pudukkottai district, there is an ancient temple of Siva, dating back to at least the days of Parantaka I. The principal deity is called Vyaghrapurisvarar (*Vyaghra* in Sanskrit = *vengai* in Tamil = tiger). There is an inscription in Tamil verse, of the fifth year, and another, of the 28th year, both of an unspecified Parakesarivarman and found on the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine (ARE 239 and 238 of 1914). The former mentions a gift of a lamp to the temple of Tiruvengaivayil by a native of Malanadu and the latter a gift of a lamp to the deity of the temple, referred to as Tirumerrali Mahadevar. Both could be assigned to the days of Parantaka I.

On the door-posts of the entrance to the same *mandapa*, there is a record of the 26th year of Rajaraja I, referring to a gift of a lamp by a merchant to 'the temple of Tirumerrali Mahadevar at Tiruvengaivayil, a *devadana* in Peruvayil nadu, a sub-division of Pandikulasani valanadu' (ARE 240 of 1914). In a record of the 26th year of Rajendra I, reference is made to an image of Nittasulamani Vitankar, to whom a gift of land for offerings is made by the Assembly of Tiruvengaivayil, described now as a *devadana*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in Peruvayil nadu, a subdivision of Jayasinga-kula-kala vala-nadu. We have two records of the days of Rajadhiraja I; one, of his eighth year, states that the *devadana* lands of the temple were lying uncultivated for want of tenants and so certain private individuals bought them from the temple authorities and agreed to 'measure out' the specified quantity of paddy every year to the temple (ARE 250 of 1914); the other, of his 30th year, lists all the *devadana* lands belonging to the temple (ARE 236 of 1914).

In the Later Chola period, the temple seems to have received attention in the days of Vikrama Chola. There are two records, both of his 14th year, on the outer side of the west wall of the first *prakara*. One refers to a gift of land by the *nadu* and the *Mahesvaras* of Peru-vayal nadu to one Elu-nattu-nangai who was to give nine performances of *sandikkuttu* during *the Chittirai* festival before the Lord Tiruvengai-vayil Andar. She was to receive '*korru*' for the performance in years when the crops failed (ARE 253 of 1914, pd. 128).

Two records of 'Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajarajadeva', of his 12th and 20th years (ARE 246, 247 of 1914), refer to the installation of the images of 'Sadira Vitanka devar' and Consort *(Pirattiyar)* by one Sadiran Irajan *alias* Kulottungasola Kidarattarayan and to gifts made to them. The later record tells us that one-half of the revenue from the 18 *ma* of land presented was to be used for the expenses of the main shrine and the other half for festivals in the shrines of Sadira Vitanka Nayakar and Consort in the temple. Both these records are on the south wall of the first *prakara*. An inscription of the fifth year of Rajadhiraja II, on the west wall of the same *prakara*, records a gift of land to two women for performing the *sandik-kuttu* during the *Tiruvadirai* festival in the month of *Vaikasi* at the shrine of Sadira Vitanka Nayakar set up by Sadiran Irajan *alias* Kulottungasola Kidarattarayan (ARE 254 of 1914, pd. 139).

From the contents of these records, and noting that the 20th year of Rajaraja II would correspond to A.D. 1166 and the 5th year of Rajadhiraja II to A.D. 1171, we may reasonably infer that the two Rajaraja records belong to the days of Rajaraja II.

The independent Amman shrine of Brihannayaki appears

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to be a later structure; there are Pandyan records on its walls which, however, do not throw any light on the growth of the temple.

The main shrine itself, though dating back to the days of Parantaka I and beyond, has undergone total renovation and contains no Chola or Pandyan records on its walls, now.

ARPAKKAM

2 TIRUVALISVARAM TEMPLE

On the Kanchi-Uttaramerur road, after crossing the Vegavati at Kanchi and the Palar four kilometres further south, one reaches Arpakkam after another four kilometres on the same road; it lies midway between the Palar and the Cheyyar, which joins the Palar a few kilometres east at the well-known centre of Tirumukkudal. The earliest-known Pallava cave temple, at Mandahappattu, is at a distance of only about 8 km. in a westerly direction from here.

There are a number of inscriptions in this temple, some on the apsidal *garbhagriha* wall, and others on the eastern face of the *mandapa* in front of the temple; an important inscription (ARE 20 of 1899; SII, VI, No. 456) found on the south-west face of the *garbhagriha* wall of the central shrine records an interesting document dated in the fifth year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Parakesarivarman Rajadhiraja deva (II) (A.D. 1171). It is very important from a historical view-point and also enables us to interpret the meaning of the term 'Tiruvalisvaram'. It reads as follows:

> "*Svasti Sri Ganapataye namaha: Kadal sulnda paar madarum poomadarum kalai madarum . . . sempon virasimhasanattu ulagudai Mukkokkilanadigalodum virrirundu aruliya kopparakesaripanmarana tribhuvanachakravartigal sri Rajadhirajadevarkku yandu 5-avadu ilappadai pandimandalattaikkaikondu maduraiyiley irunda iraja kulasekharanai pogat-turatti pinbu maharaja Sri Rajadhirajadevar samantarodey poosal porat-tudangi . . . janangalellam bayappattamaiyaikkettu edirili sola sambhuvarayanen . . . svamidevar sri padattu serachchenru . . . . tiruviramesvarattil devar koyilai tirukaappukkondu poojaiyum muttupanni . . . 28 nal agorapoojai panni-yarulinar.*"

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The Editor of 'The Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency' dealing with this inscription says as follows:

"It sets forth that the army of Ceylon having taken possession of the Pandyan country, drove away king Kulasekhara, who was then in Madurai and then began (?) to fight in battle with the feudatories of the great king Sri Rajadhiraja deva; that the danger of the spreading of the war into the districts of Tondi and Pasi struck terror into the hearts of the people of the Chola country; that Edirilisola Sambuvarayan approached Svami devar and requested him to avert the calamity by prayers, oblations and worship and that, as the result of his worship of Siva for 28 days, the Simhalese generals Jayadratha Dandanayaka, Lankapuri Dandanayaka and others fled. Sambuvarayan in gratitude gave the village of Arpakkam to the Svami who, in his turn, distributed the income from the village among his relations. The Svami was Umapati deva *alias* Jnana Siva deva, a native of Dakshina Lata in Gauda desa." ... "Venkayya believes that the Edirili Solan Sambhuvarayan mentioned here must have been an ancestor of Alagiya Solan of the Poygai inscriptions of Rajaraja III (SII, I, pp. 86 ff.); that his solicitude for the success arose from the fact that his son Pallavarayan was the Chola General and that he was a devotee of Siva and the *Brahmanas*, whose enemies the invaders were, as is seen in their removal of the sacred door and treasure of the Ramesvaram temple. Venkayya compares the account of this inscription with the Simhalese chronicle and points out that the invasion should be attributed to the third quarter of the 12th century."

One may venture to conclude that Edirili-Sola-Sambuvarayan who took his name from the Chola ruler built this temple and named the deity(Tiru-Iramesvarattu-devar) after the Lord of Ramesvaram, whose temple had suffered damage at the hands of the Sri Lanka troops and their Dandanayakas. It is now called Tiruvalisvaram, a corruption of 'Tiruviramesvaram'. Perhaps it was meant to commemorate the victory of the Cholas over the Pandyas and the Ceylonese, who, in the course of the war, are alleged to have sacked and plundered the famous Ramesvaram temple at the tip of the South Indian peninsula.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This temple was thus in existence by the fifth year of Rajadhiraja II, i.e., say, by the year A.D. 1171 and is said to have been located in Alpakkam, in Magaral nadu in Eyil kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam.

Besides the important inscription mentioned above, there are others belonging to the periods of Kulottunga (III) and Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja (III). A 16th year record attributable to the days of Kulottunga III registers a gift of 12 sheep for a twilight lamp to Bhumisvaram Udaiyar at Arpakkam in Magaral nadu, a subdivision of Eyir kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam. A 16th year record of Rajaraja III registers the sale of the village Punnai in seven shares to several individuals for 42,000 *pudukkasu* by the Big Assembly of Ukkal *alias* Vikramabharana chaturvedimangalam (ARE 137 of 1923). A 19th year record of the same ruler on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine registers a gift of 500 *kulis* of land free of taxes, as *devadana* to the temple of Kailasamudaiya Nayanar at Arpakkam by the residents of Punnai in Pagur (Bahur) nadu, a subdivision of Kaliyur kottam; it adds that the gift was made for the safe preservation on the wall of the temple of the document of the 16th year of the king, referred to above, by which the Assembly of Ukkal sold the village (ARE 136 of 1923). There are two records of the 24th year of the same ruler, one registering a gift of one *kalanju* of gold for burning a twilight lamp before the deity, and the other, a gift of gold for another lamp in the same temple (ARE 134 and 135 of 1923).

A Vira Hariyanna Udaiyar inscription (Vijayanagara period) dated in *Saka* 1303 (A.D. 1381), on the north wall of the shrine, registers the sale of the village of Sirrinaippakkam by the Big Assembly of Ukkal *alias* Vikramabharana chaturvedimangalam in Pagur (or Bahur) nadu, of Kaliyur kottam, to a native of Magaral in Magaral nadu, a sub-division of Eyir kottam (ARE 133 of 1923). This public sale in seven equal shares to some groups of individuals by the Assembly is attested at the end by fiftyone persons including the *madhyastha* (arbitrator) and confirmed by about the same number of other residents. The former perhaps constituted the members of the Assembly or the relevant committee

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

concerned with land transactions and were required to sign the sale deed. It is interesting to observe that the transactions relating to another place were recorded on the walls of a temple in a different locality. Perhaps, the transaction required to be given wide publicity and recorded permanently. Or again in a certain region, selected temples, like the Sri Ranganathasvamin temple at Srirangam or the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, were chosen as central recording offices for maintaining important documents undamaged or securing them from being lost.

In accordance with the general practice prevailing in the Tondaimandalam region during this period, this temple is an apsidal one from the *upapitham* to the *stupi;* the Tondaimandalam region boasts of two types of *Gajaprishtha* temples; one in which the cella (i.e., the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* or the *antarala* as the case may be upto the *prastara*) is rectangular, with the *griva* and *sikhara* alone being apsidal in structure; and the other in which the cella, the *sikhara* and the *griva* are all apsidal in form. This temple belongs to the latter category.

The temple faces east and consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala;* it is an *ekatala* structure; the *garbhagriha* measures 12.70 m. circumferentially from side to side while the *antarala* portion measures 1.14 m. Inside, the *antarala* is 2.36 m. wide while the *garbhagriha* is 2.33 m. wide.

Ganapati and Durga are found in the southern and northern niches of the *antarala*, while on the curved outer face of the *garbhagriha* wall, there are Dakshinamurti, Vishnu and Brahma in the south, west and north niches, respectively. There is a *mukhamandapa* (11.80 m. x 7.62 m.) in front of the *antarala*, supported on three rows of four pillars each and four pilasters; the pillars are round. From this hall there are two doors opening to the rear into the perambulatory passage, which is pillared and covered.

The *devakoshtas* of the *garbhagriha* measure 1.22 m. × .47 m. and are flanked by pilasters which are miniature versions of the bigger pilasters which divide the outer surface of the apsidal wall of the *garbhagriha* into segments, there being twelve such pilasters. The plain *toranas* over the niches have a surface slightly raised above the wall face, and are bound by a sinuous outline sweeping

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

downwards and sidewise to form a bracket to the mouldings immediately over the niche; there is a circular depression in the middle of the *torana* like a *kudu* but with no decorative element in it. The *griva* has three niches with *simha-mukha* designs to crown them, and in them there are *kudus* containing *vimana* designs; the same element in much bigger proportions is there in the front portion of the *sikhara* and the *griva*. There are three *stupis* on the *sikhara;* lotus petal designs in two strata run all round the apsidal *sikhara*, midway between the *stupis* and the *griva*.

There is a later, now dilapidated, structure for the *Amman* shrine in the *prakara* outside the central shrine. It faces south and is to the north of the *mukhamandapa*. The deity is known by the name of Nallalagi or Tripurasundari. In addition there are two shrines, one for Ganapati and the other for Kartikeya, both behind the central shrine.

The icons are well turned out and original. There is a fine sculpture of Pidari found on the verandah of the Ganapati shrine. We do not know its original location. In the *mukhamandapa* there are two fine stone sculptures of Bhairavar and Surya.

The following bronzes are there: Ganapati, Nataraja and Sivakami, Somaskandar, Uma, Subrahmanya and His Consorts, Sukravara Ambal, Chandrasekharar and Ambal, the four Saivite Saints, Astra devar, Pradosha devar and a *gramadevata*. They are late bronzes. (Pls. 280–3).

NAGAR

3. APRATISVARAR (PIRIDIVALICHCHARAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

The village of Nagar is not far from Tirumangalam in the Lalgudy taluk of the Tiruchy district. We have already dealt with Tirumangalam in our *Middle Chola Temples* (A.D. 985–1070) (pp. 128–132).

The earliest inscription found in the temple of Apratisvarar here is inscribed on the base and tiers of the south wall of the central shrine, and relates to the 6th regnal year of Rajadhiraja II (begin-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ning with *kadal sulnda paar elum)*. It records that the king granted as *devadana iraiyili* some land in Tiladakkudi in Nerkuppaikkandam for various services to Piruduvali Isvaram Udaiyar in Nagar in Kalaar kurram, at the instance of Akalanka Nadalvan*. The details of the estimate of the yield of paddy from the land is also mentioned (ARE 692 of 1962–63). A record of a few years later, dated in the 11th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1189), begins with a Sanskrit verse stating that this record in the *paschimadvara* was issued by the *Mahesvaras*. It records a *samaya sasana* bestowed by a congregation of the *Sri rudra mahesvaras* and *Mahesvarars* of the many *mandalas* and some other bodies at the Narppattennayiravan tirukkaavanam in the temple of Tayilunnallisvaram Udaiyar in Melaittiruvasal in Sri Mahesvaranallur in Mimalai nadu at the instance of the deity Chandesvara, granting some lands as *silpa-achaarya-(silpin)kkani* and also some honours and privileges of the *samaya* to Tillainayakan *alias* Tiruttavatturai Achariyan and his brother for their services to the said temple and to the *samaya*. Tillainayakan is said to have been the *Tachchacharyan* of Manakkaal *alias* Virudaraja bhayankara chaturvedimangalam in the *kilaimuri* of Mala nadu (ARE 691 of 1962–63). There is an incomplete record (dated in the 13th year of Kulottunga III) engraved on the right of the entrance to the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine (east wall). It records the sale of land in Malavanur and Nagar by the *perunguri mahasabha* of Pelangaavur in Kulpi-laaru in Paachchir kurram to the temple of Piridivalichcharam Udaiyar in Nagar in Kalaar kurram in Rajaraja valanadu (ARE 688 of 1962–63). An image of Subrahmanya (Pillaiyar) would appear to have been set up at the same time as the temple was built (12th century) (ARE 694 of 1962–63).

From a Pandyan record found on the south wall of the *mandapa* (ARE 689 of 1962–63) and belonging to Maravarman Kula-sekhara, dated in his 29th year, we gather that the *mahasabha* of the village made a *vyavastha* when it met at the *mandapa* in the temple, called here that of 'Prithvi-vallisvaram-udaiya-

*This is the same Chief as referred to in Ch. 9, who took out an expedition against Kollimalai and was associated with the several benefactions to the Arapallisvarar temple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

nayanar in Nagar, a hamlet of Posala Virasomisvarar chaturvedi-mangalam, an *agaram* of Vikramapuram (note the changes in the names of the temple, *nadu* etc.), apparently exempting from taxes the lands granted by one Anantanarayana Bhattan of Gomadam and his brothers to the deity set up (as a *linga*) in the *prakara* of the temple by the said Bhattan.

This temple could be attributed to the days of Rajadhiraja II (*circa* A.D. 1172–73). It seems probable that Tachchacharya Tillai-Nayakan honoured in the days of Kulottunga III was associated with the construction of this temple.

ILAMBAYANGOTTUR

4 DEVANAYAKASVAMIN TEMPLE

Ilambayangottur village is only 2 km. south-west of Kuvam (i.e., Tiruvirkkolam), which is 72 km. by road, west of Madras city. It is 10 km. south of Kadambattur railway station. This village is on the western bank of the Kuvam lake. There is no proper road leading to the village; the lake embankment serves the purpose.

Tradition has it that Rambhai worshipped the Lord here. The main deity is known by the name of Chandrasekharar and the Amman Kodendumulaiammai. The sacred tank to the south of the temple is called Chandra-*tirtham*. Sambandar has sung the praise of the Lord here and the present name of the village finds mention in his verses. But the temple here does not have any early inscriptions.

On the south side of the base of this temple, there is a record dated in the 12th year of Rajadhirajadeva who should be identified with Rajadhiraja II. This record mentions that the stone temple was built by Pandari Siva Charanalayan *alias* Sivapadasekhara Muvendavelan (ARE 321 of 1911). On the west side of the base of this temple is a record of the 38th year of 'Tribhuvana-vira deva, who was pleased to perform the *virabhishekam* and the *vijayabhishekam*'. It refers to a former gift of land by Sengeni Ammaiappan Vanniyanayan Sambuvarayan to the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

temple of Ilambayangottur Udaiya Nayanar at Kottur *alias* Solavichchadira chaturvedimangalam (ARE 234 of 1911). Another, of his 34th year, on the north side of the base of the central shrine mentions a gift of money for a lamp by a temple woman (ARE 235 of 1910). According to an inscription dated in his fourth year, Madurantaka-Pottapich-Cholan Vira Gandagopalan makes a gift of land at Kiliyanallur in Tiruvelur nadu to this temple (ARE 233 of 1910). Kulottunga Sambuvarayan *alias* Alagiya Cholan makes a gift of five cows for a lamp in the 19th year of Vijaya Gandagopala (ARE 236 of 1910). The only Pandyan record found here relates to Konerinmaikondan, viz., Jatavarman Sundara Pandya and is dated in his 13th year (ARE 232 of 1910); it is inscribed on the south side of the base of the temple; it refers to a gift of money for a lamp to the temple, by a native of Vallam in Puliyur kottam *alias* Kulottungasola valanadu. The temple is said to be in Ilambayangottur in Kanrur nadu, a subdivision of Manavir kottam, in Jayangondasola mandalam.

ATTI

AGASTISVARAM 5
(EDIRILI-SOLISVARAM UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE
KARIYA PERUMAL 6
(EDIRILISOLA VINNAGAR EMPERUMAN) TEMPLE

Atti is in the Cheyyar taluk of the North Arcot district in Tamil Nadu. In ancient days this village was also known as Keralantakanallur (*circa* A.D. 1173, Rajadhiraja II; ARE 297 of 1912). Keralantaka Vinnagaram and Krishnarayapuram were also the names given to this place. There are two temples in this locality:

1. A Siva temple, currently called Agastisvaram and referred to in the past as Edirili-Solisvaram Udaiya Nayanar temple according to a local inscription (ARE 301 of 1912); and

2. A Vishnu temple called Kariya Perumal temple, which was known in the early days as Edirilisola-Vinnagara-Emperuman temple, according to an eighth year inscription of Vijaya Gandagopala (ARE 302 of 1912).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The Siva temple

An inscription of the 18th year of Tribhuvana chakravartin Rajadhiraja deva II records a gift of 32 cows and a bull by Niramindan *alias* Sedirayan of Panangudi in Uyyakkonda valanadu of Chola mandalam to the temple of Tiruvagastisvaram Udaiyar at Atti *alias* Keralantaka-nallur in Perunagar-nallur, a subdivision of Venkunra kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam.

This is the earliest inscription in this temple. As Rajadhiraja II had the title of Edirilisola, it is likely to have been built during his reign and named after his surname.

This temple also contains an inscription in Tamil verse of the Pallava Chief Tondaimandalam-kondarulina Pallavandar *alias* Manavalapperumal, who established his authority and built a fort and capital at Sendamangalam (A.D. 1191–1213); a more detailed reference to him will be made in a later chapter. He is said to have won a great victory over his enemies at Sevur, and is described as 'the Lord of the Pennai basin, the Lord of the hill of Tiruvengadam, the conqueror of Tondai nadu by the strength of his arm etc. He was the father of Kopperunjinga (A.D. 1243–69) who dealt a deadly blow to the Chola power during the period of Rajaraja III.

The Vishnu temple

The Vishnu temple now known as that of Kariya Perumal was called Edirilisola-vinnagar-Emperumal temple, in two inscriptions of Tribhuvana Vijaya Gandagopala of Kanchi, and a local over-mighty feudatory (8th year, ARE 302 of 1912; and 18th year, ARE 303 of 1912) of the 13th century A.D. Both these inscriptions refer to gifts to the temple of Edirilisola-Vinnagar-Emperuman and the latter to a gift of land to the shrine of Krishna (Vennaikkadaiyarulina Pillai) in the Vishnu temple. There are three inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Emperor, Krishnadevaraya (A.D. 1525–26), in this temple.

Both the temples might thus have been built during the time of Rajadhiraja II, in view of their inscriptional names.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PATTISVARAM (PALAYARAI-MALAPADI)

PATTISVARANATHAR TEMPLE 7

TIRUSATTIMUTTAM (RAJARAJAPURAM)

SIVAKOLUNDU-NATHAR (TIRU-SATTI-MUTTAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE 8

These two centres are close to Darasuram and in the ancient days formed part of Rajarajapuram and Palayarai of the Imperial Cholas. They are celebrated centres of Saivite hagiology.

Pattisvaranathar Temple

The temple of Pattisvaranathar is said to be situated in the locality called in Sambandar's *Devaram* hymn as Palayarai-Malapadi and the presiding deity of the temple is called Pattisvaranathar, so called because He is said to have been worshipped by Patti, one of the four daughters of the celestial cow of plenty, Kamadhenu. When Sambandar visited the place (in the seventh century A.D.), the heat was unbearable and a miracle happened. A *bhutam* (supernatural monster) held a canopy of pearls *(muttup-pandal)* over Sambandar to protect him from the heat of the day. The hymn on this Lord is said to have been sung by him to celebrate this event.

This place was the home of a few Saivite *mathas* of great prosperity and influence which had rendered valuable services to the promotion of *Devaram* hymns, Saivite philosophy and temple service. An inscription on the base of the *sribali* stone structure mentions the existence here of the Tiru-Jnana-Sambandar-*tiru matham*. A branch of this Tirujnana-sambandar *tirumatham* is said to have been established at Tiruvilimilalai in the 23rd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja deva (III ?). This inscription mentions a gift of land to a *matham* called the Alagiya-tiruch-chirrambalam Udaiyan *tirumatham* by a certain Jnana Siva who is said to be the disciple of Tiru-Satti-Murrattu Mudaliyar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the Tiru-Jnanasambandar-*tirumatham* situated in the east of the temple of Tirusattimurram Udaiya Nayanar (the Siva temple) and the Tiruk-kamakkottam Udaiya Periya Nachchiyar (the *Amman)* temple at Rajarajapuram (Tirusattimurram) in Tirunaraiyur nadu, a sub-division of Kulottungasola valanadu (ARE 392 of 1908). There were other branches of this *matham* at Tirunaraiyur, Siddhisvaram during Vikrama Chola's period (ARE 164 and 177 of 1908), Tiruppalturai (Adimulesvarar temple, ARE 588 of 1908), Kovilur (Mantrapurisvarar temple, ARE 218 and 220 of 1908) and Tiruvanaikka (Sankaracharya *matham*, ARE 486 and 487 of 1908)*.

Pattisvaram is also closely associated with Govinda Dikshitar, the great Minister and administrator under Achyuta and Raghunatha Nayak, rulers of Tanjavur (in the late 16th and early 17th century A.D.). He was a versatile man. He was the author of *Harivamsa-sara-charitam* and the treatise on music, *Sangita-sudhanidhi.* He had two sons, one of whom was Yajnanarayana Dikshitar, the author of *Sahitya Ratnakara*, and the other was Venkatesa Makhin, the guru of Nilakantha Dikshitar, a great scholar and prolific writer. Govinda Dikshitar seems to have lived at Pattisvaram. The stone sculptures of this Minister and Philanthropist and his wife are found installed in a *mandapa* in front of the Amman shrine of this temple built by him. (There are stone statues also of four Nayak kings of Tanjavur.) The repairing and remodelling of the *Mahamakham* tank at Kumbakonam, the building of the *Pushya mandapas* at Tiruvaiyaru and other places on the Kaveri and the construction of the Ramasvamin temples at Kumbakonam and Srirangam are attributed to him. Thus, Pattisvaram is rich with old associations and past greatness.

The Pattisvaram temple is located in the northern street in this town-complex, close to the Tirumalairayan rivulet, and in the southern part stands the temple of Sivakkolundu-nathar of Tiru-satti-murram (or muttam). (Pls. 284–90).

---

*A branch of this *matha* is found in China.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tiru-satti-muttam (-murram) Temple

The present-day temple of Sivakkolundu-nathar was called in the ancient days the temple of Tiru-sattimurram Udaiyar. According to an inscription of the days of Rajadhiraja II found in this temple, this place is described as being at Rajarajapuram in Tirunaraiyur nadu, a part of Kulottungasola valanadu (ARE 266 of 1927). The temple is at least as old as the days of Appar (seventh century A.D.). Parasakti (Gauri, Uma, Parvati) is said to have done penance here to win the Lord's grace, and at the end of the penance, embraced the Lord (Siva Linga) and kissed Him. There is a graphic local representation of this event in stone. The place is named Tiru-Satti (or Sakti)-muttam (meaning the kiss of Sri Sakti). Hence the modern and erroneous name, Tiru-Satti-murram.

While Appar worshipped the local deity, he prayed that he might be blessed with the placing of the Lord's sacred feet on him *(puvar adich chuvadu en mer porutti vai)* and with inscribing the divine feet in his heart *(inmai-yun-kal en-nenjattu-eludi-vai)*. This prayer was fulfilled when Appar visited the neighbouring temple of Tirunallur about which he sings in his hymns at Tirunallur where there is a fine *madakkoyil* called the temple of Kalyanasundaresvarar. The relevant line of his hymn is: *Nallarulal tiruvadi en talai mel vaittar Nallur emperumanar nallavarey* (See my *Early Chola Art, Pt. I*, Pls. 5 and 6, Nallur Nataraja). In his hymn there is a reference to the Lord having won him over to His grace and his having been converted from Jainism to the Saivite fold *(Samanam-tavirndu-yuntan saran pugunden)*.

In spite of its antiquity and importance in Saiva hagiology, there are only a few inscriptions here, of the Later Cholas and of Vijayanagara rulers of the 15th century A.D. The earliest extant inscription is one on the east wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine. It relates to the fifth year (88th day) of Rajakesarivarman Rajadhiraja deva II (with the introduction *kadal sulnda*) and mentions a grant of land to the temple of Tiru-Sattimurram Udaiyar at Rajarajapuram in Tirunaraiyur nadu, a part of Kulottungasola valanadu (ARE 266 of 1927). Another inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

found on the south wall of the outer *prakara* (the king's name and the date are lost) may also be of the days of the same king or his successor Kulottunga III. It concerns a gift of sheep and five lampstands by the famous minister of Rajadhiraja II, Vedavanam Udaiyan Karunakara devan, the Amarkon of Palaiyanur, located in Palaiyanur nadu of Jayangondasola mandalam, for perpetual lamps to Tiru-Satti-murram Udaiyar. Another gift, of the second year (102nd day) of Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinamaikondan Kulottunga (III ?), makes a gift of money for a perpetual lamp to the temple (ARE 265 of 1927). Another inscription, of the 29th year of Kulottunga III (ARE 267 of 1927), deals with the levying of taxes on *devadana* lands of the temple.

On the *gopuram* over the second entrance to the temple, there are inscriptions of Praudadevaraya Maharaya *(Saka* 1369 = A.D. 1447*)* and Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaya *(Saka* 1373 = A.D. 1450). Another inscription, on the base of the *gopuram* (ARE 263 of 1927), mentions that the *gopuram* was erected by Maha-mandalesvarar Gopayya deva Maharaya. No inscriptions earlier than those of the days of Rajadhiraja II are available. Perhaps they suffered damage during renovations of the temple. From the *vimana devatas*, we could roughly fix the age of the present fabric to the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi and the early years of Rajaraja I (about A.D. 1000).* (Pls. 291–300).

*Sembiyan Mahadevi stayed in the secondary capital of Palaiyarai when Tanjavur was the Chola capital and her son Uttama Chola and later her grand-nephew Rajaraja I were ruling from there. (For more details about Palaiyarai, see the Section on Palaiyarai).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

11

Kulottunga III

(A.D. 1178 to 1218)

Very few dynasties that ruled India in various spans of its history can pride themselves on having had such a succession of illustrious rulers over such a long time as can the Cholas of Tanjavur and Gangaikonda Cholapuram. With hardly any exception, from A.D. 850 onwards till A.D. 1216, over a period of 366 years, the Chola empire was ruled by giants. Kulottunga III, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178, inheriting an empire that was solid, vast, still well-administered and where peace reigned, was to be the last of these great rulers. He was succeeded by two more of his dynasty, Rajaraja III and Rajendra III, of whom the former held very nominal sway over a truncated empire hardly extending beyond its limits as they stood in the days of Vijayalaya (who founded the dynasty), while the latter made a valiant bid, against growing odds and a powerful enemy in the Pandya rulers, to recapture the glory of the Chola empire and succeeded only in modest measure.

The *prasastis* of Kulottunga III, unlike those of his immediate predecessors, are historically informative and progressively richer, almost giving a chronological sequence of events. The most common, in the initial years, is one beginning with *Puyal vayttu* (or *vaykka*) *valam peruga*, which is borrowed from the *prasastis* of Rajaraja II. In his inscriptions, in addition to the *prasasti*, the titles of the king are added, descriptive of the wars fought and victories won. From the fourth year, we have: *Maduraiyum Pandiyan Mudit-talaiyum kondaruliya*. To this Ilam (Sri Lanka) is added in

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the 10th year, Karuvur in the 16th year (and in some inscriptions, as for instance from Kanchipuram, in the 24th year). Some other *prasastis* begin with: *Malar mannu polil elilum*, *pumevi maruviya*, *pu maruviya tisai mugatton* etc.

Kulottunga III also bore other names and titles. One of them occurring frequently in later years (after his 24th year) is Tribhuvanāvira Chola deva*. The form Tribhuvana Chola deva is also met with. Mudivalangu-sola was a name that was applied to him, after he had conquered and handed the Pandyan kingdom back to the Pandyan king. After the capture of Karuvur and the defeat of the Cheras, he called himself Solakeralan and renamed the Kongu country as Sola-kerala mandalam. Kulottunga III was also called by the name of Virarajendra Chola deva, under which name a large number of records of his period occur. He also went under other, rarer, titles, such as Neriyudaichchola and Ulaguyya nayanar.

Gangaikondasolapuram continued to be the capital of the empire, though the subsidiary capitals of Tanjavur, Uraiyur, Kanchipuram and Ayirattali appear to have had their own importance.

We find frequent mention of two prominent royal Secretaries during this reign, in whose name a large number of orders are issued on behalf of the king. They are Minavan Muvendavelan who, as we saw, served even in the days of Rajadhiraja II, and Rajendrasimha Muvendavelan.

Kulottunga III was a great warrior and a great builder of temples; he was a contemporary of Ballala II of the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra (A.D. 1173–1220) and Jatavarman Kulasekhara,

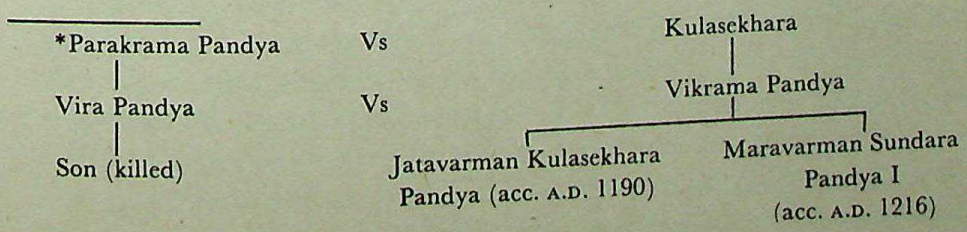
---

*List of inscriptions mentioning Kulottunga III's title of Tribhuvana Vira deva:

24th year	Tiruvarur	ARE 554 of 1904
26th ,,	Tiruvorriyur	,, 120 of 1902
33rd ,,	Munnur	,, 63 of 1919
,, ,,	Rishiyur	,, 476 of 1907
,, ,,	Tiruvottur	,, 94 of 1900
34th ,,	Kalahasti	,, 116 of 1922
,, ,,	Tirumalavadi	,, 74 of 1925
35th ,,	Kanchipuram	,, 589 of 1919
40th ,,	Tirumangalam	,, 273 of 1914

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vira Pandya and Vikrama Pandya of the rising Pandyan power. With the installation of Vira Pandya on the Pandyan throne, so brilliantly effected by Vedavanam Udaiyan *alias* Annan Pallavaraiyan, in the closing years of Rajadhiraja II's reign, one would have assumed that the Pandyan problem was settled and the Simhala king kept in his place. But again, for reasons which are not explicit, the Cholas became the allies of Vikrama Pandya, a close relative of Kulasekhara, who erstwhile had sought the help of Parakramabahu I of Sri Lanka to regain his throne. Vikrama Pandya sought the aid of the Chola emperor; we learn from an exquisite inscription of the ninth year (88th day) of Kulottunga III engraved in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram that the Chola king supported the cause of the exiled Chief, and in the First Pandyan war (of his reign) routed the combined armies of Sri Lanka and the Pandyan king Vira Pandya (the son of Vira Pandya losing his life in the battle), captured Madurai, raised a pillar of victory at the Pandyan capital and then bestowed on Vikrama Pandya his city, his crown and his kingdom in A.D. 1187. Vira Pandya, desolate and grief-stricken, sought the assistance of the Sri Lanka king, the Chera king and other neighbouring feudatories of the Cholas, and six years after his crushing defeat marched the combined armies against the Chola emperor only to be met, routed and mauled badly at Nettur in A.D. 1193. This disaster ended Vira Pandya's six years of effort to re-establish himself as the Pandyan ruler. We generally term the Nettur battle and the connected skirmishes as the Second Pandyan war. Thus, defeated, Vira Pandya* and his Kerala allies sought succour at the feet of Kulottunga III, who seized the opportunity, pardoned the Pandyan recalcitrant Vira Pandya and crowned him king of Madurai, but as a tributary of the Chola overlord. The Kerala ruler was similarly



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

dealt with. We gather that, with these two principalities settled, he turned his attention towards the island kingdom of Sri Lanka, defeated their army and possibly annexed the island, as claimed by him. These resounding victories were perhaps the precursors of the disasters that were to befall the Chola empire in the next few decades. Hardly had the Second Pandyan War been fought and the Chola suzerainty firmly re-established, when rumblings of disorder and uprising among the northern feudatories were being heard from the Pallava and Telugu-Choda areas. Kulottunga III gathered a massive army, marched on Kanchi (A.D. 1196) and the Telugu-Choda region, crushed the rebellion and came home triumphantly. There was unrest in Vengi due to the aggression of the Kakatiyas, who were a rising power ruling from Warangal (modern name) over a territory covering the lower middle reaches of the Godavari river. Kulottunga III claims to have marched against the Kakatiyas of Orugallu (the capital, as it was known to them) or Urangai (the Tamil name for it), captured and sacked it and returned home triumphantly (See Note 1 at the end of the Chapter). With these initial wars won, Kulottunga III entered upon a spell of peace that lasted a whole decade.

It was perhaps during these years that some of the majestic temples came into existence. Among the Later Cholas, Kulottunga III was the greatest temple-builder. Extensive gifts and benefactions were bestowed upon temples and charitable institutions. A large number of Saiva *mathas* flourished during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries.

This peace was, however, only temporary and the lull in the wars was soon to terminate in the Third Pandyan War. The ferment in the Pandyan province, suppressed for a time, was simmering. Jatavarman Kulasekhara Pandya, Vikrama Pandya's son, who had, in his turn, become an exile, was unwilling to reconcile himself to the deprivation of his empire and gradually strengthened his position and declared himself independent as the king of Madurai. This provoked Kulottunga III to bitter action and he marched towards Madurai in big force, stormed Mattiyur and Kalikkottai and destroyed the combined Pandyan and Kerala forces, took Karuvur after crushing the Keralar, and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

triumphantly entered the city of Madurai. The inscriptions of Kulottunga III found at Seranur and Kudumiyamalai (Pudukkottai State, now district) give a vivid description of the death and destruction caused by the Chola army on the Pandyan forces and say that Kulottunga III crowned himself the Chola-Pandyan at the Pandyan Capital of Madurai, performed the *virabhishekam*, and made known to the world his great triumph by calling himself Tribhuvana Vira deva, 'the victor of the three worlds', paid homage at the feet of Lord Siva presiding over the temple at Tiruvalavoy (Madurai), showered precious gems and numerous jewels on Him, gilded the Indra *vimana* of the deity, rechristened the Pandyan country as Chola-Pandya mandalam, changed the name of Madurai and called it Mudittalai-konda-sola-puram, 'the city of the Chola who took the (Pandyan) crown'. The booty of war was used to enrich the shrine of the goddess Sivakami in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, of Tyagesa at Tiruvarur and of Tribhuvanesvarar (Kampaharesvarar), the Lord of the temple newly built and consecrated by him at Tribhuvanam. Finally, he gave the Pandyan kingdom to the defeated Kulasekhara Pandya, along with his army, horses and elephants. After this victory, he called himself in his *prasastis*, 'Tribhuvana Chakravartin Tribhuvana Vira deva, the conqueror of Madurai, Ilam and Karuvur, who took the crown of the Pandya, and celebrated *virabhishekam* and *vijayabhishekam* and returned to his capital to sit on the hero's throne named *Vira Simhasanam*'. This third battle of Madurai (about A.D. 1205) paved the way for growing bitterness against the Cholas in the minds of the Pandyan rulers. (Pls. 352–3).

Jatavarman Kulasekhara writhed in agony at this utter defeat and humiliation at the Chola hands and sank to his death after ten years of oblivion; and in A.D. 1216, his brother Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, a bitter man, determined to wreak vengeance on the Chola power, ascended the throne at Madurai. In a very short span of two years, he mustered a huge army and invaded the Chola kingdom. The *prasasti* of Maravarman Sundara Pandya gives a graphic description of the invasion. Determined to "exterminate the seal of the Tiger (the Chola emblem) from the land of the Kaveri and establish in its place the seal of the Fish (the Pandyan

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

emblem)", heading a force comprising turbulent elephants and spirited horses, he razed to the ground the Chola citadels of Tanjavur and Uraiyur and destroyed the Chola authority altogether. The inscription says that he bloodied the quiet waters of the lakes and rivers in the Chola country, destroyed halls and forts, towers and dance halls, buildings and palaces, and looted the treasuries and caused a river of tears to flow from the eyes of the queens of the opposing kings, ploughed the enemy territory with plough-shares drawn by donkeys (a symbolic assertion of capture of enemy territory) and vented in full his pent-up anger against the Cholas. He drove the Chola king into the forest, entered the Chola capital of Ayirattali (*alias* Mudi-konda-sola-puram), 'the city surrounded by a gold-plated wall of enclosure that rose to the very skies', and performed the *virabhishekam* (the ceremony of the anointment of a hero) seated on the throne in the coronation pavilion known as *Sola-valavan*, and declared himself the king of all Lords—with only his 'sharp wheels and red shoulders' as his support. Then he proceeded to Tiruppuliyur (Chidambaram), paid homage at the feet of Nataraja and Sivakama Sundari and then went to Ponnamaravati, 'the city of lakes choked with lotuses that attracted the buzzing bees in the early morning, who woke the sleepy swans from their nightly slumber', where Kulottunga III and his queen, who had hidden themselves in the outskirts in shame at their defeat, came forth with their son Rajaraja (III) offering to name him after the Pandya. In a poignant ceremony, Sundara Pandya bestowed the captured empire back on the Chola monarch, the ceremonial bestowal being accompanied by the pouring of water, and gave him back his capital, his seal of authority and the title of '*Solapati*' and sent him (Kulottunga III) back.

This *(prasasti)* proves that the Pandyan ruler paid the grand Chola emperor back in his own coin, and repeated at Ponnamaravati the ceremonial disgracing of the enemy enacted by Kulottunga III at the Pandyan capital of Madurai a few years earlier.

Maravarman Sundara Pandya assumed the title of '*Sonadu-konda* Sundara Pandyan', i.e., 'Sundara Pandya who took the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Chola country' and, since he bestowed the kingdom back on the Chola emperor, he also later assumed the title of '*Sonadu-valangiya* Sundara Pandyan', i.e., 'Sundara Pandyan who gave back the Chola country'.

The restoration of the Chola kingdom might have been partially in the tradition of the rivalry between the Chola and the Pandya rulers. Kulottunga III conquered Madurai and gave it back to them, so this war of revenge fought by Sundara Pandya was more to wipe out the humiliation than to annex the Chola domain to his empire. In this, Sundara Pandya signally succeeded. But apart from that reason, perhaps there was yet another factor that guided Sundara Pandya in returning the kingdom to the vanquished monarch. For that, we have to look to the north of the Chola empire. Ballala II (A.D. 1173 to 1220) who was ruling the Hoysala kingdom was the contemporary of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I and Kulottunga III; one of his principal queens was Cholamadevi, a Chola princess. So there should have been close and intimate (marital) ties between the Hoysalas and the Cholas. Thus, when the Chola empire was threatened soon after the accession of Maravarman Sundara Pandya, Ballala's son Vira Narasimha came down as far south as Tiruvarangam (in A.D. 1217) to demonstrate his support for the Cholas. From another record, we gather that Ballala II had, among others, the titles of '*Sola-rajya-Pratishthacharya*' and '*Pandya-gaja-kesari*'—'the Establisher (preserver) of the Chola kingdom' and 'the lion to the Pandyan elephant'. Narasimha also claims a similar title, '*Sola-kula-rakshaka*', 'the protector of the Chola family'. From these, one can infer that at the hour of Chola defeat at the hands of the Pandyas, the Hoysalas must have tried to buttress the prestige of the defeated relative, and Maravarman as an act of political expediency must have given back the conquered empire to Kulottunga III (See Note 1 at the end of the Chapter).

Almost overnight, the Chola kingdom in almost the last year (A.D. 1216) of the reign of Kulottunga III who 'took Madurai, Ilam (Sri Lanka), Karuvur, and the crown of the Pandya' and who performed the ceremonies of *virabhishekam* and *vijayabhishekam* and crowned himself Tribhuvanavira deva, lost its greatness, its

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

power and authority and the enviable position it had held for more than three and a half centuries. The empire that at its zenith extended from the Ganga in the north to Ilam (Sri Lanka) in the south, from Mahodai (Cranganore) in the west to Kadaram (Kedah in the Malay Peninsula) in the east, lay prostrate at Ponnamaravati at the feet of the Pandyan hero. The Chola kingdom in its three and a half centuries of existence from A.D. 850 to A.D. 1216 (the date of Kulottunga III's retirement) had known no serious reverses except the stray ones such as occurred during the days of Parantaka I, viz., the loss of Tondaimandalam in A.D. 949 to the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. The great emperor, the Lord of the three worlds, Kulottunga III, did not survive this humiliation long; he ceased to be the ruler, after the shame of Ponnamaravati and the crowning of his son as the Chola king Rajaraja III in A.D. 1216. He removed himself from the administration and died two years later (A.D. 1218). We do not have any records of his time beyond his 40th year, viz., A.D. 1218.

The reign of Kulottunga III was one of the many glorious chapters in the evolution of South Indian Art and Architecture. Blessed with a long reign of nearly 40 years, and succeeding to an empire which had been presided over by Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II, two great patrons of the arts, Kulottunga III added greatly to the already large number of temples in the kingdom. His greatest contribution was, of course, the grand temple of Tribhuvanesvaram at Tribhuvanam, but, apart from that, his additions to existing temples in the form of new shrines and pavilions were numerous and his gifts of jewellery were also noteworthy.

The feudatories of the Cholas played a very important part in the administration and protection of the empire. They were powerful local representatives of the central authority, deriving their strength from, and in return helping to strengthen, the emperor. During the closing days of Kulottunga III, however, the balance of power between these Chieftains and the emperor began to be unsettled and during his successor's time, their strength increased beyond limits. At this stage, it would be necessary to take note of them, for their role in temple-building activity too was none-too-insignificant (See Note 2 for further details).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

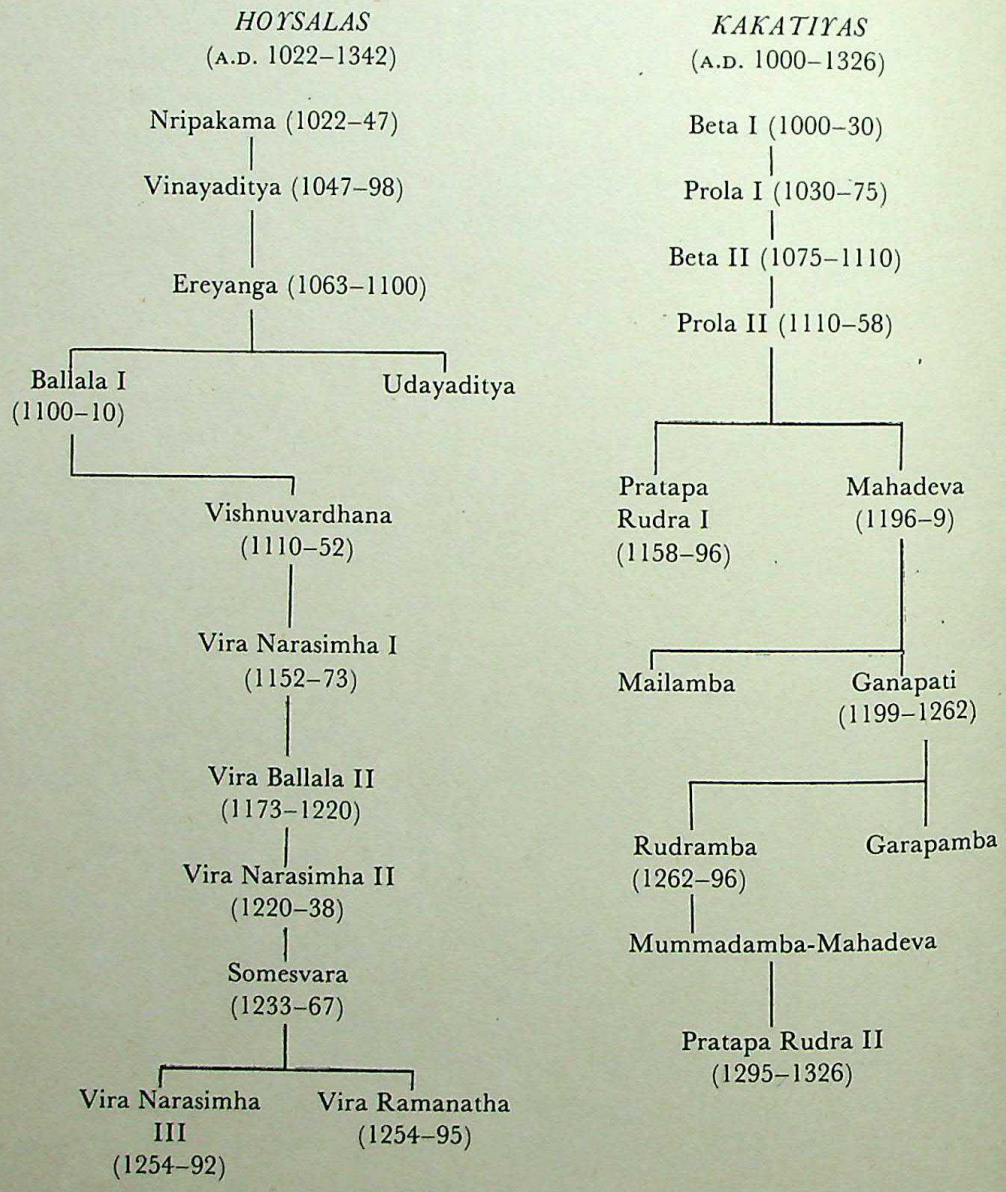
Elements of Disruption of the Empire

In spite of the outward glory and expansion of the Chola empire to its farthest limits, the signs of decay and disintegration were already visible. The defection of the Telugu-Chodas and the growing importance of Chola feudatories of the Tondaimandalam region, the Sambuvarayars, the Kadavas, the Chiefs of the Magadai country and others were visible symptoms of a weakening empire. Local compacts and non-aggression pacts became necessary, indicative of unrest and revolt (See Note 3 for details on such compacts).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

NOTE 1

To facilitate a comparative study of the dynastic disputes and relationships, a chart of the other ruling dynasties of the era is given below:



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

NOTE 2

CHOLA FEUDATORIES

Among the many feudatories who wielded great authority and power during this period may be mentioned the following:

1. The Magadai Chiefs
2. The Malaiyaman Chiefs
3. The Adigaimans
4. The Kadavas
5. The Telugu-Chodas
6. The Sengeni, Sambuvaraya, and Chediraya Chiefs.

THE MAGADAI CHIEFS

In the old days, a region partially covering the districts of Salem and North Arcot was known as the Magadai mandalam, and during the reign of Kulottunga III was ruled by a powerful Chief bearing the name of Ponparappina Magadesan. In the 35th year of Tribhuvana Viradeva, Rajarajadevan Ponparappinan *alias* Vanakkovaraiyan of Aragalur gilded the central shrine and gave a gift of three villages to the Arunachalesvarar temple at Tiruvannamalai (*vide* inscription on the *gopuram*, left of the entrance—ARE 557 of 1902; also see page 94 of ARE for 1924–25). In fact, he acquired his name consequent on his having so gilded the *srivimana* of this temple. The members of this family have a number of inscriptions to their credit in this region and have been reputed for the temples they built in this area and the battles in which they fought. One of the ministers of this Chief constructed a *mandapa* in the Kilur temple (see my *Early Chola Temples*, A.D. 907 to 985, pp. 85 to 88). His own contributions to the Tiruvannamalai temple are numerous. He is said to have ruled with his headquarters at Aragalur, in the present-day Salem district, from which he derived his alternate name of Aragalur Udaiyan. He was also known as Rajarajadevan. We shall see later that another chieftain of the same family built a temple for Sri Kailasapati at Kugaiyur.

THE MALAIYAMAN CHIEFS

The Chiefs of this family ruled from Kilur or Kilaiyur near Tirukkoyilur. They bore varying titles indicating their connection with Koval which was the ancient name of Tirukkoyilur (Tiruk-Koval-ur); they had close contacts with the Bana rulers of the adjoining area, the Pallavaraiyars and many others; there were close marital relations among these various groups. We have already seen the vital role they played in the preservation of the integrity of the Chola kingdom.

THE ADIGAIMANS

While dealing with the period of Kulottunga I, we had occasion to mention that the region of Gangavadi, which was conquered and made a province of the Chola empire by Rajaraja I, was being administered on behalf of the emperor by the ancient line of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Chiefs known as the Adigaimans with their capital at Tagadur, identified with modern Dharmapuri in the Salem district. The Adigaimans were traditional rulers of the region known as the Kongu nadu, and it was an Adigaiman or Adiyaman Chief, who, on his refusing to surrender the region to the growing power of the Hoysalas under Bittiga Vishnuvardhana (A.D. 1100–52), was challenged to battle at Talekkad by the Hoysala Dandanayaka Gangaraja and defeated in A.D. 1116. With that the Gangavadi region passed out of the hands of the Cholas for a while. It would however be seen that during the early years of Kulottunga I's successor, Vikrama Chola, the Adigaiman Chiefs succeeded in taking back, if not all the portions, at least a sizable part of the Gangavadi region. During the middle of the 12th century, we hear of a Rajarajadeva ruling this region, in which were included portions of the Kolar and Chittoor districts as well. This Adigaiman Chief must have been a contemporary of Rajaraja II, not only on the basis of his name but also from the fact that Vidugadalagiya Perumal, who was his successor, was a contemporary of Kulottunga III. The later Chief boasts of being the Lord of Ten (southern) Tagadai and the conqueror of the land of the Kadava, the Magada and the Ganga. There is likely to be some truth in this tall claim, as we find that Laddigam, which was a part of the Ganga region, has a number of his inscriptions. In an inscription dated in the 22nd year of Kulottunga III, this Chief claims to be the Lord of the three rivers, the Palar, the Pennai and the Kaveri and to have built a temple of stone at Sirukottai on the banks of the Pennai (*vide* Kambayanallur, ARE 8 of 1900).

THE KADAVAS

More powerful than all the above Chiefs were the Kadavas, whose growing might was hardly recognised in the days of Rajaraja II or even of Rajadhiraja II; in fact, even in the days of Kulottunga III, they were loyal feudatories of the Chola king and it was only in the disturbed days after the defeat of Kulottunga III at the hands of the growing Pandyan power, that the Kadava Chiefs saw visions of a revival of Pallava power in the south. They all but succeeded under the dynamic leadership of Kopperunjinga, whose ambitions were thwarted only by the growing rivalry between the Pandyas and the Hoysalas. We shall see more of this under Rajaraja III.

THE TELUGU CHODAS

A small line of petty chieftains came to prominence at Pottapi, identified with a village of the same name in the Pullampet taluk of the Cuddapah district in Andhra Pradesh. The first of them was Madhurantaka Pottapi Chola, evidently so named out of some connection with a conquest of Madurai and possibly because he also founded Pottapi. During Vikrama Chola's period, we hear of Beta, the first historical figure of the line, whose son was Erasiddhi, who in turn had three sons, Nallasiddha *alias* Manmasiddha, Beta and Tamusiddha. The contemporary of Kulottunga III was Nallasiddharasa who, ruling from Nellore, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chola monarch (ninth year of Kulottunga III). This Chief and others made many gifts during this period to the temples of Tiruppalaivanam, Kalahasti and Nandalur. As late as A.D. 1213 we find the Telugu Chodas acknowledging the suzerainty of the Chola king.

This review of the various feudatory Chiefs of the Chola kingdom during the reign

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of Kulottunga III would go to show that in spite of the mounting difficulties the emperor had to face and the debilitating wars with the Pandyas he had to carry on, he succeeded in preserving his inherited empire more or less intact. It is likely that, towards the end of his rule, there were inroads into Vengi by the growing power of the Kakatiyas, whose powerful king Ganapati had just come to the throne (A.D. 1199).

NOTE 3

Elements of Disruption of the Empire

An inscription dated in the 11th year of Kulottunga III found at Madam registers a political compact (ARE 254 of 1919) between Kudal Arasanarayanan Alappirandan Kadavarayan and Sengeni Virasolan Attimallan *alias* Kulottungasola Sambuvarayan whereby both swore that they should not do anything that would be detrimental to the interests of either; that the latter should not enter into any alliance with Alappirandan Edirilisola Sambuvarayan; that he should confine himself to certain specified tracts of the country, and if these were transgressed, the *mudalis* would send up arms and horses and cause him injury; that, if Alappirandan Edirilisola Sambuvarayan inflicted any trouble on Kulottungasola Sambuvarayan, Kadavarayan would support him, that in case Alappirandan Edirilisola Sambuvarayan ran away from his hill (residence) leaving behind him all arms, Kulottungasola Sambuvarayan should have possession of them subject to the condition that he would not shelter or form any alliance with the other; and that, if Kadavarayan allied himself with the relatives of Kulottungasola Sambuvarayan and with Alappirandan Edirilisola Sambuvarayan against the interests of Kulottungasola Sambuvarayan, he (Kadavarayan) would demean himself to the position of "carrying the sandals of his enemies and of eating the chewed betel leaves thrown out from their mouths."

There was another such agreement for mutual help between Kovan Rajaraja Nilagangaraiyan on the one side and Rajaraja Sambuvarayan Jananatha Muvendaraiyar and Ulaguyyakkondasola Kadavarayar on the other pledging themselves to help one another in times of need (Tiruvamattur, ARE 56 of 1922).

There is a reference in the 18th regnal year of Kulottunga III to the renewal of a political compact between Rajarajadevan Ponparappinan Vanakkovaraiyan and Siyan Udaiya Pillai Akalanka Nadalvan (Tiruvanaikkaval: ARE 483 of 1908). A few more similar compacts are found to have been formed during this period.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

12

Temples of Kulottunga III's Time

TIRUVAKKARAI

1 CHANDRAMOULISVARAR TEMPLE *(MANDAPA)*

Tiruvakkarai is a village on the banks of the Varaha (Gingee) river and lies about 19 km. from Villupuram on the Mailam-Gingee road. It is in the Villupuram taluk of the South Arcot district. It has a temple which has been in existence from the days of Aditya I. It is a stone temple, then known only as that of Karralip-perumal-adigal.

In the campus of this temple there are the following two shrines:

i) A ruined Siva shrine, called in the inscriptions that of Sivalokamudaiya-Paramasvamin, built by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar: *vide* a 16th year inscription of Rajaraja I (ARE 200 of 1904).

ii) A Vishnu shrine, dedicated to Varadaraja Perumal. It is mentioned in the Sanskrit portion of a bilingual Grantha-Tamil inscription of the second year of Udaiyar Adhirajendra deva, found on the west wall of the *mandapa* in front of the shrine, that the *srivimana*, which had been previously built of brick by Kochchola (i.e., Kochchenganan of the late Sangam period) was reconstructed of stone (ARE 206 of 1904).

We are concerned here with a multi-pillared *mandapa* in the second *prakara* of the temple. On the south wall of the *mandapa*, there is a second year inscription of Kulottunga Chola deva 'who took Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya' (i.e.,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kulottunga III), recording the building of the *mandapa* by a certain Ammaiyappan Gandara-Suriyan Sambuvarayan, 'who took the Pandya Country' (ARE 190 of 1904). This is a hundred-pillared hall and not a thousand-pillared hall as has been wrongly mentioned in the records (*vide* my correction in *Early Chola Art, Pt. I*, pp. 193–95 and also *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 201–2). This *mandapa* could thus be dated as belonging to A.D. 1180. Gandara Suriyan was the builder of the outer *gopuram* also. (Pl. 301).

TIRUMANANJERI

MADHYANNESVARAR TEMPLE AND AMMAN SHRINE 2

Tirumananjeri, which is in the Mayuram taluk in the Tanjavur district, is about 21 km. from the town of Mayuram and about 5 km. from Kuttalam and Tiruvelvikkudi. There are two fine Chola temples here, one dedicated to Udvahanathasvamin and the other to Madhyannesvarar. I have already dealt with the Udvahanathasvamin temple in my *Early Chola Temples* (A.D. 907–985) (pp. 188–190).

Here we are concerned with the Madhyannesvarar temple. On the north wall of the central shrine of this temple, there is an inscription dated in the third year of Kulottunga III which mentions a gift of a night lamp to the temple of Tiru-Edirkolpadi Udaiyar in Kurukkai nadu, by Arasukkadiyan Tirunilakandan Seraman Tolan of Kiranur, who built the temple of stone (ARE 27 of 1904).

From a record of the seventh year of the Chola king Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajarajadeva III, we gather that Vimappillai, the wife of Kannamangalam udaiyar and daughter of Puliyur udaiyan Adittadevaraiyan of Milalai nadu, gave money and lands for building the shrine of 'Tirukkamakkottam udaiya nachchiyar', a monastery *(guhai)* called after Alalasundarar for the use of Pugalivendar of Pundi, and for offerings, lamps, etc. (ARE 28 of 1914).

Thus this temple is a foundation of the third year of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kulottunga III, and should have come into existence before A.D. 1181. The Amman shrine was added before the seventh year of his successor Rajaraja III (A.D. 1223).

TIRUVENNAINALLUR

3 KRIPAPURISVARAR (ARUL-TURAI NAYANAR) TEMPLE

Tiruvennainallur, in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district, is a famous Saiva centre known for its association with the attainment of sainthood by the Tamil Saint Sundaramurti Nayanar. It is about 6.5 km. from the railway station by that name on the Southern Railway and is about 20 km. from Villupuram in a south-westerly direction. Tirukkovalur (modern Tirukkoyilur) is about 22 km. to its west.

There are two well-known temples in this village, one associated with the Tamil saint Sundarar, known as that of Arulturai Nayanar (Kripapurisvarar), and the other associated with the Later Pallava chiefs of Sendamangalam, known as the Vaikuntha Perumal temple. The river Pennai runs close by the former.

Close by is a village now known as Puttur which, according to local tradition, was the scene of the scheduled marriage of the Saint Sundarar that did not take place. Hence its name of 'Manamtavirnda-puttur' ('where the marriage was stopped'). The local tradition goes that Sundaramurti's marriage was fixed to be celebrated at Puttur, and just before the ceremony, Lord Siva in the guise of an old *brahmana* stormed into the marriage function and claimed the Saint as his serf and hence not entitled to marry; Sundaramurti and those assembled strongly disputed this statement and sought proof, and after disputation and exchange of angry words, they all agreed to proceed to Tiruvennainallur, which was where, the old man claimed, he belonged, to seek proof of his contention. The *brahmanas* of Tiruvennainallur did not accept the old man's contention and laughed at him, observing that they were hearing for the first time of a *brahmana* being a

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

serf of another *brahmana*. The story goes that on insistence by the old man that he was a resident of Tiruvennainallur and that the young man about to marry *was* his serf, the assembled men demanded of him to show them his house in the village; the old man, the young man and the assembled disbelievers walked into the temple of Tiruvarutturai, and, all of a sudden, the old man disappeared. When they all shouted for him, there appeared before them Lord Siva on His bull-mount *(vahana)* in the company of Parvati; He recalled to Sundarar his earlier declaration of total surrender to Him, and bestowed His grace on him. (We have also dealt with this episode in Chapter 2 of *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 31–32). The deity in the Tiruvennainallur temple is therefore called Taduttatkonda nathar ('the Lord Who bestowed divine grace after apparently placing obstacles in the way of the devotee'). The Amman is called Verkanni Ammai. It may be mentioned that there is a village about 2.5 km. from this place, called Taduttatkondavur.

The central shrine consists of a *garbhagriha* with a *tiruch-churru-nadai*, and an *ardhamandapa* supported by two pillars. The *vimana* is in two tiers. On the southern wall of the *ardhamandapa*, there is a niche containing a fine image of Bhikshatanar and on the northern wall is an image of Durga. On the *garbhagriha* walls are Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west and Brahma in the north. The Lingodbhavar image in the rear niche has the usual swan on the top and *varaha* at the bottom of the opening, and in the middle Siva with *malu* and deer. Adjoining the *ardhamandapa* is a *mahamandapa* with finely carved pillars in four rows of six pillars to a row and at the eastern entrance to it is a pair of *dvarapalas*. On the southern wall of this *mandapa* (which is closed on all sides except for the entrance from the east), there is a beautifully carved decorative window. On the northern side of this hall, in a chamber with a projecting landing in front of it, is a fine set of bronzes of Seraman, Manikkavachakar, Sundarar, Paravai Sangiliyar, Chandesvarar, Vinayakar, Subrahamanyar, Sokkar and Chandrasekharar.

Obviously a later addition, the *mukhamandapa* which is multi-pillared is noteworthy for some special features; on the roof of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

this *mandapa* is a shrine for Sundaramurti, in the form of a cubicle with a two-tier *vimana* over it. This hall would seem to be assignable to the days of Rajaraja II.

This entire complex of buildings is enclosed by a *tiruch-churrumaligai* with a wide circumambulatory passage. In the southwest of this courtyard is a shrine for Ganapati, in the west one for Subrahmanya, and, in the north-west, what was earlier a shrine for Jyeshtha (one of the Parivaradevatas) is now used to house Lakshmi. In the platform to the south is a panel of *Saptamatrikas* in stone.

Outside the first wall of enclosure is a second one on whose eastern wall is the five-tiered *gopuram*. In the north-eastern corner of the second *prakara* is a big *mandapa* which would appear to have been a 100-pillared one, but, its front portion having collapsed, only sixty-two pillars supporting the rest of the hall still stand. It is called the '*valakkuraitta mandapam*'—'the *mandapa* where the disputation took place', obviously a reference to the argument between the old stranger and the *brahmanas* of Tiruvennainallur on the former's claims over Sundaramurti as his serf.

There is an inscription on the *jagatippadai* on the south side of the east face of the inner *gopuram*, which reads as follows:

> "*Svasti Sri tribhuvanachakravartigal Kulottungasola devarkku yandu 3-avadu Rajaraja valanattu Tirumunaippadi Tiruvennainallur nattu piramadeyam Tiruvennainallur Udaiyar Atkonda devarkku it-tirugopuravasal seyvittan Kudal Mohan Alappirandan Arasanarayanana Kadavarayan.*"

This confirms that this *gopuram* was built before the third year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1181) by one of the Later Pallava Chiefs, Kudal Mohan Alappirandan Arasanarayanan *alias* Kadavarayan. There is a record of the 32nd year of a *Sambhuvarayan* on the north face of the entrance passage of the main *gopuram*, and another of the 18th year of Kulottunga III. (Pls. 302–7).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

VALUVUR

TIRU-VIRATTANAM UDAIYAR TEMPLE (AMMAN SHRINE) 4

Valuvur in the Mayuram taluk of the Tanjavur district is a small village near Mayuram, a railway station on the main railway line from Madras to Tiruchi. Here is a celebrated Saiva temple called that of Tiru-Virattanam Udaiyar. It is one of the *ashta Virattana** temples celebrated in Tamil hagiology as centres where Siva exhibited great deeds of valour. Valuvur is connected with the overthrow of the *asura* known by the name of Gajasura.

However, this place is not sung by any of the Nayanmars. But Appar refers to this temple as a *Vaippu-sthalam*—a place referred to in hymns on other shrines or places, without having any hymns on its own self. In his *Kshetrakovai*, he refers to this temple as Valuvur Virattam (not Virattanam) and in the *Adaivu Tiruttandagam*, as Valuvai Virattam. Therefore the temple should have existed in some form even in the seventh century A.D.

However, the temple would seem to have lost all its ancient features as the earliest records inscribed on the walls of the central shrine of the temple relate to the 11th and 15th years of Rajaraja II (ARE 418 and 419 of 1912). This is a stone temple. Most of the inscriptions are found on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine. Three of them are found on the *gopuram* in front of the temple.

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is a partly damaged inscription of Parakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja deva II, dated in his 11th year, mentioning a gift of money for lamps to the temple of Virattanam Udaiyar at Valuvur, a *brahmadeya* of Tiruvalundur nadu which was a district of Jayangondasola valanadu. This inscription makes a reference to Periya devar Vikrama Chola (ARE 418 of 1912). In a 15th year inscription of the same ruler, a gift of money for two lamps and two lamp-stands is recorded. One of the lamp-stands was given by a native

*For details on the eight *virattana-kshetras*, see my *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 85–86.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of Sirrarkadu in Arkattu kurram of Pandyakulasani valanadu, for the merit of one Kundavai (ARE 419 of 1912). There is a fifth year inscription of the days of Rajadhiraja II found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine (built in in the middle) mentioning a gift of money by a native of Mulangudi in Vela nadu, a subdivision of Kulottungasola valanadu, for getting the *Tiruvembavai* recited before the image of Vadavurali Nayanar (Manikkavachakar) in the temple, on *Margali Tiruvadirai* festival and also for conducting the festival in the month of *Panguni* (ARE 421 of 1912). Another inscription of the 15th year of the same ruler, Rajakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajadhirajadeva II, mentions a gift of money for purchasing land to maintain a lamp in the temple, by a native of Tiyangudi in Tiruvarur kurram, a subdivision of Geyamanikka valanadu. There is a mention in this record of the 16th year of Rajaraja II (ARE 428 of 1912).

There are a number of inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga III. The earliest is dated in his second year (A.D. 1180) and is about a gift of money for a lamp by a native of Modapakkam in Surattur nadu, a subdivision of Puliyur kottam *alias* Kulottungasola valanadu in Jayangondasola mandalam (ARE 427 of 1912). In the next year of the same ruler, 'Parakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Virarajendradeva' (third year, A.D. 1181), there is an inscription on the south wall of the *mandapa* (built in in the middle) relating to a land gift by purchase, for offerings to the image of Vadavur Nayanar (Manikkavachakar) set up in the temple of Tiruvirattanam Udaiyar by a native of Mulangudi in Vela nadu, a subdivision of Kulottungasola valanadu, and it also records a gift of money for other articles required for worship (ARE 420 of 1912).

On the wall of the north verandah of the first *prakara*, there is an inscription, which mentions the construction, by this king's fifth year, of the shrine of the goddess in the north-west corner of the north verandah by Ekavachakan Ulagukanvidutta Perumal *alias* Vanakkovaraiyar, the Chief of Tunda nadu in Mudigondasola valanadu. It also records a gift of money in the eighth year of the king for purchasing land and maintaining worship in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

same shrine (ARE 429 of 1912). After almost three decades, we get another record of the same ruler, dated in his 33rd year, where he is called Tribhuvanavira deva, mentioning his conquest of Madurai, Ilam and Karuvur and the celebrations of *virabhishekam* and *vijayabhishekam*. It relates to a gift of money by a *brahmana* lady to the shrine of Tiruchchattimurram Udaiyar consecrated by her in the 29th year of the king in the temple of Tiru-Virattanam Udaiyar at Valuvur (ARE 423 of 1912).

Another record, of the Pandyan period, mentions that a tenant of the temple absconded without paying his dues, and the amount was recovered from the person who stood surety for him, by selling his land (ARE 426 of 1912, of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya's fifth year).

Straddling both sides of the entrance to the main *gopuram*, an inscription records the construction of the *gopuram* and the *prakara* wall by one Alagapperumal Pillai, son of Gangeyar Ganapati nayinar Pillai of Nallavur in Irungolappadi nadu (ARE 430 of 1912). On the four sides of the same *gopuram* is another record mentioning the setting up of an icon of Bhikshatanamurti (see plate 198 of my *Middle Chola Temples*), the main *gopuram*, the *prakara* wall and the street by the same donor (ARE 431 of 1912).

From these inscriptional data we may conclude that:

1) the central shrine could be assigned to the early years of the reign of Rajaraja II, though there is no foundation inscription;

2) an image of Vadavur Nayanar was set up in the temple by the fifth regnal year of Rajadhiraja II;

3) by the fifth year of Kulottunga III, a shrine for the goddess was constructed in the northwest corner of the verandah of the temple by Ekavachakan Ulagukanvidutta Perumal *alias* Vanakkovaraiyar, the Chief of Tunda nadu in Mudigondasola valanadu;

4) a shrine for Tiruchchattimurram Udaiyar was consecrated in the 29th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1207) by a *brahmana* lady; and

5) in the post-Chola period, one Alagapperumal Pillai

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

constructed the main *gopuram* and the *prakara* wall, set up an image of Bhikshatanamurti, and christened one of the streets after his name.

The original temple consists of the *garbhagriha* and an *ardha-mandapa;* the *srivimana* is *dvi-tala;* the *sikhara* and the *griva* are octagonal in shape. The *devakoshta* niches house rather poor specimens of sculptures. The deities are the usual ones: Ganapati and Durga on the walls of the *ardhamandapa* and Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma on the walls of the *garbhagriha;* the *devakoshtas* have *makara-toranas* adorning their top, with deities in the *gadhas*. The *tiruch-churru-maligai* round the temple has two rows of pillars supporting the roof of the peristyle. The temple is enclosed by a wall with a *gopuram* at the main entrance to the *prakara*.

There are a number of very fine bronzes in this temple. The best of them all is a marvel of casting, the piece representing Siva as the destroyer of Gajasura. It is a grandly conceived piece of metal with the aureole taking the shape of the elephant which has been shown with the head and trunk at the feet of the Lord, the forelegs as the two ends of the aureole and the hind legs held aloft in the upper part of the aureole. A twisted tail is shown to the proper left of the top of the *prabha*. The two top arms of this eight-armed Siva icon in *atibhanga* posture hold the elephant hide aloft; the other right arms wield the *damaru*, the sword and the spear *(sula)* and the left arms wield the snake, the shield and the skull cap *(kapala)*. The *kapala-mala* (skull-garland) reaches down to the right foot resting on the elephant head (See plate 199 of *Middle Chola Temples)*. The other metals found in this temple are of Somaskandar, Bhikshatanar, Nandikesvarar and Ayyanar, which are illustrated in my *Middle Chola Temples* (pls. 197, 198, 200 and 201).

ACHYUTAMANGALAM

5 SOMANATHESVARAR TEMPLE

Achyutamangalam is a village in the Nannilam taluk of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tanjavur district and is about 5 km. from Nannilam, and 2 km. east of Sri Vanchiyam. The temple of Somanathesvarar here is associated with the famous religious leader Udaiyar Svamidevar (from the Radha country).

The temple which faces east consists of the *garbhagriha* (5.00 m. × 3.85 m.), the *antarala* (2.60 m. long), the *snapana mandapa* (which projects 4.10 m. forward), the *ardhamandapa* (8.60 m. × 8.10 m.) and the *mukhamandapa* (8.60 m. × 10.40 m.). Nartana Ganapati and Durga occupy the *antarala* niches, and Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma occupy the *garbhagriha* niches. There is an entrance to the *snapana mandapa* from the northern side. The *ardha-* and *mukha- mandapas* constitute a single block with common flanking walls, which have a number of niches, housing Dakshinamurti, Bhikshatanar, Kankalamurti, Ardhanari and Vishnu on the north wall from west to east; on the southern side are a window, Urdhva Tandava, a window, Kalasamharamurti and an empty niche. The temple is encompassed by two walls of enclosure. There are two subsidiary shrines: one for Subrahmanyar at the rear of the *garbhagriha*, and another for Chandikesvarar at its usual place.

The *garbhagriha* rises over an *upapitham* 95 cm. high, and an *adhishthanam*, another 75 cm. high.

On the north wall of the Somanathesvarar temple, there is an inscription, whose date is given in the *Saka* era, mentioning that one Srikantha Sambhu of the Sandilya *gotra* and the brother of a certain Gosvami Misra belonging to the Radha country, consecrated the deity Somanatha in this temple (ARE 402 of 1925). This date works out to A.D. 1182–83 (*Saka* 1104, *Pushya*) and corresponds to the fourth or the fifth regnal year of Kulottunga III. We may therefore conclude that this temple is a foundation of the fifth year of Kulottunga III (i.e., A.D. 1183).

'We have a record of 'Kulottunga Choladeva who was pleased to take Madurai', dated in his 11th year, on the front *gopuram*; so we may conclude that the entire temple came into existence at or about the same time, as one integrated complex (ARE 411 of 1925). From a 21st year record of Kulottunga III, we learn of the royal ratification of the remission of taxes on the houses erected

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in a street then recently formed in place of the old one which was sparsely inhabited and not wide enough for the procession of the god to pass through (ARE 408 of 1925). The temple authorities also agreed to meet the expenses of repairs to their houses built in the new street, according to a 29th year record of the same king (ARE 407 of 1925). From a record of the fourth year of Rajaraja III we gather that a certain individual made a gift of $13\frac{1}{4}$ *velis* of land in certain specified proportions, for the merit of his father Visayalaya Muttaraiyan, for repairs to the temples of i) Somanatha devar and ii) Visvanatha devar of Somanathamangalam, and iii) Visvedhika-Vivikisvaram Udaiyar at Somanatha chaturvedimangalam. There is a 20th year record of Rajaraja III which refers to the redress made to the son of one Rajaraja peraraiyan, who had suffered punishment wrongly in consequence of a decision given in a dispute between the villagers of Somanathamangalam and Somanatha chaturvedimangalam on the one side and Sidakkamangalam on the other.

We have another inscription on the north wall of the same temple, belonging to the fifth year (376th day) of 'Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rajendradeva', which registers the *ulvari* (order) given by the king for a piece of land granted as a tax-free *devadana* in Sivapadasekhara-mangalam in Panaiyur nadu, a subdivision of Kulottungasola valanadu, for opening a *tirumadai-vilagam*, digging a tank and establishing a flower-garden in the temple of Somanathadevar built by Udaiyar Svamidevar in the village (ARE 393 of 1925). There are two more records in continuation of the above inscription, which belong to the days of a Tribhuvana-chakravartin Konerinmaikondan but whose dates are not given; they could however be easily attributed to the same ruler, Rajendradeva. The first one (ARE 394 of 1925) records the royal order to grant the *ulvari* for the possession of the land mentioned above, from the sixth year of the king; the next one, built in in the middle and engraved in continuation of the last two records, deals with the provision made by Svamidevar for the supply of oil to the temple at Achyutamangalam *alias* Sivapadasekhara-mangalam, from the sixth year of the king, by raising taxes on each oil-mill in the *tirumadai-vilagam* newly formed round the temple (ARE 395 of 1925). There

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

are two records of 'Tribhuvana-chakravartin Virarajendra' dated in the seventh year, 41st day and seventh year, 49th day respectively (ARE 403 and 400 of 1925), one of which records, by order of the king, an exchange *(talai-marru)* of land at Achyutamangalam with some addition, for the 15 *velis* of *devadana* land in Kulottunga-nallur belonging to the Somanathar temple. It makes reference to the fifth and the 11th years of Kulottunga Chola deva and mentions the sons of Udaiyar Svamidevar. The second inscription registers the *ulvari* for the inclusion of the *devadana* lands belonging to the main temple as well as to the God Srikanthisvaram Udaiyar—evidently a deity (with possibly also a shrine for it) named after the builder of the main temple—in the same temple, with the five *velis* of land at Somanathamangalam, originally endowed for the formation of the several adjuncts of the temple, probably those mentioned in ARE 393 of 1925. The remaining records are not of any great significance, as they relate to routine gifts to the temple, some by Kulottunga III, and others by the Vijayanagara ruler Vira Bokkanna Udaiyar dated in *Saka* 1326 (A.D. 1404), from which incidentally we learn that one Annamalaiyar Kalingattaraiyar set up certain images in the temple, in recognition of which the authorities of the temple granted him certain privileges in the temple.

A word may be mentioned about the identity of 'Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rajendra deva' and 'Virarajendra deva.' The name of Svamidevar from the Radha country is clearly associated with the construction of this temple and the consecration of the deity; we have seen from a record of Arpakkam (ARE 20 of 1899) that Edirilisola Sambuvarayan, father of Pillai Pallavaraiyan, the trusted officer and General of Rajadhiraja II, who fought the war with the Sri Lanka generals and ousted them from the Pandyan country, approached Svamidevar for the safety and success of the son in the war. We also know that among the various names which Kulottunga III went by were Vira Rajendra and Rajendra as well as Sola-kerala-deva. We may, therefore, assign these records of Rajendradeva and Virarajendra to Kulottunga III, which then yields for his fifth year the date of A.D. (1178 + 5 =) 1183 which is equivalent to *Saka* 1105 and this corresponds to the *Saka* date

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

given in ARE 402 of 1925 for the construction of the temple and the consecration of the deity therein.

The entire temple of Somanathesvarar at Achyutamangalam *alias* Sivapadasekharanallur* was constructed by the fifth year of Kulottunga III, after one of whose titles, presumably, this village was alternately named. (Pls. 308–9).

TIDAAVUR

6 EKAMBRANATHAR TEMPLE

Tidaavur (also Tadavur) is in the Attur taluk of the Salem district. It is 19 km. from Talaivasal on the way to Attur via Viranganur, 5 km. from Viranganur and 14.5 km. from Attur.

There is a temple here called that of Ekambranathar. It is situated on the southern bank of the Sveta river.

An inscription of the 27th year of Kulottunga III found in this temple registers that this temple called that of Tiruvegambam Udaiya Nayanar at Mel-Gangapadi *alias* Tadavur, in Arrur kurram, a subdivision of Miladu *alias* Jananatha valanadu was built of stone, the cost being met from the gold already in possession of the temple and from what was presented by the king and the youngest queen (ARE 458 of 1913).

In a fifth year inscription of Kulottunga III (ARE 461 of 1913), one Kulottungasola Vanakkovaraiyan makes a gift of land to this temple in Mel-Gangapadi nadu, a sub-division of Arrur kurram in Miladu *alias* Jananatha valanadu, for worship, repairs and festivals.

In a seventh year inscription of the same ruler, it is mentioned that the village of Puttur was made a gift of to this temple and this transaction was attested by Tayilumnalla Perumal and Vilupadaraiyan and communicated to Vitadaraiyar and the accountants of the temple.

There is a ninth year record (ARE 456 of 1913), also presumably

---

*We shall see in Sec. 13 (Ten-Tiruvalangadu) of this chapter that Kulottunga III possibly bore the title of Sivapada-sekhara (like Rajaraja I).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of Kulottunga III, according to which land at Virasola-nallur was gifted to the deity. This transaction is again attested by Tayilumnalla Perumal and Viluppadaraiyan and communicated to Vitadaraiyar and the accountants *(Puravariyar)*.

From a tenth year record, where the king goes under the name of Vijayarajendra, we find that land was gifted for worship and repairs to the temple of Tiruvegambam-udaiya Nayanar and 'Kuram-erinda Perumal' (ARE 457 of 1913) (Vijayarajendra was a surname of Kulottunga III).

The temple faces east. It consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa* with an *antarala* in between. The *devakoshta* sculptures are Dakshinamurti in the south, Ganga-Visarjana-murti in the west and Brahma in the north wall of the *garbhagriha*. On the *antarala* walls, i.e., between the walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* is a *kumbha-pancharam* on each face. There are subshrines for Ganapati, Subrahmanya and Jyeshtha Devi (on the west) and for Bhairavar on the south-east of the central shrine. The compound wall has collapsed.

This is a stone temple built in the 27th year of Kulottunga III. Evidently the temple was in existence earlier, presumably as a brick structure. The western *devakoshta* sculpture of Ganga-Visarjana-murti is noteworthy. The location of the Bhairavar subshrine clearly points to the fact that the eighth *parivara devata* is Bhairavar (for a discussion of the *Parivaradevatas*, see my *Early Chola Temples*).

KUGAIYUR

SVARNAPURISVARAR (PONPARAPPINA-ISVARAM UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE 7

Kugaiyur was an important centre in early times and has a number of temples viz., those of Svarnapurisvarar, Panchakshare-svarar, Kailasanathar (ruined) and Rajanarayana Perumal. Of these, we are concerned with the first-mentioned temple.

This is a dated one. On the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the sixth year of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Parakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva, 'who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya' (Kulottunga III). It records that a local Chief of Koval (Tirukkovalur or Tirukkoyilur) set up the image of Ponparappina-Isvaram-Udaiya Nayanar, constructed the stone temple, the Sri Kailasa of the village of Kugaiyur, the *ardha-mandapa*, the *snapana-mandapa*, the *nritta-mandapa*, the first *prakara* and the *gopura*, the second *prakara* and the *gopura* and made a gift of land for offerings to the deity (called Ponparappina-Isvaram-udaiya Nayanar at Kugaiyur) and the feeding and maintenance of *brahmanas* at the temple. Kugaiyur is said to be situated in Naraiyur kurram, a sub-division of Maladu *alias* Jananatha valanadu (ARE 93 of 1918). A 14th year inscription of the same ruler mentions the gift by the same Chief of the village named Ponparappina-nallur, free of taxes, for worship and offerings to the deity of the temple and the village of Karpundi *alias* Tirujnanasambanda-nallur in Ugalur kurram, a district of Vadakarai Rajasinga valanadu, for conducting a festival in the month of *Panguni* (ARE 94 of 1918). A third record of the same Chief, dated in the 20th year of Kulottunga III, relates to a gift of two cows and a calf for a lamp by one of the *agambadi mudalis* of Rajaraja Kovalarayan to the (same) temple (ARE 95 of 1918).

The temple of Svarnapurisvarar belongs to the period of Kulottunga III and is a dated one (A.D. 1184).

KALAHASTI

8 KALAHASTISVARAR (TIRUK-KALATTI DEVAR) TEMPLE
MANIKANTHESVARAR (TIRU-MANIK-KENGAI-UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE

Kalahasti is a railway station on the Southern Railway and is 24 km. to the north-east of the more well-known railway station of Renigunta (north of Madras City). The river Svarnamukhi flows close by. When dealing with the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, we have mentioned that there are five sacred spots in

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

South India, each housing a *linga* associated with one of the five elements (the *pancha bhutas*). *Prithvi* (Earth) is associated with the *linga* at Tiruvarur, *Appu* (water) with the *linga* at Tiruvanaikka, *Teyu* (*Agni* or fire) with *linga* of Tiruvannamalai, *Vayu* (wind) with the *linga* of Tiruk-kalahasti and *Akasa* (Ether) with the *linga* of Chidambaram. The name of Sri Kalahasti is said to be composed of the syllables *Sri* meaning spider, *kalam* meaning snake and *hastin* meaning elephant. These three are said to have worshipped the *linga* of this place. The place is also called Dakshina-kailasam.

The Tamil Saint Kannappa Nayanar, who is often represented in panels in the posture of pulling out his eye with an arrow to replace the bleeding eye of Siva *(linga)* which he presses tight with his foot to stem its bleeding, is said to have attained salvation here; and along with him the *brahmana* devotee Sivagochariyar, Nakkiradevar, Indra, Rama, Muchukunda and others were worshippers of this deity.

The Siva temple of Kalahastisvarar is situated on a mound and faces west. North of the temple is the Durgambika hill, in the south Kannappar malai (hill), and to the east Kumarasvami hill.

The Vishnu temple (deity: Prasannavadana Perumal) is in the middle of the town.

There are a number of accounts of the greatness of this ancient centre, amongst which are *Sri-Kalattipuranam* of the three brothers Karunap-prakasar, Siva-Prakasar and Velappa Desikar, *Tiruk-kalatti-purana* sung by Anandakuttar of Veerai nagar, and *Tiruk-kalatti-ula* sung by Seraikkavirayar (ARE 276 to 300 of 1904).

KALAHASTISVARAR TEMPLE

There are a large number of inscriptions of the days of the Middle Chola rulers on the walls of the central shrine in the Kalahastisvarar temple. They belong mostly to the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. In addition, there are a number of records found on the walls of the record-room, which belong to the Later Chola period.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

There is a shrine dedicated to Mrtyunjayesvarar in the campus of the main temple, and this would appear to be a Later Chola foundation. The earliest inscription found on the first *prakara* is of a Rajaraja deva, dated in his sixth year, which is in *Grantha* and *Tamil*, mentioning a certain Ghattideva-maharaja with a number of Sanskrit *birudas* (ARE 189 of 1903).

The present structure of the Sri-Kalahastisvarar temple would appear to be a foundation of the days of the Middle Cholas, with improvements and additions during the Later Chola period.

MANIKANTHESVARAR TEMPLE

We are, however, concerned with another temple in this town, viz., the Manikanthesvarar temple. On the east side of the base of the central shrine, there is an 18th year inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Virarajendra Chola deva, which records the building of the temple, the *mandapa* and a flight of steps *(sopana)*, and the temple is called that of Tirumanikkengai-udaiya nayanar (ARE 197 of 1903). This inscription reads as follows. (Venkayya identifies this king as Kulottunga III):

"*Harihi Om: Svasti Sri: Tribhuvanachakravartigal Sri Virarajendra-soladevarkku yandu 18-avadu tirukkalattiyil Tirumanik-kengai-udaiya nayanar tirukkarraliyum tirumandapamum sopanamum Seyangonda-solamandalattu Kalatturkkottattu Valla nattup Perun-tandalattil Konulan Amudalvan Mangai nayakan Malavarayan seyvitta tiruppanikku Ivarittadu kondum Siyar tukkappattaa udal kondum seydadu*"
(SII, VIII, No. 496: ARE 197 of 1903).

However, there is an inscription of the 24th year of Rajaraja-kesarivarman (Rajaraja I, A.D. 1008), found inscribed on the north, east and south sides of the base of the central shrine in the Kalahastisvarar temple, adverting to the endowment of a gift of gold, and referring to this temple of *Manikkengai Madevar* (ARE 298 of 1904). We have, therefore, to conclude that the temple existed even in the days of Rajaraja I and that the present stone building came into being in the days of Kulottunga III. The original name of the deity currently called Manikanthesvarar was Tiru-manik-kengai Madevar or -udaiya Nayanar.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

One Sasikula-Chalukki Tani-ninru-Venra Vira Narasinga deva *alias* Yadavaraya set up the image of Lord Mallikarjuna in the temple and made a gift to it in the eighth year of Rajaraja III (*vide* an inscription on the south side of the base of the shrine of the Goddess in the temple—ARE 200 of 1903).

There is also a Vishnu shrine in the temple, and on its walls is an inscription of Allun-Tirukkaladeva *alias* Gandagopala, making a gift of gold for a lamp to the temple of Tirumanik-kengai-udaiya Nayanar (ARE 201 of 1903). In the seventh year of Vijaya-Gandagopaladeva, Nallasittarasar, son of Bhimarasar of Tyagasamudrapettai, makes a gift of land to the temple (ARE 202 of 1903). This record is found on the *gopuram* of the temple, left of the entrance.

Thus, the main shrine of this temple, which dates back to the days of Rajaraja I at least, was reconstructed in stone in the 18th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1196). (Pls. 310–12).

CHENGAMA (SENGAIMA)

RISHABHESVARAR TEMPLE 9

Chengam(a) is a village in the Tiruvannamalai taluk of the North Arcot district, and occupies what must once have been a strategic location, connecting the highlands of the Deccan with the coastal belt of South India. It is 32 km. west of Tiruvannamalai on the Krishnagiri road. There is a Later Chola temple here dedicated to Rishabhesvarar. It has three inscriptions of the days of "Tribhuvana Chakravartin Virarajendra deva', who may be identified as Kulottunga III (ARE 114, 108 and 105 of 1900). All of them refer to gifts of land. One, of the 13th year, refers to the temple as that of Idavandurai (a colloquial form of Rishabhesvarar') at Sengaima—the modern Chengam(a). Two other inscriptions refer to political compacts among a few Chola feudatories affirming mutual loyalty and readiness to offer protection (ARE 107 and 115 of 1900). These reflect a period of political instability bordering on anarchy when central authority had weakened and local Chiefs were assuming semi-independent

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

status. One, on the north wall of the central shrine, records a political compact between Karikalasola Adaiyur Madevan and Sengeni Ammaiyappan *alias* Vikramasola Sambuvarayan on the one side and, on the other, Vidugadalagiya Perumal, a powerful feudatory of Kulottunga III who ruled almost with virtual political independence from Tagadur (identified with Dharmapuri in the former Salem district and now the headquarters of a new district of the same name: See *Laddigam* by B. Venkataraman, on the role of Vidugadalagiya Perumal, pp. 46–48; also see Sec. 16, Ch. 2 *supra*). Evidently, these loyalties were not permanent, for we find that in the second compact, this Chief has been excluded.

The Rishabhesvarar temple consists of the central shrine (with Ganapati and Subrahmanya as guardian deities at the entrance), the *ardhamandapa*, the *antarala* and the *snapana-mandapa*. The eastern entrance to this hall is guarded by *dvarapalas*. There is a *mukhamandapa* in front. There is no gateway at its eastern end, only a window. The entrance to the *mukhamandapa* is by steps provided on the south-east corner. An icon of Nataraja is housed in a cella to the north of this *mandapa*, and those of Somaskandar, Chandrasekharar and Subrahmanya are in a chamber south of the *ardhamandapa*. The four Saiva Nayanmars are found in the centre of the *mukhamandapa*. The *devakoshta* sculptures are Ganapati and Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north. The Chandesvarar shrine is to the north of the *ardhamandapa*, and further north in the same *prakara* is the Subrahmanya shrine; again further north is the *Amman* shrine of Anupamambika. The *srivimana* rests on an *upapitham* and a high *adhishthanam* adorned with round *kumudam* and *yali* frieze. It is a *dvi-tala* temple crowned by a round *sikhara*.

ARGAL(UR)

10 TIRUK-KAMISVARAM-UDAIYA NAYANAR TEMPLE

Argalur is in the Attur taluk of the Salem district. It is 4 km. south-east of Talaivasal on the right bank of the river Vasishta

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

nadi. In the Chola days, it is said to have been located in Magadai mandalam.

There are a number of temples in this village; the most important of them is the temple of Tiruk-Kamisvaram Udaiya Nayanar. Apart from Chola records, many Pandyan and Vijayanagara period inscriptions are also found on the walls of this temple.

The earliest inscription found on the walls of the Kamisvaram Udaiyar temple is one of the 13th year of Kulottunga III (ARE 417 of 1913). It records the sale of the village of Ilattipadi to the trustees of the temple by Melaiyam udaiyan Sambaiyalvan for 135 *pon*. This village was made tax-free by the trustees (of the temple) in favour of the temple for maintaining worship, conducting festivals and undertaking repairs. In the 29th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1206), a gift of 5000 *kasus* was made for the sacred bath, twilight lamps, garlands, clothes and offerings to the icons of the three *nayanmars (emperumakkal)*, Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar, set up in this temple (ARE 418 of 1913). An inscription of the 35th year of Kulottunga III records a political compact between Sengeni Ammaiyappan Alagiyasolan *alias* Edirilisola Sambuvarayan and the chiefs Ponparappina Vanakkovaraiyar, Kulottungasola Vanakkovaraiyar and Kadavarayar for mutual protection. This again reflects the state of political unrest and lack of security in the kingdom, already referred to—a foreshadowing of the impending collapse of Chola rule (ARE 435 and 440 of 1913). We get to know of the existence of a number of temples in the neighbourhood—Tayilum-nalla-solisvaram, Ponparappina-solisvaram, Vairavana Isvaram and Kulasekhara Udaiyar (Pandya) temple, as they find mention in the inscriptions here (ARE 434, 454, 453, and 441 of 1913).

The temple has two *prakaras*. There is a three-tier *(munrunilai) gopuram* in the eastern side of the first wall of enclosure. The outer *gopuram* is without a superstructure.

In the covered verandah round the first *prakara* there are installed icons of Surya, the four Tamil Nayanmars and the Saptamatrikas in the south, Ganapati, Shanmukha and Gajalakshmi in the west, and Virabhadrar, the sixty-three *nayanmars*, Rishabhavahana devar, Durga (lifesize), Bhairavar and Nataraja in the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

north. Surya and Bhairavar are placed in the north-east corner of the first *prakara*.

The main shrine consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* (slightly damaged), guarded by *dvarapalas*. There are a number of bronzes in the northern wing of the *ardhamandapa*—Chandrasekharar, Sattanathar, Bhikshatanar, Tripurantakar, Nataraja, Sivakami, Tani-Amman, Ayyanar and Kali. The outer walls of the *garbhagriha* are adorned by the *devakoshta* images of Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma. There is a standing Ganapati on the south wall of the *ardhamandapa*. The front portion of the *ardhamandapa* serves as the *snapanamandapa*. On its northern side there is a gateway to the first *prakara*.

AVARANI (ABARANADANI)

11 ANANTANARAYANA PERUMAL (PALLIKONDAR) TEMPLE (OLD PARVATISVARAR (SIVA) TEMPLE)

Avarani is a village in the Nagapattinam taluk of the Tanjavur district. Its ancient name was Kilkkudi. There is an old temple here. Today this temple is dedicated to Anantanarayana Perumal (Vishnu), and the name of the deity during the days of the Vijayanagara rulers was Pallikonda Perumal. But there are a large number of inscriptions of the days of Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III, found on stones built into the walls of the temple, which furnish interesting information on the change that took place in the temple in the post-Chola period.

The earliest of these inscriptions (found in stray stones) is one dated in the 15th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva 'who took the crowned head of the Pandya' and it relates to a gift of tax-free land to the temple of Parvatisvaram Udaiyar set up by Rajanarayanap-Pallavarayar of Palaikkurichchi at Kilkkudi *alias* Simhavishnu chaturvedimangalam and there is a reference to the land survey made in the ninth year of Periya devar (i.e., Kulottunga III) (ARE 490 of 1922). Yet another record of the 15th year of 'Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Choladeva who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya' records an agreement between the villagers of Sittiralegai-perumpalli in Mulaikkattu nadu and the temple authorities of Parvatisvaram regarding an exchange of land (ARE 487 of 1922). Another record of the same ruler belonging to the next year (16th) (stones misplaced) seems to record a gift of tax-free land to the temple of Parvatisvaram Udaiyar set up at Kilkkudi, a *brahmadeya* in Ala nadu, by the villagers of Rajarajan Alimulai in Mulaikkattu nadu, a subdivision of Arumolideva valanadu (ARE 489 of 1922). An undated record found on stones built into the walls and belonging to the days of Kulottunga III is fragmentary and gives another name to the Pallavarayar who built the temple, viz., Kalyanasundarar (ARE 493 of 1922). Again in an inscription whose date is lost and which is found on stones built into the east and south walls of the central shrine, a gift of land is recorded in favour of the temple of Par ..... (which must be 'Parvatisvaram Udaiyar') built at Kilkkudi *alias* Simhavishnu chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Ala nadu, a subdivision of Arumolideva valanadu, by 'Kalyanasundaranar *alias* Rajanarayanap-Pallavarayar, a native of Tirukkannapuram.' A 24th year inscription of the same ruler (fragmentary) records the remission of certain taxes on the land belonging to the temple of Parvatisvaram Udaiyar on the occasion of the consecration ceremony of *Kuttadu Nayanar* (Nataraja) and His Consort by the Assembly of Simhavishnu chaturvedimangalam who were managing the affairs of the village, from the month of *Karkataka* (ARE 488 of 1922). In the 26th year presumably of the same ruler there is a record, found on the north, west and south walls of the central shrine (stones are out of order and some lost) mentioning a gift of land free of taxes to the temple of Parvatisvaram Udaiyar at Kilkkudi by the Assembly of Rajaya-chaturvedimangalam in Mulaikkattu nadu, a subdivision of Arumolideva valanadu. It mentions that the land concerned was an old gift for offerings to the god *Kuttadu Nayanar* but that the original recipients were dead. There is a reference to the land survey made in the ninth year (of the king) which confirms that this record is one of the days of Kulottunga III (ARE 485 of 1922).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

There are two inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja III belonging to his sixth and his 17th years; from the latter we gather that 60 *kasus* were given as a gift for a lamp to the temple of Tiruviramesvaram Udaiyar at Abaranadani* chaturvedimangalam in Ala nadu, a subdivision of Geyamanikka valanadu (ARE 491 of 1922).

Thus it is clear that this temple was built in the 15th year of Kulottunga III (ARE 490 of 1922) by Kalyanasundaranar *alias* Rajanarayanap-Pallavarayan of Palaikkurichchi *alias* Tirukkannapuram. In the years following the fall of the Cholas, at some unknown point of time, the temple was converted into a Vishnu temple with Pallikondar (Ananta narayana) as the deity of the central shrine. At present the temple is known as that of Anantanarayana.

TIRUPPALAIVANAM

12 TIRUPPALESVARAR (TIRUPPALAIVANAM UDAIYA MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE

Tiruppalaivanam is a village in the Ponneri taluk of the Chingleput district. There is an ancient temple here, dedicated to Tiruppalesvarar. The ancient name of the deity was Tiruppalaivanam Udaiya Mahadevar. This temple is studded with innumerable inscriptions on the walls of the central shrine, covering the part of the Later Chola period beginning with the 11th year of Vikrama Chola. The majority of the inscriptions relate to Kulottunga III and his successor Rajaraja III. While there is no foundation inscription in the temple, it may be reasonably assumed that the temple came into existence in the days of Kulottunga I or Vikrama Chola, but we have an inscription of the 15th year of Kulottunga Choladeva 'who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya' which mentions that Sodi Vadugan *alias* Jayangondasola Kidarattaraiyan undertook the construction of a stone temple to Tiruppalaivanam Udaiyar and for meeting the cost of this construction he was assigned rights in

*Avarani, the present name, seems to be a corruption of Abaranadani.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

several villages, two-thirds of which he gave as *stri dhanam* to his two sons-in-law (ARE 313 of 1928–29). The existence of inscriptions of the period prior to the 15th year of Kulottunga III on the walls of the central shrine would seem to indicate that perhaps the earlier structure of the central shrine was partially in stone and partially in brick and that the entire temple was rebuilt of stone in the days of Kulottunga III leaving the earlier stone portion intact.

Since we find inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja III, dated in his 20th year and later, on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, we could hazard the guess that perhaps this *mandapa* was also a part of the reconstruction programme undertaken in the 15th year of Kulottunga III; at any rate it was completed before the 20th year of Rajaraja III. The wall of enclosure *(tirumadil)* was constructed in the 14th year of Jatavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara Pandya deva (I) (A.D. 1265).

The temple received considerable attention at the hands of the Telugu-Choda chiefs, Allur-Tirukkalattideva Gandagopala devar, Vijaya Gandagopala devar and Rajaraja Gandagopala devar.

The main *mandapa* should be attributed to Vijaya Gandagopala, whose 15th year inscription is the earliest found on the walls of this *mandapa*.

From the inscriptions of this temple, we get the following interesting information.

(i) Kulottunga II's extensive benefactions to the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram including his gilding of the '*perambalam*' gave him his title of Rajakesarivarman 'who was pleased to gild *Tirupperambalam*' (ARE 315 of 1928–29) and Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva 'who covered Perambalam with gold' (ARE 349 of 1927–28).

(ii) The Telugu-Choda Chief Madurantaka Pottappichcholan Siddharaisar was a contemporary of Kulottunga III and his wife Nungama deviyar (the Nikkama deviyar of the Nandalur inscriptions) made a gift of money to the *Sivabrahmanas* of the temple for burning a lamp (ARE 317 of 1927–28).

(iii) From a 15th year inscription of Rajarajadeva (III)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

we get to know of the grant of land by Gandagopala as the gift of Panaiyandai *alias* Gandagopala-Manikkam, the sister of Sittammadeviyar, a *devaradiyar* attached to the temple of Manumasiddhisvaram Udaiya Nayanar at Nellur, for feeding devotees in the Gandagopala-manikka-madam at Tiruppalaivanam (ARE 350 of 1927–28).

(iv) We learn that an image of Karaikkal Ammai was set up in the temple, as seen from a record of the 18th regnal year of Rajaraja III (ARE 329 of 1928–29).

(v) Metallic images of Chandrasekharar and Consort were set up by Raghunayakulu raju of Koluru in *Saka* 1681 (A.D. 1758).

The present structure of the temple could be attributed to the last decade of the 12th century with accretions taking place over the next few decades extending to the middle of the 13th century A.D.

(TEN)TIRUVALANGADU

13 VATARANYESVARAR (TIRUVALANGADU UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

Tiruvalangadu, or to be more precise, Ten-Tiruvalangadu, is in the Mayuram taluk of the Tanjavur district. It is to be distinguished from the place of the same name (also sometimes called Alangadu or Vataranyam) in the North Arcot district, 60 km. west of Madras City. (The Madras Museum Bulletins invariably and incorrectly describe the place as Tiruvelangadu). [It was from the latter place that the copperplates and the peerless broken Nataraja bronze of Rajendra I's period (now adorning the Madras Museum) were recovered. The place must have been surrounded by a grove of banyan *(Vata* or *Al)* trees. The *sthala vriksha* is however the jack tree. It is a place rich with ancient legends and historical associations. Among them is one about the local *Vellalas* who, unable to keep their plighted word, performed self-immolation. Karaikkal Ammaiyar, who was one of the 63 Nayanmars, assumed the form of a demon, went on a pilgrimage as far as Kailasa and rolled back here all the way on her head

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and finally took refuge under the feet of the Lord of Dance here. The chief deity of this temple is called Devar Singapperumal or Alangattu Adigal. The place is adorned with the *Ratna Sabha*, and it was reputedly here that Siva performed the dance of *Urdhva Tandava* and subdued Kali.]

We are however concerned here with (Ten) Tiruvalangadu in the Tanjavur district that has only a Later Chola temple which came into existence in the days of Kulottunga III. This temple does not seem to be associated with the *Devaram* hymnists. It is presently called Vataranyesvarar or Tiruvalangadu Udaiyar temple.

This temple was completed in or before the 15th year and 21st day of Kulottunga III. It is said to have been located on a site that was part of the larger township of Vikramasola Allur. There are sixteen inscriptions in this temple, ten of which belong to the days of Kulottunga III (ranging from his 15th year to his 36th year) and two to those of Rajaraja III (both relating to a gift to a *matha* called Vannar Madevar Andar Madam). The earliest inscription on the central shrine registers the grant to this temple of fifteen *velis* of land at Suttamalli chaturvedimangalam. The temple trustees sold some temple jewels and bought some lands as *tirunamattu kani* (24th year of Kulottunga III). An image of Visvesvarar was set up in the temple in the 25th year of Kulottunga III. The details of the *Urkkil iraiyili* lands of the temple were recorded on the temple walls (35th year of the same ruler). An *agraharam* of Vedic scholars called *Irumarabum Tuyya Perumal Mangalam* was also set up during this reign. The length of the standard linear measure called 'Tiruvalangadu-udayar *kol*' (based on and identical with the length of the royal linear measure of Rajaraja I's days carved in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur) is found engraved on the *gopuram* here. The unit of linear measure thus evidently continued without any change.

The temple consists of a central shrine, a *mukhamandapa* in front and two *prakaras* with walls of enclosure, and the *gopuram*. The usual *devakoshta* figures are there on the walls of the *garbhagriha*. Opposite the Dakshinamurti *devakoshta*, there is a *mandapa*. This *mandapa* is in the style typical of Kulottunga III's period.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The two pillars opposite to the Dakshinamurti niche are carved and sculptured in the same style as those of Darasuram and Tribhuvanam. On the base of each pillar there is a portrait about 37 cm. in height of a royal personage with *anjali hasta* and a sword. The figure is looking towards Dakshinamurti. These portraits are alike.

There is yet another royal portrait, 135 cm. in height, found on one of the pillars of this *mandapa*, carved almost in the round. The figure has a commanding personality, and at the same time is expressive of humility, articulated by the pair of *pada-rakshas* (sandals) held on his head, which has a big bun-shaped hair-do at its back. Necklaces and chains and armlets and other arm-bands adorn the figure. The two hands are held together in the *anjali* (prayerful) pose. N. Sethuraman who first saw this portrait sculpture has identified the figure as that of Kulottunga III.*

Another interesting portrait, also taken to be that of Kulottunga III but with slightly different features and form of dress, is found on the *srivimana* of the Tribhuvanam temple, and has been published by T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar in his *History of Later Cholas* (in Tamil, Annamalai University: opposite to page 144). I agree that it is a good guess and it may indeed be a portrait of Kulottunga III.+

One of Rajaraja I's titles was Sivapadasekharan. The first-to-be-engraved and the most important inscription of Rajaraja I on the north wall of his Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur mentions (in paras 55 to 91) the gifts made by the king on the conferment on him of the titles of Sivapadasekhara and of Rajaraja (See my *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 5 and 15). It seems that the title was borne by some of his successors also. As far as I know, we do not have any epigraphical evidence that Kulottunga III

*In one of Kulottunga III's epigraphs dated in his 15th year, he claims to rule the earth by divine grace *(tirukkailaich-chivan-arul)*. This lends credence to the interpretation of this portrait as that of this king, in view of the two sacred feet *(sri padams)* held over his head.

+See also K.A.N. Sastri's *The Colas*, 2nd edition, fig. 33 for a (doubtful) metallic portrait in bronze of Kulottunga III and p. 754 for a description by P.R. Srinivasan. This bronze is not found now in the temple at Kalahasti.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

assumed this title or that it was conferred on him. But the portrait at Ten-Tiruvalangadu clearly proves that Kulottunga III must have had the title of Sivapadasekharar. We know that Kulottunga III was a devout Siva-worshipper. It is unique and as far as I know the only portrait of a king who has this title. Perhaps at important religious ceremonies involving the presence of the king, he wore this garb. (Pl. 313).

PAPANASAM

SRINIVASA PERUMAL (OLD VISVESVARAR) TEMPLE 14

Papanasam is a railway station on the main line of the Southern Railway, between Kumbakonam and Tanjavur.

On the north and south walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine of the Srinivasa Perumal temple here, there is a record of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva 'who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya', dated in his 19th year; the stones are out of order and lost in some places. The inscription refers to the gift of two *velis* of land as *tirunamattuk-kani* at Kundavai-nallur, a hamlet of Rajakesari chaturvedimangalam in Nallur nadu, a subdivision of Nittavinoda valanadu, by a certain Aramudu Madevan *alias* Vikramasola Brahmamarayan to the temple of Visvesvaradeva built by himself at Panchavan Madevi chaturvedimangalam (ARE 467 of 1922); on the same walls there is another record, of the 21st year of the same ruler (also fragmentary), apparently recording another gift of land by the person mentioned above to the same temple. Vikramasola Brahmamarayan is said to be a native of Rajaraja chaturvedimangalam (ARE 468 of 1922). On the east wall of the *vahana mandapa*, there is a 24th year record of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva III registering a gift of land to the temple (ARE 476 of 1922).

This temple which thus came into existence in the days of Kulottunga III was extensively renovated in the days of Vijayanagara Mallikarjunadeva Maharaya, son of Pratapa Devaraya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Maharaya 'who instituted the elephant hunt', as learnt in a record dated in *Saka* 1370 (= A.D. 1448) found on the north wall of the central shrine; on the occasion of the reconstruction of the temple, Saluva Maharaja Tirumalaideva Maharaja made a gift of the village of Rajakesarip-parru *alias* Papanasam, with all the taxes levied on the village, for offerings, worship and twilight lamps and for conducting the festivals instituted in the temple of Papanasap-perumal (ARE 448 of 1922).

On a pillar in the north verandah of the first *prakara*, there is an undated inscription recording that the *mandapa* was built by Vijayapalan, and again on another pillar in the *mukhamandapa* in front of the temple, there is an undated Tamil verse recording the construction of the *mandapa* by a certain Chedipan, resident of Puduvai (ARE 471 of 1922). On the lintel above the doorway of the Visvaksena shrine in the same *mandapa*, there is an undated Tamil record mentioning a certain Velaikkaran Tirunirrusola Nambi and the renovation of that doorway *(tiruvaasal)* by a certain Gangarayar of Manappakkam (ARE 472 of 1922). A damaged Tamil verse at the entrance to the second *gopuram* (right side) records the construction of several shrines including the Pankayavalli *mandapa*, Suttikoduttal shrine, Kaveri *mandapa*, Kayyamayil *mandapa* and the central *gopuram* by a certain Ayya Nayakar (ARE 475 of 1922).

Thus this temple, originally dedicated to Siva as Visvesvaradeva, which was perhaps in existence even in the Middle Chola period probably as a brick structure, was reconstructed in stone in the days of Kulottunga III. It was converted into a Vishnu temple for Lord Srinivasa Perumal in the days of Vijayanagara rulers when it was reconstructed or renovated in the 15th century (ARE 446 to 477 of 1922).

KORUKKAI (RAJANARAYANAPURAM)

15 SIVA (KULOTTUNGA CHOLISVARAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

Korukkai in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjavur district

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is to be distinguished from Tiruk-kurukkai in the Mayuram taluk of the same district; the latter is about five km. north of Tirumananjeri whose temple of Virattanesvarar, one of the eight Virattana temples, is connected with the exploit of Yama's destruction by fire emanating from Siva's third eye. Korukkai is about 5 km. from Kumbakonam in a south-easterly direction on the road to Nachchiyarkoyil. The temple is to the right of the road (proceeding from Kumbakonam).

The Siva temple here was called in olden days Kulottunga Cholisvaram. There are five inscriptions on the walls of this temple. The earliest, found on the base of the north wall of the central shrine, is one of the 21st year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Deva, 'the conqueror of Madurai and Ilam, who took the head of the Pandyan king' (ARE 316 of 1927). It is assignable to Kulottunga III. It registers a gift of twelve *velis* of land in Rajaraja mandalam in Jayangondasola valanadu by two persons of Kolattur *alias* Kulattur in Vandalaivelur kurram in Rajendrasola valanadu for providing worship to the deity of Lord Kulottungasolisvaram Udaiyar in the temple of Kurukkai *alias* Rajanarayanapuram in Tirunaraiyur nadu, a subdivision of Kulottungasola valanadu. 'Rajanarayana' was a surname of Kulottunga I and the *valanadu* in which the village was situated was presumably also named after him. However, as the earliest inscription here, found on the base of the central shrine, has to be assigned to Kulottunga III, I am inclined to attribute this temple to his period. The next inscription, also on the same base, is of the 38th year of Kulottunga III (ARE 317 of 1927); it relates to a sale of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *velis* of land for 17,700 *kasus*. An inscription of the ninth year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja III records a gift of land by a lady, Karunakara Alvi, for providing worship in the temple (ARE 319 of 1927). Early in the eighteenth century (*Saka* 1627, *Kali* Era 4809, A.D. 1705), one Kumaranayyan purchased the village of Korukkai, renamed it as Achyuta Vijayaraghavapuram and distributed the lands among several temples and persons (ARE 318 of 1927). (Pls. 314–9).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TRIBHUVANAM

16 KAMPAHARESVARAR TEMPLE (TRIBHUVANAVIRESVARAM)

Tribhuvanam is about 6 km. from Kumbakonam and is a well-known cultural and art centre. It was perhaps once a part of the city complex of Palayarai and Kumbakonam. It acquired great prominence in the days of Kulottunga III. There is a famous temple here known as the Kampaharesvarar temple. This temple is dedicated to Siva adored by Vishnu and Brahma. It is the last of the four great temples built by the Cholas—and the last built by the last great Chola king. We saw that Kulottunga III made three wars against the Pandyas. After his victory in the third war, he held a grand celebration at Madurai, the Pandyan capital, and assumed the title of Tribhuvana Vira devar and built, in commemoration of his great victory, a temple here dedicated to Siva in the name of Tribhuvana Viresvarar. It is now called Kampaharesvaram, based on a local legend that a certain Chola king got relieved of the evil effects of 'Sani Bhagavan' after his flight from Tiruvidaimarudur to this place where he took shelter, and so this locality was chosen for building the new temple.

The temple-complex faces east. There are two *prakaras* and two *gopurams*.

The central shrine and the shrines for the Devi, Chandesvarar and Sarabhamurti are located in the first enclosure. The subsidiary shrines are all housed on the north side of the enclosure. This must have been due to limitations of space.

Between the inner and the outer (second) walls are housed the *vasanta (alankara) mandapa*, the *nandi-mandapa*, the *balipitham* and the flag staff.

The central shrine consists of a square *garbhagriha* (which measures 3.81 m. in the interior and 18.29 m. in the exterior), a slightly narrower *ardhamandapa*, an *antarala* with flights of steps on either side of the *mahamandapa*, a *mukhamandapa* and a portico shaped like a chariot. The Somaskanda shrine is located here. The walls of the *garbhagriha* are thick, but it is not of the *sandhara*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

type as in the case of the Tanjavur temple. The *srivimana* consists of a heavy six-*tala* superstructure over the sanctum. The full height of the *srivimana* is 126 ft. (38.40 m.) and the superstructure measures 91 ft. (27. 70 m.).

The temple, as in the case of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur, has a high *upapitham* which adds to the grace and majesty of the superstructure and consists of the following mouldings: *upanam*, *padma-dalam*, *vyala-mala*, a high *kantham* with *gala-padas*, decorated with scroll work and dancing poses between each, and crowning all is the *kapotam* adorned with *kudus*.

Over the *upapitham* there is a wall on the three sides and above it is the *adhishthanam* consisting of the following mouldings: *upanam* (in three tiers), *padma-dalam*, *kumudam* adorned with small-sized *padma idal* (lotus-petal) both up and down, *kantham*, *kapotam*, *vyalamala* and *vedika*; on the basement, there is a panel of miniature sculptures depicting stories from the *Ramayana*.

The walls of the central shrine have projections and recesses. The central projections have *devakoshtas*—with Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west and Brahma (not original) in the north. Each bay has pilasters at the ends with square base and octagonal shafts and capitals. There are shorter pilasters on the sides of the *devakoshtas*. On the southern side of the *ardha-mandapa*, there is Ganesa, and on the northern side, there is a *devakoshta* housing a six-armed Durga.

This temple has two *gopurams* in the east—the inner one is of three and the outer of five *nilais* (tiers). This temple has a foundation inscription. The main text is on the south wall of the *garbha-griha* and two copies thereof are inscribed on the outer *gopuram* (ARE 190, 191 and 192 of 1907). Harle and, following him, H. Sarkar also hold that the two inscriptions on the *gopuram* are of a later date, mainly on the ground that the *kumudam* on the *gopuram* is ribbed—a feature believed to appear only in the sixteenth century A.D. This observation is incorrect. Ribbed *kumudams* are found in the Amritaghatesvarar temple at Melakkadambur of the period of Kulottunga I (see my *Four Chola Temples*) and, in fact, even earlier, as in the Takkolam temple (9th century A.D.) and the temple at Tondaimanad (10th century A.D.).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This temple is unique in that the shrines for the Devi and for Sarabhamurti, a newly-evolved icon of the late Chola period, are contemporaneous with the central shrine.

Devi shrine

The Devi shrine stands on a highly ornamented *upapitham*. The *garbhagriha* is rectangular. The *griva* and the *sikhara* are circular. It has an *ardhamandapa* and a *mahamandapa* in front. The *mukhamandapa* is a later structure.

The *adhishthana* is common to these main structures. It consists of the following mouldings—*upanam*, *padmam*, *jagati* and *tri-patta-kumudam* with *padma idal* on either side.

The three *devakoshtas* contain the icons of Ichchha Sakti, Jnana Sakti and Kriya Sakti.

Sarabha shrine

The Sarabha image, unlike its counterpart at Darasuram which is in a niche on the main wall of the temple, is housed in a separate independent shrine north-east of the central shrine. The Sarabha cult was a new one evolved in the latter half of the Later Chola period. It is said that Narasimha, an *avatara* of Vishnu, continued his rampage even after achieving the immediate purpose of the *avatara*, namely, the destruction of the demon-king, Hiranya-kasipu. *Devas* and men suffered, and the devotees of Siva prayed to their Lord for protection. Hence Siva assumed the form of Sarabhamurti, and relieved peoples' distress by destroying the fierce Narasimha and sending back Vishnu to Vaikuntha.

The *Kamikagama* describes Sarabhamurti as follows:

"The body of Sarabha is that of a bird of golden hue; it should have two wings which should be uplifted. Sarabha has two red eyes, four legs, resembling those of the lion, resting upon the ground and four others with sharp claws kept lifted upwards, and an animal tail—the body above the loins should be that of a human being, but having the face of a lion, which should have upon its head a *kirita-makuta*. There should also be side-tusks and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

on the whole a terrifying appearance. Sarabha is to be shown as carrying Narasimha with two of his legs. The figure of Narasimha should be the ordinary form of a human being with the hands held in *anjali* pose."

The bronze image of Sarabha found in the temple is represented as an icon with three legs, the body and face of a lion, a tail and four human arms; in the right upper hand is the *parasu* (axe), in the lower right one, the *pasa;* in the upper left one, the *mriga* and in the lower left one, *agni*. With the front leg, Sarabhamurti has pinioned Narasimha who is struggling against his adversary with eight arms.

Such was perhaps the way the Saivites wanted to establish the supremacy of Siva over Vishnu among the Hindu Trinity (See *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 172–174).

The Sanskrit inscription engraved in this temple mentions that the consecration ceremony of Siva and Parvati was performed by Kulottunga III's *guru*, Somesvara *alias* Isvara Siva who was well-versed in the Saiva Darsana and the eighteen *vidyas* and had expounded the greatness of Saiva thoughts in the *Upanishads*. He is said to be the son of Srikantha Sambhu.

As in other periods of history, there were close and intimate cultural and artistic contacts and free exchanges of philosophical thought between the north and the south and there is evidence also of intimate contacts among the various systems of religious and philosophic thought among important centres of Saivism during the period of the Later Cholas, especially during the reign of Kulottunga III.

It has been suggested that the Philosophy of Somesvara bears close similarity to the Siva-Visishtadvaita system of Sri Kantha, the author of *Brahmasutra-bhashyam*. He equates Prajapati with Pasupati and identifies the golden person within the Sun with Siva, Who is higher than Narayana. Sri Kantha's Visishtadvaita philosophy had perhaps exercised great influence on the life and thought of Kulottunga III, especially because of his close connection with Chidambaram, a great centre of Saivism in all ages. Kulottunga III is described in the inscriptions as an *Eka-bhakta*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(unrivalled devotee) of Lord Nataraja.

The Kampaharesvarar temple is the last of the four great (cathedral) temples built by the Cholas. It constitutes a landmark in the history of South Indian temples.* (Pls. 320–39).

KUTTALAM

Kuttalam is about 11 km. west-south-west of Mayuram on the Mayuram-Kumbakonam road, and there are three well-known temples here, viz., the Uttaravedisvarar, Omkaresvarar and Cholesvarar temples. We have already dealt with the temple of Uttaravedisvarar, rebuilt by Sembiyan Mahadevi during the days of Uttama Chola, in our *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 176–8. We shall deal with the remaining two important temples here as they both belong to the Later Chola period. Both of them are located within the town-limits. They are under worship and in a state of good preservation.

17 OMKARESVARAR (OMKARESVARAM UDAIYA PARAMASVAMIN) TEMPLE

The earliest dated records found on the walls of the central shrine of this temple belong to the 25th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Sri Kulottunga Choladeva 'who was pleased to take Madurai, Ilam and the crowned head of the Pandya' (Kulottunga III). While recording a gift of land to the temple of Omkaresvaram Udaiyar, one of them mentions that the temple was built by Pillai Jayadhara Pallavaraiyar (EI, X, pp. 129–30; ARE 479 of 1907). The other inscription, found on the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the same shrine, records a gift of land to the

---

*This temple has undergone two renovations, in 1937 and 1963. The outer appearance of the temple has been spoiled by the recent figural paintings lacking aesthetic taste, recalling to mind a *Dasara* exhibition—such a licence with tradition ill-becomes venerable institutions like temples.

H. Sarkar has published an excellent and authoritative guide-book on this temple under the auspices of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu (See p.12).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

same temple and confirms that it was built by (Araiyan Aludaiya Nayaganar *alias*) Jayadhara Pallavaraiyar; it mentions the village of Kavirinallur, a *devadana* of the temple of Udaiyar Sonnavararivar at Vingunirt-turutti, i.e., Kuttalam (ARE 482 of 1907). From another inscription on the wall of the central shrine, we get the name of the deity as Omkaresvaram udaiya Paramasvami (ARE 591 of 1907). There is a Chandesvarar shrine in the campus of this temple, and on its north and west walls, there is an inscription of Kulottunga III dated in his 25th regnal year, recording a gift of land and mentioning Anapayapuram in Tiruvalundur nadu, a subdivision of Jayangondasola valanadu.

From these inscriptions, we get to know that the temple of Omkaresvarar came to be built before the 25th regnal year of Kulottunga III, corresponding to A.D. 1203, and that it was built by a local Chief called Jayadhara Pallavaraiyar. (Pls. 342–8).

18 CHOLESVARAR (VIKRAMA CHOLISVARAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

On the south wall of the central shrine in this temple, there is a record of the fourth regnal year of a king whose name is lost, recording a gift of land and an order of Jayadhara Pallavaraiyar, presumably the builder of the Omkaresvarar temple in the same town; evidently the inscription belongs to the days of Kulottunga III or possibly Rajaraja III. This record refers to this temple as that of Vikramacholisvaram udaiyar (ARE 477 of 1907). From a record found on the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the Omkaresvarar temple, we get a reference to the shrine of 'Vikrama Cholisvaram udaiyar at Kulottungasolan Kurralam in Virudaraja bhayankara valanadu', and it refers to the revenue survey in the 16th year of Sungamtavirtta Kulottungasolan (I). The king is merely called Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan and the royal order is addressed to one Vanadarayan. Evidently this refers to another temple or shrine, as we find that this *valanadu* (Virudarajabhayankara) was not far from the limits of Kuttalam, which was itself in Jayangondasola valanadu. We saw, when dealing with the Uttaravedisvarar temple of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kuttalam, that that temple got a gift of land from the *brahmadeya* of Bhulokamanikka chaturvedimangalam, which was in Nallarrur Nadu in Virudaraja bhayankara valanadu (ARE 491 of 1907).

This temple must have come into existence during the days of Vikrama Chola and has now come to be called by the shortened name of Cholesvarar temple.

MAYURAM

19 PANCHANADISVARAR TEMPLE

Mayuram is a big town today, being the headquarters of the taluk by the same name in the Tanjavur district. It is an ancient centre of culture and religion and is located on the banks of the Kaveri. There are a number of ancient temples in this town.

We have already dealt briefly with the temple of Mayuranathasvamin in our *Early Chola Temples* (p.197).

Another temple of importance to our study is the Panchanadisvarar temple. It is situated in the western suburb of Mayuram called Koranadu, and was built in the days of Kulottunga I and received considerable attention during the days of Kulottunga II. There are a number of inscriptions (ARE 374 to 385 of 1907) on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, many of which are dated in the reigns of kings who cannot be identified; but there are six which belong to the reign of Kulottunga III (one dated in his 19th year, three in his 25th year, one in his 33rd year and one whose date is lost). They relate to routine transactions and gifts but we incidentally learn from them that the deity was called Udaiyar Tiruvaiyaru udaiyar at Kulottungasolan kurralam in Tiruvalundur nadu, a subdivision of Jayangondasola valanadu. In three records found on the walls of the *mandapa*, there is a reference to the 21st year of Udaiyar Sungamtavirttarulina devar (Kulottunga I) and because of the high regnal years (exceeding 30 in two cases) of some of these records, they have to be attributed to the days of Kulottunga III or his successors.

We may hazard a guess that the temple was originally built during the days of Kulottunga I, received endowments from him

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

or during his time, that the *mandapa* in front on which these inscriptions are found was either added or reconstructed during the reign of Kulottunga III while the central shrine underwent renovation at some later time; we have no inscriptions from the walls of the central shrine.

KULIKKARAI

KALAHASTISVARAR TEMPLE 20

Kulikkarai is a small but prosperous village in the Nannilam taluk of the Tanjavur district. There is a local temple dedicated to Kalahastisvarar.

On the south wall of the main shrine of this temple there is an inscription belonging to the 28th year of the reign of a Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan (ARE 82 of 1911) which records that a gift was made of the brokerage fee *(taragu)* which had remained in arrears from the fifth year of the king, to the temple of Tiru-nangalisvaram Udaiyar, by the *nagarattar* of Ottakkudi *alias* Edirilisolapuram in Arumolideva valanadu. The identification of this king with Kulottunga III becomes almost definite if we note that this privilege of collecting the brokerage fee etc. and registering this concession on stone was recommended by a certain Isvara Siva. From inscriptions at Tribhuvanam, we are aware that this Isvara Siva was the preceptor of Kulottunga III (*vide* ARE of 1907–08, p. 80, para. 64; also see p. 137 of my *Kopperunjingan;* also SII,XII, No. 216 and ARE 105 of 1934–35).

An undated inscription found on the same wall states that this stone temple was built by Ingaikkudaiyar Karunakara devar *alias* Gurukularayar (ARE 83 of 1911).

From a third (the only other) record found in this temple, also on the same wall, we learn that a certain Sirukkavurudaiyan Tyagapperumal built the shrine of the Goddess in this temple and that the *nagarattar* of the same village made a gift of land for offerings to this deity (ARE 84 of 1911).

The main shrine must have come into existence in its present

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

form before the 28th regnal year of Kulottunga III (= A.D. 1206). We are unable to say when the Amman shrine was built, as the inscription last referred to throws no light on the milieu in which the builder, Tyagapperumal, lived.

SERANUR

21 VAMSODDHARAKANATHAR TEMPLE (KULOTTUNGA-SOLISVARAM)

Seranur is a very small village at a distance of 20.5 km. west of the district headquarters of Pudukkottai on the road to Manapparai and 1.5 km. south-east of Kudumiyamalai. It is approached by a rough country track.

It has a small and neglected temple of great historical importance known as the Vamsoddharakanathar temple. From the body of one of the inscriptions (P.S.I., 163) found on the south wall of the *ardhamandapa* of the temple, we learn that it was once known by the name of Kulottunga-solisvaram. This inscription, belonging to Kulottunga III, contains an almost complete narration of the conquests and other military achievements of this ruler. His first two wars with the Pandyas, and the wars with the Telugu Chodas of Kanchi and Nellore and the Kakatiyas of Urangai (Orugallu or modern Warangal) are described in this inscription. We further learn from this record that he attacked and conquered Karuvur, the capital of Kongu nadu and celebrated his *vijayabhishekam* there. He is then said to have proceeded to Madurai and on the way he won two battles against the Pandyas at Mattiyur and Kalikkottai and on reaching Madurai he performed *virabhishekam* in a grand style which is described in most eloquent terms in this inscription as well as in the one at Kudumiyamalai (which is almost a copy of the Seranur record). It is a unique record* of his military achievements and temple-building

*This record is dated in the 31st year of Tribhuvana Vira devar. See my article "The Later Cholas—their decline and fall" for a discussion of the three Pandyan wars, in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIII, No. 1; also see "Conquests of Kulottunga III,", *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. V, pt. III, 1931.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

activities—unique in its grandeur even among Chola inscriptions. This inscription records a royal gift of four *velis* of land as *devadana iraiyili* to this temple to be effective from the 31st regnal year. The last Madurai expedition and conquest must have therefore taken place between the 24th and the 30th regnal years of Kulottunga III after which he assumed the title of Tribhuvanavira deva. The earliest reference to this title is found in an inscription at Tiruvarur dated in his 24th year (ARE 554 of 1904) in which the Lord of the temple is fancied as describing the king as *nam tolan* (Our companion). The term Vamsoddharaka, by which the deity is known, would seem to refer to the king himself as the preserver and perpetuator of the Chola race.

The temple consists of the *garbhagriha* which is a square 1.73 metres to a side, the *antarala* which projects 90 cm. forwards towards the east followed by an *ardhamandapa* measuring 4.65 metres long and 3.66 metres broad. The superstructure over the *garbhagriha* is in brick and square in cross-section. It is an *eka-tala srivimana*, with *devakoshtas* (niches) on the walls of the *garbhagriha* and *grivakoshtas* in the superstructure. These niches are all empty; only two stray sculptures which must have belonged to these niches are found now in the premises of the temple, one of Durga and the other of Brahma, both of them headless and in a damaged condition. They have been kept in the loose propped against the eastern wall of the *ardhamandapa* right of the entrance. The Department of Archaeology of Tamil Nadu would do well to restore them to their original places or arrange to preserve them in the new Museum at Madurai.

The entire structure is a composite one with a common low *adhishthanam* and no *upapitham*. The *adhishthanam* consists of an *upanam*, three-faced *kumudam*, *kantham*, *vari* and *varimanam*. The walls of all the chambers are adorned by decorative pilasters. The walls of the *ardhamandapa* are covered by extensive inscriptions, one of which has already been referred to.

It would be useful to observe certain noticeable trends in the art and architecture of this era. At almost the same time, say between A.D. 1205 and 1210, both the modest, obscure and simple edifice of Kulottunga-solisvaram at Seranur, and the celebrated

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

massive and extensive temple of Tribhuvanesvaram at Tribhuvanam near Kumbakonam came up—the former in the battle-scarred region on the traditional Chola-Pandya borderland and the latter in the heart of the Chola desa. Both of them were built after Kulottunga III's third Madurai expedition and victory. The latter is a grand cathedral-type temple, built to celebrate his victory and commemorate his greatness, very much like the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur or Gangaikondasolisvaram of Rajendra I. In contrast, the Seranur temple is small, simple, modest and *eka-tala*. These two coeval temples illustrate two totally different styles of temple architecture of the era.

Another example of such co-eval contrasts can be seen between the simple single-tiered gateway *(gopuram)* in the Nilakanthesvarar temple at Laddigam (near Madanapalli) and the seven-storeyed, highly evolved *gopuram* of the famous Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, both the structures coming up at the same time, i.e., during Kulottunga I's rule.

In this connection it may be relevant to mention the case of the ribbed *kumudam (kumudam* is an essential moulding of an *adhishthanam)* found in the basements *(adhishthanam)* of the various constituents of the temple—the *garbhagriha*, the other halls and chambers, and the *gopuram*. Based on a theory formulated by him, viz. that the ribbed *kumudam* made its first appearance only in in the 16th century, J.C. Harle concluded that the *gopuram* of the Tribhuvanesvaram temple at Tribhuvanam, which has this ribbed *kumudam*, should be attributed to the 16th century. Then arose the anomaly of an inscription of Kulottunga III, which was simultaneously engraved on the *adhishthanam* of the *srivimana* and the *gopuram* referred to. The principal inscription of Kulottunga III, which is engraved on the basement of the *srivimana*, refers to his extensive conquests and benefactions including temple-building activities, and the identical inscription found on the basement of the *gopuram* is a contemporary copy of the original engraved on the *srivimana*. In fact, ribbed *kumudams* made their appearance centuries earlier. They are found in Chola temples even from the days of Aditya I (A.D. 870–907), as for instance at Takkolam (vide my *Early Chola Art, Pt. I*, pp. 212–15), and Parantaka I

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(A.D. 907–955), as at Tondaimanad (vide my *Early Chola Temples*, A.D. 907–985, pp. 101–4). The ribbed *kumudam* of the Amritaghatesvarar temple at Melakkadambur of the early 12th century is another noteworthy example (vide my *Four Chola Temples*, pp. 47–59 and also Plates 35–54).

Students engaged in defining canons of style should bear in mind these different aspects of co-eval art while generalising and defining features of style in art and architecture of a particular region or period. (Pl. 349).

TOLUDUR

MADHURANTAKA CHOLISVARAM (SIVA TEMPLE) 22

Toludur is a village in the Vriddhachalam taluk of the South Arcot district, situated about 1 km. west of the Madras-Tiruchy highway.

There are two temples in this village, one dedicated to Siva and the other to Vishnu. The Siva temple is called Madhurantaka Cholisvaram, and the Vishnu temple, situated on the western side of the village, that of Varadaraja Perumal. In this section, we shall deal only with the Siva temple.

We are not certain as to how the local Siva temple came to be named Madhurantaka Cholisvaram. We also do not know if there was an earlier structure at the site. In this temple, there are three inscriptions of the Later Chola kings. On the south wall, there is an inscription dated in the 32nd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Tribhuvanavira deva, 'who was pleased to take Madurai, the crowned head of the Pandya and Karuvur' (A.D. 1210). It records that a certain Sediarayan Vellalan, Chief of Sambai (Jambai), built the stone temple and the *mandapa* for the God Madhurantakesvaram-udaiya-nayanar at Perun-Toluvur in Ugalur kurram, a subdivision of Vadagarai Rajasinga valanadu. It further mentions that he also presented to the same temple the processional images of the God and the Goddess (ARE 460 of 1913).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

A local Chief named Tiru-nirru-Vira-magada-solan *alias* Tayilunalla Perumal would appear to have played an important part in the locality during the reigns of Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III; for, on a conch preserved in the Varadaraja Perumal temple in the village, there is an inscription to the effect that that was a gift to the temple of Madhurantaka Cholisvaram Udaiya Nayanar at Toluvur (ARE A92 of 1913). He was also responsible for the excavation of a tank called Tiru-nirru-Viramagadasolappereri (the big lake); a reference to this lake is made in an inscription of the ninth year (most probably of Rajaraja III) concerning an exchange of wet land in Toluvur granted to the temple of Madhurantaka Cholisvaram Udaiya Nayanar, in place of the one adjoining this tank at Chandrasekhara-nallur given by Vanakkovaraiyan (ARE 399 of 1913).

From these inscriptions, we learn that the Siva temple called that of Madhurantaka Cholisvaram Udaiya Nayanar was built of stone in the 32nd year of Tribhuvana Vira Devar (i.e., Kulottunga III, who assumed this title after his victory in the third Pandyan expedition) by one Sediyaraya Vellan, the Chief of Sambai (Jambai) and that it consisted of the main shrine of stone and the *mandapa*. The main shrine consists of the *srivimana* and the *ardhamandapa*. There is a later *mahamandapa*. The *srivimana* is *dvitala*. The *devakoshta* sculptures are Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga. There are sub-shrines for Ganapati, Subrahmanya, Gaja-Lakshmi (in the rear) and Chandesvarar.

There are bronzes of Somaskandar, Subrahmanyar, Astra devar, Dancing Sambandar and Nataraja. Bhairavar and Surya sculptures, of stone, are housed in the eastern side of the *mahamandapa*. There is a *Nandi* outside the *mahamandapa*.

There is a wall of enclosure round the temple. The only gateway of the temple is in the south. It has no *gopuram*.

The Amman is called Brihannayaki and is housed in a shrine of the same age, in the *mahamandapa*. This shrine faces south.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ACHCHAPURAM

TIRUP-PERUMANAM UDAIYAR TEMPLE 23
(TIRUK-KAMAK-KOTTAM UDAIYA NACHCHIYAR SHRINE)

Achchapuram, a village in the Tanjavur district, has an ancient temple dedicated to Perumanam Udaiyar, which had been in existence even prior to the days of Vikrama Chola, as we hear of a land purchase by the Assembly of Parakrama chaturvedimangalam for feeding the *mahesvaras* in a *matha* known as the Parasamaya-kolari *matha*, as early as in the third year of this ruler (ARE 534 of 1918).

We learn from an inscription in this temple dated in the 14th regnal year of Rajadhiraja II (*Kadal sulnda* introduction) that this village bore the name of Panchavan Madevi- *alias* Kulottungasola- chaturvedimangalam. The *sabha* of this village, by an executive order, reduced the rates of *varam* and *kadamai* on some lands and fixed the duties and privileges of certain classes of persons (ARE 538 of 1918). We learn of the existence in this temple of a shrine dedicated to Panpadaikka Aduvar, from a record of the 24th regnal year of Kulottunga III. This record refers to an order of one Pirudigangaraiyan of Purakkudi presenting to this shrine lands purchased from the inhabitants of Nallur *alias* Nigarilisolapuram. Presumably this shrine was added about this time (ARE 532 of 1918).

We are, however, concerned here with an inscription of the 32nd regnal year of the same ruler (who is referred to as 'Tribhuvanavira deva, who conquered Madurai, Ilam and Karuvur, took the crowned head of the Pandya, and celebrated the *virabhishekam* and the *vijayabhishekam*'), which mentions that a shrine was constructed in the temple of Tirupperumanam Udaiyar, for Tiruk-kamak-kottam Udaiya Nachchiyar, by one Chandrasekharan Panchanadivanan of Nerkunam (ARE 530 of 1918).

The Amman shrine thus came into existence around A.D. 1210.

There is a record in this temple dated in A.D. 1218 (equivalent to the second regnal year of Rajaraja III) that mentions a gift

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of land by the '*Grama Kariyam seykira Kuttapperumakkal*' of Panchavan Mahadevi- *alias* Kulottungasola- chaturvedimangalam for offerings to Aludaiya Pillaiyar (Sambandar) and Sokkiyar (Sundarar) and for feeding *apurvins* after the newly-introduced service called *ayirattennurruvan sandhi* in the Sri Kailasam Udaiyar temple in the same place (ARE 527 of 1918).

TIRUPPERUNDURAI

24 PRANESVARAR (MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE

Tirupperundurai is a village in the Kumbakonam taluk of Tanjavur district. The local temple dedicated to Pranesvarar was an Early Chola foundation. The earliest inscription found in this temple belongs to 'Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman' dated in his 22nd year; it is engraved on the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, being a copy of an earlier grant made before its reconstruction, and registers an agreement made by the *Sabha* of Tirup-perunturai and the temple servants for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahadevar in the village which was a '*devadana-brahmadeya* in Tirupperunaraiyur nadu', in return for the sheep received by them from a barber named Pirantakan Adittan (ARE 135 of 1931–32).

However, on the central shrine itself, there is an inscription of the days of Kulottunga III beginning with the introduction *puyal vayppa*, and is much damaged and incomplete. It seems to contain an inventory of the temple lands and ornaments. It further purports to contain a copy of an inscription engraved on stone when the original brick temple of Tirupperunturai Udaiyar was converted into a stone temple in the reign of 'Karikala Chola', on which occasion the inscriptions previously engraved on the door jambs and the eaves in stone *(kar-kavi)* were copied on the temple walls (ARE 134 of 1931–32).

During the Early Chola period, prior to the 22nd year of Parantaka I (Madurai-konda Parakesari), the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine was added. The central shrine itself was rebuilt in stone in the days of Karikala Aditya II and became old

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and dilapidated in the intervening two centuries, and in the reign of Kulottunga III was renovated; and at that stage, the old inscription was re-engraved on the wall of the central shrine and a complete inventory of the temple lands and ornaments of the deities of the temple was prepared and recorded on the wall. Thus the central shrine as seen today is a Later Chola structure while the *mandapa* in front of it belongs to the Early Chola period.

From a Rajaraja inscription of the 14th year, we get to know of the existence of processional images for the Goddess, Periya devar and Astradevar. It records that provision was made for offerings after their ceremonial bath in the (river) Arasilaru by a lady of Araisur in Arkattuk-kurram, a sub-division of Pandikulasani valanadu (ARE 137 of 1931–32).

KANCHIPURAM

ARULALA (VARADARAJA) PERUMAL TEMPLE 25
ANANTALVAR SHRINE

This shrine of Anantalvar is situated in the campus of the famous Varadaraja Perumal temple in Chinna Kanchipuram.

From a 35th year record of 'Tribhuvana-Chakravartin Tribhuvanavira deva who, having taken Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya, was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors' (*Saka* 1134 = A.D. 1212), we learn that Kuvalalapuram (Kolar) Paramesvara Gangakulotbhava Siraimittaperumal (?) Siya-ganga (of the Ganga dynasty), son of Cholendra Simha, built the Anantalvar shrine of stone (ARE 589 of 1919).

Thus this shrine was built by the 35th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1212–13).

NATTAMANGUDI

ADIMULA PERUMAL TEMPLE 26

Nattamangudi is a village near Alambakkam in the Lalgudy

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

taluk of the Tiruchy district. Nattamangudi and Alambakkam were once part of an ancient city dating back to Pallava days known as Nandipanma-mangalam. During the Early Chola period, it was called Madhurantaka-chaturvedimangalam and included in it were such hamlets as Tiruvisalur, Tirunarayananallur, etc.

There are a number of important temples in the neighbourhood—a Selliyamman temple, an Ayyanar temple, the ancient Vishnu temple now called Varadaraja Perumal temple and the Siva temple known as the Kailasanathar temple, all at Alambakkam.

On the base of the north, west and south walls of the central shrine in the Adimula Perumal temple in the village, there is a 38th year record of 'Tribhuvanachakravartin Tribhuvanavira deva who took Madurai, Karuvur, IIam and the crowned head of the Pandya and performed the anointment of heroes and victors', which states that, as the brick *vimana* above the *adhishthana* of the temple of 'Srinandai Emberuman' at Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam had become dilapidated, it was repaired and the original inscription of the 2nd year of Rajarajavarman incised on the *jagatippadai* was re-engraved, so far as it was decipherable. This latter inscription records the sale of some land to 'Sattan Madhavan *alias* Panchavan Brahmadarayan of Punavayil, the *adhikari* of Uttamasolamangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Panaiyur nadu, a subdivision of Kuladhipasikhamani valanadu' by a number of *brahmanas* belonging to the Assembly of Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Poygai nadu, a subdivision of Rajendrasimha valanadu, for being assigned to the temple of Tiruvisalur-Pallikonda-Alvar to provide for sacred bath, offerings etc. on *amavasya* days. Thus the present structure of the central shrine was built in stone in the last years of Kulottunga III (See my *Early Chola Temples*, p. 262).

There are four records of the days of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja, who should be Rajaraja III, found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine; they relate to his 26th, 27th and 28th years. One registers a gift of land in Mangudi *alias* Tyagasamudranallur by two *brahmanas* of Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam, to the temple of Srinandai-Adimutti Naya-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

nar. The next one records a sale of land by Nayaka devichchani, wife of Narayana Bhattan of Kottur, to the temple of Adimutti Nayanar at Srinandai-Madhurantaka-chaturvedimangalam. Of the remaining two, both dated in the 28th year, one registers a sale of land by two *brahmanas* to the temple and the other registers a gift of land by the Assembly of Uttamasolachaturvedimangalam, an *agrahara* in Poygai nadu, a subdivision of Vadagarai Rajaraja valanadu, for offerings to the god Srinandai-Adimutti-Nayanar at Tirunarayana-nallur, a hamlet of Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam (ARE 149, 146, 157 and 148 of 1928–29).

There are two inscriptions of the days of Vira Ramanatha dated in his 13th and 17th years; the former, on the outer eastern wall of the first *gopuram* records an order of the king, reducing to eight *kasus* per loom the *ayakkadamai* on the weavers living within a certain area in Tirumalavadi nadu, who were unable to pay the tax at the rate then prevailing; the other inscription registers a gift of land to the temple for the expenses of the morning services.

We may conclude on the basis of the epigraphical evidence that the temple was in existence in the days of Rajaraja I who should be the Rajarajavarman referred to in the original inscription on the *jagatippadai*, in view of the fact that it mentions Rajendrasimha valanadu as the district in which the temple was located; the village was named presumably after Parantaka I or Sundara Chola, both of whom bore the title of Madhurantaka. In the closing years of Kulottunga III (by A.D. 1214), the central shrine which was of brick was reconstructed of stone. The *mandapa* in front and the *gopuram* should also be taken as being part of the new construction, as we get only inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja III (of his 26th year, i.e., A.D. 1242 onwards) and Vira Ramanatha (13th year) on its walls.

Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam was originally a *brahmadeya* in Poygai nadu, a subdivision of Rajendrasimha valanadu. In the days of Rajaraja III, the location is given as Tirunarayana-nallur, a hamlet of Srinandai Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam, in Poygai nadu, a subdivision of Vadagarai Rajaraja valanadu. The change in the names of the administrative units is worth noting. Rajaraja I's inscription refers to the god as Tiruvisalur

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pallikonda alvar. There is a reference to the same deity in an inscription found on the north wall of the central shrine in the Kailasanathar temple at Alambakkam (ARE 718 of 1909). It belongs to the second year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Sri Virarajendradeva and records that the Assembly of Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam met in the temple of Tiruvisalur-Pallikondalvar of that village and made a gift of land to the temple of Tiruvalisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar at Alambakkam (in which are situated a Selliyaman temple, an Ayyanar temple, the Varadaraja Perumal temple and the Kailasanathar temple). Alambakkam is referred to as being located in Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Poygai nadu, a subdivision of Rajendrasimha valanadu; in fact, Alambakkam is close to Nattamangudi and we can identify Tiruvisalur-Pallikondalvar with Sri-Nandai-Emberuman (also see ARE 704 to 733 of 1909). Alambakkam was originally (Early Chola period) called Nandipanmamangalam; as for instance, the Varadaraja Perumal temple at Alambakkam is called that of Tiruvisalur Perumanadigal of Nandipanmamangalam in an undated inscription of an unidentified Rajakesarivarman. In the Middle Chola period it was renamed Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam. Evidently the renaming was done after either Parantaka I or Sundara Chola (Madhurantaka).

ALLUR

27 PANCHANADESVARAR TEMPLE DHARMASAMVARDHINI (DEVI) SHRINE

We have discussed in detail the Panchanadesvarar temple situated in Allur, 10 km. west of Tiruchy on the main road to Karur running south of the Kaveri, in my *Early Chola Temples*, A.D. 907–985 (pp. 11–32). We are here concerned only with the Amman shrine in the campus of the temple. Today, the deity goes under the name of Dharmasamvardhini.

On the west side of the base of the Amman shrine, which is located in the second *prakara* of this temple, there is an inscription,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

attributable to the days of Kulottunga III, which reads as follows:

"*Svasti sri: Tribhuvanachakravartigal Maduraiyum Ilamum Pandiyan mudittalaiyum kondu virabhishekamum visaiyabhi . . . . . yandu 38-vadu . . . . Tenkarai Irasagambhira valanattu Uraiyur kurrattu Tiruvadakudi Udaiyar Devargal Sundaranayanar . . . . . kaikolaril Avattukkattaan . . . . . ndampirakaarattu elundarulivitta tirukkamak-kottam udaiya Nachchiyarkku tiruvamuduppadik kudalaa . . . . devadanam tirunamattuk kaniyai nilattup punpayir seya . . .* (land is described) *. . . . kuliyaal pattu ma nilam ivan taanum tanaturavumuraiyarum tangal somittu aalkooli yatti pasaan mudal tiruttal nilam tirut . . . . . kadamai ittampirattiyar si-bhandaaratti nindrum kaasu purappattu irukkakkadavadaagavum. . . . . kku ittampirattiyar tirukka . . . . . .* (ARE 372 of 1903; SII, VIII, No. 685*)*.

From this record we learn that in the 38th regnal year of Kulottunga III the shrine for Amman *(tiruk-kamak-kottattu-nachchiyar)* was set up in the second *prakara* of the local Siva temple dedicated to Panchanadisvarar by Tiruvadagudi Udaiyar Devargal Sundaranayanar (evidently) of Tiruvadagudi in Uraiyur kurram, in Tenkarai Rajagambhira valanadu. The inscription mentions certain gifts of land made by the builder of the shrine in favour of the Consort of the Lord, for food offerings to the deity *(amudupadi)*. The district south of the Kaveri lying between Tiruchy and Karur went under the name of Tenkarai Rajagambhira valanadu, after a surname of Rajaraja II.

Thus the Amman shrine is a foundation of the days of Kulottunga III datable in his thirty-eighth year (corresponding to A.D. 1216). (Pls. 350–1).

PALANGUR

KAILASANATHAR TEMPLE 28

In the village of Palangur, in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district, there is a temple dedicated to Kailasanathar.

There is a 38th year inscription on the south wall of this temple relating to Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Choladeva 'who

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya'. This record states that one Tulaa Udaiyan Nambiyalvan Vidivitankan constructed a portion of the walls of the temple of Kailasamudaiya Nayanar, built by the Periya-nattar at Palangur in Kurukkai kurram, a subdivision of Miladu *alias* Jananatha valanadu and also endowed to the temple half of the village of Kadiyaru (ARE 210 & 211 of 1936–37).

Thus this temple could be assigned to the period of Kulottunga III.

There is a 33rd year record of a Kulottunga Choladeva, which is found on the south side of the rock adjacent to the Aiyanarkoyil *kulam* (tank); this records the construction of a shrine for Pillaiyar and a gift of 50 *kuli* of land for worship therein by Olvenran, son of Tyagamugil Udaiyan of Tengedilanallur (ARE 212 of 1936–37). We do not know to which Kulottunga this record refers.

TIRUVARANGULAM

29 HARATIRTHESVARAR TEMPLE, BRIHADAMBAL (AMMAN) SHRINE

Tiruvarangulam is a small village situated about 9 km. south of Pudukkottai town close to the road leading to Arantangi. There is a big temple here dedicated to Haratirthesvarar; it is rich in historical inscriptional material covering the Chola and Later Pandya periods and has many post-Pandyan records also. The Amman in this temple is Brihadambal, for whom a separate shrine was built during the Later Chola period.

From an inscription found on the east wall of the Brihadambal shrine, relating to the 39th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva 'who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pandya', we come to know that this shrine was built by Kannudaiya Perumal *alias* Piratti Alvar, the queen of Kodungunram Udaiyar *alias* Nishadaraja and daughter of Konandar *alias* Nishadaraya of Ponnamarapadi in Puramalai nadu, a subdivision of Rajendrasola valanadu in Rajaraja Pandi nadu (= A.D. 1217, ARE 320 of 1914). With the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

defeat of Kulottunga III at the hands of Maravarman Sundara Pandya I in the year A.D. 1216, this region passed over to the control of the Pandyas, and from a record of the 15th year of this (Pandyan) ruler (A.D. 1231), we learn of gifts being given for offerings to the image of Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Nampirattiyar, as the Amman is called in the inscriptions, by Maravarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara Pandya Deva who 'having been pleased to take the Chola country, was pleased to perform the *virabhishekam* at Mudikondasolapuram' (ARE 322 of 1914).

From certain inscriptions found on the second *gopuram* (ARE 310 to 316 of 1914), we learn that this *gopuram* and the wall of enclosure (of stone) were built at the time of a Maravarman Sundara Pandya by one Gangeyarayar, a native of Perunjunaiyur. The *gopuram* was named after this Gangeyarayar. Who this Maravarman Sundara Pandya is, whether he is the one who took the Chola crown, it is difficult to say. We are consequently unable to fix the date of the *gopuram* and the *madil*.

From some Vijayanagara records found on the walls of this shrine, we learn i) that in *Saka* 1438, the proceeds of certain taxes were gifted for celebrating the car festival of Arangulanathar by Kamalalayappadi Monnaiappan of Tiruvarur for the merit of Vira Narasinga Nayakar; ii) that in *Saka* 1452, the residents of Valla nadu in Rajaraja valanadu gave certain lands as *kaniatchi* to Sokkanar Pallavarayar, a native of Padaiparru, in Kana nadu *alias* Virudarajabhayankara valanadu; and iii) that in *Saka* 1453, land was gifted to a *matha* situated in the market street called Vallanadan Perunderu in the village of Arangulanathartiruppadaividu (ARE 319, 318 and 317 of 1915). More than three hundred years later, in *Saka* 1789 (i.e., A.D. 1867), a local Chieftain Ravachanda renovated the Amman shrine and performed the *kumbhabhishekam* ceremony of the God Haratirthesvarar and the Goddess Brihadambal (ARE 325 of 1914 in Sanskrit and Telugu engraved on the left side of the first *gopuram*).

Thus, the Amman shrine, dedicated to Brihadambal, called in inscriptions merely Tirukkamak-kottam-udaiya Nachchiyar, was built by the Nishadaraja Chiefs who ruled this region with their headquarters at Ponnamaravati. We have referred to these

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Chiefs when dealing with the temple of Cholisvaram at Ponnamaravati.

SALUKKI

30 VISHNU TEMPLE

In the village of Salukki in the North Arcot district, there is an ancient Vishnu temple. From an inscription found in this temple, we get to know that it was named originally as Sola-kerala vinnagaram. This title (Sola-keralan) was assumed by Kulottunga III after his conquest of Karuvur. In the fourth year of Rajaraja III, one Puttulan Kaman Vaisravanan completed the temple by building the *mandapa*, the *sopana* and the *tiru-vasal* (gateway) in stone and covered them with plates (ARE 477 of 1920).

This temple belongs to the reign of Kulottunga III and must have come into being after his Karuvur conquest. It is an otherwise non-dated temple.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Appendix

1. 2nd year: Tiruvakkarai, South Arcot dist. Building of a hundred-pillared *mandapa* (wrongly referred to as thousand-pillared) in the Chandramoulisvarar temple, called Gandar Suriyan, by Ammaiyappan Gandar Suriyan Sambhuvarayan *alias* Pandiya-nadu-kondan (ARE 190 of 1904).
2. 3rd year: Tirumananjeri, Tanjavur dist. Arasukkadiyan Tirunilakandan Seraman-tolan of Kiranur constructed of stone the temple of Tiru-Edirkolpadi udaiyar in Kurukkai nadu; also a gift for a night-lamp (ARE 27 of 1914).
3. 3rd year: Tiruvennai nallur, South Arcot dist. The *gopura-vasal* of the temple of Atkonda-devar was erected by Kudal Mohan Alappirandan *alias* Kadavarayan (ARE 477 of 1921); the king's name (of Vira Rajendra) is cited in an inscription (ARE 479 of 1921).
4. 3rd year: Velur, South Arcot dist. A Vishnu temple of Kulottungasola Vinnagar at Velur is referred to; at the instance of Villavaraiyar, a gift of lands from three villages was clubbed together and named Kulottungasola nallur, made tax-free *devadana* and gifted to the temple (ARE 114 of 1919).
5. 5th year: Tadavur, Salem dist. Gift of land by Kulottungasola Vanakovaraiyar for worship, repairs and festivals in the temple of Tiru Ekambam Udayar at Tadavur in Mel Gangapadi nadu in Arrur-kurram, part of Maladu *alias* Jananatha valanadu (ARE 461 of 1913).
6. 5th year: (3) 50th day, Chidambaram, South Arcot dist. Gift of land to (the icon) Ammangai Alvar *alias* Periya Nachchiyar, daughter of Kulottunga deva (I) 'who abolished the tolls' (ARE 121 of 1888; SII, IV, 226).
7. 6th year: Sembanarkoyil, Tanjavur dist. At the request of Chakravartin Akkur nadalvan, the *devaradiyar* together with the *niyayattar* of the temple of Tiruch chempon palli udaiyar gave an undertaking that they would continue to celebrate festivals in honour of Ter-uruvelar Udaiyar whose image with those of Nayanmars had been removed to the Tiruvidaikkali Pillaiyar temple owing to bad times (in the 11th year of Rajadhiraja II (?)) and that they would reconstruct the gateway called Tappada Vediyan *tiruvasal*, the north wall and the car-stand *(ter erru kudam)* destroyed by cyclone (ARE 171 of 1925).
8. 6th year: Kugaiyur, South Arcot dist. Kugudaiyan Iranan Ponparappinan, who had the *kani* of Kugaiyur, set up the image of Pon-parappina Isvaram udaiyar and constructed the stone temple of Sri Kailasam Udaiyar, the *ardhamandapa*, the *snapana mandapa*, the *nritta mandapa* and two *prakaras* with *gopurams*. He made a gift of land for offerings and constructed a tank with provision for its upkeep (ARE 93 of 1918).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

9. 8th year: Tiruppanandal, Tanjavur dist. Gift of land for offerings to the Nayanmar images set up in the temple by a certain Kungiliyak-kalaya nayanar (ARE 48 of 1914).

10. 10th year: (123rd day) Tiruch-chengattan-gudi, Tanjavur dist. Gift of land to Rajendrasola Achariyan, perhaps the temple architect (ARE 70 of 1913).

11. 11th year: Arakandanallur, South Arcot dist. Gift of three lamps to the Lord, and of land to the image of the Goddess set up by the donor, Kiliyur Malaiyaman Attimallan *alias* Edirilisola Vanakula rayan (ARE 390 of 1902; SII, VII, 1022).

12. 11th year: Tiruvorriyur, Chingleput dist. Gifts of (a) twelve buffaloes for a lamp and a lamp-stand shaped like the donor Tiruvarangam udaiyan *alias* Dharma-paripalan Rajadhiraja Malaiyaraiyan, and (b) twelve buffaloes for a lamp, a similar lamp-stand and a silver bugle *(kalam)* to the Goddess, Aludaiya Nachchiyar. The lampstands were named *Dhanma-paripala's* after the donor (ARE 114 of 1912).

13. 11th year: Tittagudi, South Arcot dist. Gift of *kadip-pattam* to the image of Visvesvarar by the *mandalika*, Rajaraja Vangara Muttaraiyan (ARE 18 of 1903; SII, VIII, 288).

14. 12th year: Tiruvadatturai, South Arcot dist. List, with weights, of ornaments worn by the Lord, Tiruvaratturai udaiya nayanar, as examined by Rajaraja Vangara Muttaraiyan, the trustees of the temple and the *sabha* of the village (ARE 210 of 1929).

15. 12th year: (125th day) Chidambaram, South Arcot dist. Sendamangalam udaiyan Araiyan Edirilisolan *alias* Irungolan founded the temple called Uttama Solisvaram at Parakesari nallur, a hamlet of Perum-parrappuliyur (Chidambaram). Gift of land to this temple and its servants. Inscribed on the Vikrama solan *tirumaligai* of the Nataraja temple (ARE 309 of 1913).

16. 13th year: Sulamangam, Tanjavur dist. The *Perunguri mahasabhai* of the village made arrangements to build a second *prakara* to the temple, to make a flowergarden and a street around it (ARE 563 of 1921).

17. 15th year: Tirup palaivanam, Chingleput dist. Assignment of funds for the construction of the stone temple of Tirup palaivanam udaiyar undertaken by Podi vadugan *alias* Jayangondasola Kidarattaraiyan (ARE 313 of 1929).

18. 16th year: Maruttuvakkudi, Tanjavur dist. Gift to two Jain temples, Chedikula manikkap perumpalli and Gangakula sundarap perumpalli at Sivapadasekhara-nallur (ARE 392 of 1907).

19. 16th year: Tirukkadaiyur, Tanjavur dist. Gift of land by the *sabha* for *tiruppadi-marru* to the image of Rajaraja Isvarar set up by Araiyan Rajaraja-devan *alias* Vanadaraiyan for the merit of the king (ARE 42 of 1906).

20. 17th year: Tiruvennainallur, South Arcot dist. Gift of land by Kudal Elisai-mohan Manavalap-perumal Val-nilaikandan Kadavarayan (father of Pallava Kopperunjingan and builder of the capital, fort and temple at Sendamangalam) (ARE 313 of 1902; SII, VII, 942).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

21. 18th year: Udaiyarkoyil, Tanjavur dist. Land-gift to a person who successfully substituted a stone *sri-pitha* in the temple of Tirukkala udaiya Perumal in place of the existing brickwork. (ARE 408 of 1902; SII, VII, 1041).

22. 19th year: Papanasam, Tanjavur dist. Gift of land at Kundavai nallur to the temple of Visvesvarar built at Nallur by Ara-amudan Madevan *alias* Vikramasola Brahma marayan (ARE 467 of 1922).

23. 20th year: Kilur, South Arcot dist. Construction of a *mandapa* by a *sandhi-vigrahi* of Ponparappinan Magadaip Perumal (ARE 291 of 1902; SII, VII, 920.

24. 20th year: (350th day) Talainayar, Tanjavur dist. The wife of Solakularan Mangaladhirayar consecrated the temple of Kurramporuttisvarar-standing on the rock and gave money for cloth for the Lord Parvati-bhagar. (ARE 140 of 1927).

25. 21st year: (270th day) Achyutamangalam, Tanjavur dist. Formation of a new, widened street round the Somanathadeva temple (ARE 407 and 408 of 1925).

26. 22nd year: Kambayanallur, Salem dist. Vidukadalagiya Perumal, son of Rajaraja Adigan, Lord of Tagadai, built a stone temple at Sirukkottai (Nagaiyampalli) on the banks of the Pennar and called it after his own name (see the Section on Laddigam as well as the book of that name by B. Venkataraman, Orient Longman) (ARE 8 of 1920; E.I., VI, pp. 332–334).

27. 22nd year: Tiruch-chengattangudi, Tanjavur dist. Construction of the third *prakara* of the temple and a street around it (ARE 72 of 1913).

28. 24th year: Achehapuram, Tanjavur dist. Gift of lands purchased from the inhabitants of Nallur *alias* Nigarilisola-puram to the shrine of Pan-padaikka Aduvar in the temple of Tirup-peru-manam udaiyar by Pirudi Gangaraiyan of Purakkudi (ARE 532 of 1918).

29. 24th year: Tiruvarur, Tanjavur dist. Redistribution of the temple lands 'by the order of the Lord Himself' in the 24th year of "*Nam Tolan* Tribhuvana Viradeva"—God is believed to have addressed the king thus, the earliest reference to this title (ARE 554 of 1904).

30. 26th year: Tiruvorriyur, Chingleput dist. Gift of a village, Kulappakkam, and gold ornaments including *tiruvadu tandu* to God Vyakaranadana Perumal (Siva) by the king, referred to as 'Ulaguyya vanda nayanar' (ARE 120 of 1912).

31. 27th year: Brahmadesam, North Arcot dist. Adavallan Gangaikondan *alias* Irungolan gave the village of Irungola-villagam for *gopuram*, offerings and lamp (ARE 266 of 1915).

32. 27th year: Tadavur, Salem dist. Construction of the temple of Tiruvekambam udaiyar, of stone, using the gold already possessed by the temple and with gifts from the king and the Ilaiya Nambirattiyar (Junior Queen) (ARE 458 of 1913).

33. 28th year: Perunjeri, Tanjavur dist. Construction in the fifth year of Periyadevar Rajadhirajadevar of the stone-temple of Tiruvagisvaram Udaiyar at Melai-vagai by a merchant of the village, and of the *mandapa*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and the *bali-pitha* by his son, are referred to. and endowments are made (ARE 37 of 1925).

34. 28th year: Vriddhachalam, South Arcot dist. Gift of a hundred cows for milk by Kudal Elisai-mohan Manavalapperumal *alias* Val-nilai-kanda Perumal *alias* Rajaraja Kadavarayan (father of Kopperunjinga—also vide No. 20 above) (ARE 133 of 1900; SII, VII, 146).

35. 29th year: Tirukkalar, Tanjavur dist. Detailed list of temple-jewels by weight and fineness. (SII, III, 211).

36. 29th year: Tirup-pachchur, Chingleput dist. The merchant-communities of ten *nagarams* acquired the village of Kaivandur in Ikkattuk kottam and gifted it as tax-free *devadana* to the temple of Tiruppasur for constructing the wall of enclosure called Danmada-valavan-*tirumadil* (ARE 120 of 1930)

37. 30th year: Kalahasti, Chittoor dist., A.P. Construction of a temple-car for Tirukkalatti Udaiyar. Its purchase price was paid by Rajamalla devar *alias* Yadavaraya of Karruppundi to the Chittira melip periya nattavar. (ARE 122 of 1922).

38. 32nd year: Arakandanallur, South Arcot dist. Construction of stone of the temple of Opporuvarum illada nayanar at Tiru-araiyani-nallur by a native of the Pandya country (ARE 387 of 1902; SII VII, 1019).

39. 32nd year: Toludur, South Arcot dist. A certain Sediraya Vellan, Chief of Sembai (Jambu), built the stone temple and the *mandapa* of Madhurantaka Isvaram udaiya nayanar at Perum Toluvur in Ulagur Kurram. He presented the processional images of the God and Goddess also (ARE 400 of 1913).

40. 32nd year: Achchapuram, Tanjavur dist. Gift of land to the shrine of Tiruk-kamak-kottam udaiya Nachchiyar (Amman) constructed in the temple of Tirupperumanam udaiyar by Chandrasekharan Pancha-nadivanan of Nerkunam (ARE 530 of 1918).

41. 34th year: Kudumiyamalai, Pudukkottai dist. Recapitulates the king's third conquest of Madurai, mentions the assumption of the title of 'Tribhu-vana viradeva' and temple-building activities (See '*Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*', No. 111; my article in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. No. V, Pt. III, 1931

42. 35th year: (Saka 1134, A.D. 1212–13) Kanchipuram, Chingleput dist. Siya-ganga built the Anantalvar shrine of stone in the Varadaraja Perumal temple (ARE 589 of 1919).

43. 35th year: Nangupatti, Pudukkottai dist. Gift of a village to the local temple by Urudaip Perumal *alias* Edirilisola Kadambarayan for the merit of the king during his stay at Madhurai; mentions the highway 'Tribhu-vana-viran *peruvali*'.

44. 35th year: Tiruvannamalai, North Arcot dist. Gilding of the central shrine and gift of three villages on the north bank of the Pennai by Rajaraja devan Pon-parappinan Vanakovaraiyan of Aragalur (ARE 557 of 1902; SII, VIII, 148).

45. 35th year: Tiruvennai nallur, South Arcot dist. Gift of lands in Senji (hamlet

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to the north of Rajaraja chaturvedimangalam) by Mogāndār *alias* Solinga devan and Alagiya-siyan Sambuvarayan to Goddess Periya Pirattiyar set up by the mother (name lost) of Alagiya Pallavan Kopperunjinga deva in the temple of Vaikunthattu Emperuman (ARE 487 of 1921): a copy was made when the *srivimana* was pulled down (see ARE 486 of 1921 of the 11th year of Kopperunjinga): the king got re-engraved an older inscription of the 12th year of Rajarajadeva II.

46. 35th year: Tiruvorriyur, Chingleput dist. Gift of land to the temple for maintaining a *Vyakarana* school and for the worship of 'Vyakarana-danap-perumal' referring to the legend of Siva's revelation of the *Sutras* to Panini) (ARE 202 of 1912).

47. 36th year: Reddipalem, Nellore dist., A.P. *Mahamandalika* Rajarajapettai Siddharasa endowed a lamp in the shrine of Pandurangam udaiyar for the merit of his elder sister, Bachchala devi, the *devi* of Madhurantaka Pottappich-chola Manuma-siddharasa (Nellore Inscriptions, G.86).

48. 36th year: Yerraguntapalem, Chikkevolu, Nellore dist., A.P. One of the followers of Tirukkalatti deva (son of Manumasiddharasa) gave on behalf of his Lord the village of Takkulam to Kesava Perumal set up in the village (N.I., R.8).

49. 37th year: Tiruppulivanam, Chingleput dist. An understanding of the *sabha* of Uttaramerur to conduct certain festivals as of old and to light eight lamps as per old endowments—four of the age of Aparajita, one of that of Kannaradeva, two of that of Maduraikonda Parakesari and one of the 14th year of 'Tribhuvana viradeva' himself (ARE 396 of 1923; ARE 1924, II, 22).

50. 38th year: Uttaramerur, Chingleput dist. Sundara-varada Perumal temple (Rajendrasola Vinnagar). Construction of the outer *prakara* wall, the *abhisheka mandapa*, and other adjuncts made by a lady-servant of the temple *(devaradiyal)* Ayirattiru-nurruva Manikkam; she and her posterity were to be given a daily gift of rice food-offerings *(prasadams)* (ARE 172 of 1923).

51. 38th year: (239th day) Tiruvorriyur, Chingleput dist. Gift of Kulattur *alias* Kulottungasolan Kavanur by Durgaiyandi nayakan (Agent of Siddharasan) for the maintenance of the 'Vyakarana-dana vyakhyana *mandapa*' built by him in the temple of Tiruvorriyur (ARE 201 of 1912).

52. 39th year: Tiruvarangulam, Pudukkottai dist. Building of the Brahadambal (Amman) shrine by Kannudaiya Perumal *alias* Piratti Alvar, queen of Kodungunram udaiyar *alias* Nishadarajan and daughter of Keralandan *alias* Nishadharajan of Pon-Amaravati. (ARE 320 of 1914; Pd. 174).

53. 39th year: Tirukkachur, Chingleput dist. Appar image set up (ARE 316 of 1909).

54. 39th year: Tribhuvanam, Tanjavur dist. The building activities of the king

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

described, title of 'Vira Rajendra deva' mentioned (ARE 190–192 of 1902).

55. 5th year: Valuvur, Tanjavur dist. Construction in the 5th year of Vira Rajendra deva of the shrine of the goddess by Ekavachakan Ulagukanvidutta Perumal *alias* Vanakovarayar, Chief of Tunda nadu (ARE 429 of 1912).

56. 5th & 7th years: Achyutamangalam, Tanjavur dist.
a) *Saka* 1104 (= A.D. 1182): Consecration of Somanatha by Srikantha Sambhu, brother of Gosvami Misra of the Radha country (ARE 402 of 1925);
b) 7th year, 41st day: Sons of Svamidevar mentioned (ARE 403 of 1925);
c) 5th year, 376th day: gift of land in Sivapadasekhara mangalam as *iraiyili devadana* for opening a *tirumadai-vilagam*, a tank and a flower-garden to the Somanatha temple by Svamidevar (ARE 393 of 1925).

57. 5th & 7th years: Ennayiram, South Arcot dist. A *mandapa* in front of the main shrine by Ammaiyappan Pandinadu-kondan Kandara Suriyanar *alias* Rajaraja Sambhuvarayar (also builder of the hundred-pillared *mandapa* at Tiruvakkarai) (ARE 345 of 1917).

58. 11th year: Kalahasti, Chittoor dist., A.P. Building of the temple of Tiru-manikkengai-udaiya nayanar, *mandapa* and flight of steps (ARE 197 of 1903; SII, VIII, 496).

59. 14th year: Agastyakonda, North Arcot dist. The queen of Uttamasola Gangan *alias* Selva Gangan set up and consecrated an image of Appar (ARE 559 of 1906).

60. Undated: Kanjanur, Tanjavur dist. Fragments of inscriptions refer to (1) Avimuktisvaram udaiyar and (2) the construction of a stone temple (ARE 64 of 1931).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

13

Rajaraja III

(A.D. 1216 to 1246)

Rajaraja III, the son and successor of Kulottunga III, had a long and unhappy rule. Ascending the throne in A.D. 1216 under such dark forebodings on the future of the empire, he was to drift through life like a hapless leaf in a storm. Indignities such as the Cholas as a dynasty had never suffered before were heaped upon him concentratedly during his reign. The empire was disintegrating before his eyes, and he looked on in utter helplessness; the roles were changed between the Cholas and the Pandyas; the Cholas who had gone to the rescue of other kings and kingdoms now sought succour from their western counterparts—the Hoysalas. Marital involvement with, and consequent sympathy from, the Hoysalas helped Rajaraja III to stem the tide of events that were crowding over one another to drive the Cholas to their doom. After thirty years of ignominious rule, the worst ever in Chola history, he stepped down in A.D. 1246 in favour of Rajendra III, his successor; but it seems probable that he lived on for another decade and more, his latest records dating to as late as A.D. 1260. His inscriptions are found in the districts of Tanjavur, South Arcot, North Arcot, Chingleput, Chittoor, Tiruchy, and to some extent in Salem, Cuddapah and Nellore. The Pandyan kingdom was no longer part of the Chola empire, nor for that matter Vengi. The Kakatiyas of Warangal were at the peak of their glory and their great ruler Ganapati (A.D. 1199–1262) dominated the Krishna-Godavari delta, which became an integral part of the Kakatiya kingdom. The Telugu-Chodas, fortunately friendly

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and loyal to Rajaraja III and the Cholas generally, functioned as a buffer, allowing the Chola empire to retain its boundaries without any great change since the closing days of Kulottunga III.

After the retaliatory celebration in A.D. 1218 of *Virabhishekam* and *Vijayabhishekam* by Maravarman Sundara Pandya I at the Chola capital of Mudikondasolapuram (which as mentioned earlier had become the political and cultural fulcrum of the Chola kingdom in spite of Gangaikondasolapuram continuing as the formal Chola capital) imitative in details of the same celebrations performed in Madurai (in about A.D. 1205) by Kulottunga III, Sundara Pandya gave back the Chola crown and the title of *Cholapati* to Rajaraja III. These celebrations in the *Abhisheka mandapa* at Ayirattali might have formally rung the curtain on the Chola kingdom, but for his act of generosity (or was it by expediency or compulsion not quite apparent to us?) in restoring the kingdom to Rajaraja III. Maravarman Sundara Pandya came to be known by the *birudas* '*Sonadu-konda-Sundara Pandyan*' ('he who took the Cho (Chola) nadu') and also '*So-nadu-valangiya Sundara-Pandyan*' ('he who gave back the Chola kingdom'). Ballala II (A.D. 1173–1220), who was ruling the Hoysala kingdom during these eventful years, had among his queens a Chola Mahadevi, obviously a Chola princess, and hence this marital tie should have brought Ballala rushing to the aid of the Chola in his hour of distress, and, according to one of his inscriptions, his son Vira Narasimha marched to Srirangam in A.D. 1217 at the head of a big army and demonstrated his intentions to stand by his maternal uncle. Ballala came to be called '*Chola Rajya Pratishthacharya*' (the 'preserver of the Chola kingdom') and '*Pandyagajakesari*' (the 'Lion to the Pandyan elephant'). The son Vira Narasimha shared the credit for stemming Pandyan inroads into Chola territory by assuming the titles of '*Chola-kula-rakshaka*' and '*Mahatoorvipala Nirmulakah*'.

We saw elsewhere that in the Nadu nadu region covered by the North Arcot, Salem and portions of the South Arcot districts, a line of local Chiefs claiming Pallava descent and calling themselves Kadavarayars was emerging into prominence in the reigns of Rajaraja II, Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III. They ruled from Kudal, and under Manavalapperumal moved into Senda-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mangalam, a new fortified city, which they raised as their capital. Their meteoric rise and the brilliant military operations of Manavala's son Kopperunjinga, a contemporary of Rajaraja III and Rajendra III, further shook the Chola kingdom to its very foundations. Manavala, in spite of his growing might and the waning Chola authority, continued to maintain his feudal relationship to the Chola emperor, but his son, the more ambitious and brilliant warrior, statesman and strategist, gradually asserted his independence and authority. Seeing the growing might of the Kadava (Pallava) prince Kopperunjinga, Hoysala Vira Narasimha would appear to have realised early in the reign of Rajaraja III that the Kadava from Sendamangalam was going to be a thorn in the Chola side, and even in the second regnal year of Rajaraja III had made successful efforts to contain the Kadava's growing power and authority. In an inscription dated in A.D. 1218–19, Vira Narasimha calls himself *Kanchi-Kanchana Kadava-kulantaka* and *Kadavaraya disapatta*. Kanchipuram was perhaps under Hoysala control by about this period. Hoysala inroads into the Pallava domain would appear to have become a matter of frequent occurrence after Kanchi came under their control; sometime after Kanchi was occupied, Tiruvadatturai, a village in the Vriddhachalam taluk, was attacked and sacked and terror struck among the people of this area. Perhaps this was part of the campaign to contain the Kadava chief Kopperunjinga. Affairs nearer the Chola capital were also not auguring well for the future of the Chola dynasty. In the fifth year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1221–22), there were disturbances even in the heartland of the kingdom, viz., the Tanjavur region. These are described as *duritangal* (troubles) and *kshobham* (agitation). They were, perhaps, indicative of the general unrest in the kingdom. Even as early as the seventh regnal year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1222–23), Kopperunjinga waged war on the Telugu Choda, Viranarasimha Yadavaraya, an ally of Rajaraja III, and worsted him in the battle of Uratti.

In spite of all these disturbing signs of impending disintegration of the empire, Rajaraja III appears to have ventured to pick up a quarrel with Maravarman Sundara Pandya by refusing to pay him the tribute agreed to at Ponnamaravati. "The Chola no

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

longer considered it proper course to owe allegiance to the ruler who had bestowed the crown on him on a former occasion ..... and declined to do the usual honour to the commands (of the Pandya), refused to pay the usual tribute, but instead despatched a large army and an advance guard.":

Munnam namakku mudi valangum sevadik-kil
innam vali paduvam ennadu ..... irai marutta
sennividu
tusiyum peraniyum .....

(Maravarman Sundara Pandya's 12th year (A.D. 1228); Pudukkottai Inscriptions, No. 277). This foolish venture ended in disaster. The army was met by the Pandyan king and thrown back with severe casualties, and Maravarman pressed home the victory by marching to the heart of the Chola country, and triumphantly entered the Chola capital of Mudikondasolapuram. The defeat was total and the Chola position became desperate. The chief queen and the numerous women in the royal harem were made to carry the auspicious water-pot and the *ashta-mangalas* before the Pandyan ruler to 'welcome' him to the Chola capital where he performed a grand *Vijayabhishekam.*

"..... *Valavan mudal devi enru*
per perra vanji mudataya pey valayar
mangalanga lettum manikkait talattendit ....
mudikondasolapura mandapattup pukku-t ....
vijayabhishekam panni arul seydu ....."

In utter disarray, Rajaraja abandoned the capital and sought to join the Kuntala (Hoysala) ruler who was his ally, but, on the way, the Kadava Chief Kopperunjinga, finding this the most propitious moment to assert his independence, intercepted the Chola king and his followers at Tellaru and routed them in battle (A.D. 1231); the Chola king, his Ministers and Queens and the entire entourage were taken prisoner and kept in confinement in his capital city of 'Jayantangumangalam' (Sendamangalam). The Vayalur inscription reads:

Svasti Sri: Sakalabhuvanachakravartigal
Sri Kopperunjingan Solanai Tallarril (Tellarril) venru sakala parichchinnamum kondu, Solanai siraiyilittu Sonadu konda alagiya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Siyan enru . . .

Hoysala Vira Narasimha, distressed by the miserable fate that had befallen his relative, the Chola king, left his capital Dorasamudra vowing that he would not allow his *kalam* (trumpet) to be blown until after he had reestablished his name as the defender of the Chola monarchy (*'Chola mandala-pratishthacharya'*). On the way, he routed the king of Magara (parts of Salem and South Arcot districts), who was evidently an ally of the Pandya and the Kadava, and encamped at Pachchur, three kilometres north of Srirangam, across the Kollidam. From there he sent an expeditionary force under *dandanayakas* Appanna and Samudra Gopayya to invade the Kadava territory. They sacked Elleri and Kalliyur-mulai and in rapid marches demonstrated the wrath of the Hoysala, covering Toludagaiyur (held by Solakon, a Chief under Kopperunjinga), worshipped the Lord of Tillai and devastated Tondamanallur, Tiruvadi and Tiruvakkarai, all south of the river Varanavasi (the Gadilam) and east of Sendamangalam and were about to lay siege to the Pallava capital of Sendamangalam. Kopperunjinga sensed danger to his very existence and discreetly released the Chola king and his retinue after negotiating truce with Narasimha. Very interesting (and a wealth of) material on these dramatic events is found in the *Gadyakarnamrita*, the 16th year inscription of Rajaraja III from Tiruvahindrapuram (ARE 142 of 1902), the Vayalur inscription and many other sources. Perhaps the release of the Chola king was brought about at Tiruvahindrapuram (A.D. 1231). But the Kadava was only temporarily subdued; records go to show that the Hoysala king was still campaigning against him for another four years at least, for we hear of Vira Somesvara camping at Mangalam (a village about 16 kilometres south-west of Sendamangalam, in the Vriddhachalam taluk of the South Arcot district) in the course of such a campaign, in A.D. 1236. Vira Narasimha, stationing himself on the northern banks of the Kollidam, campaigned vigorously against the Pandyas. Releasing Rajaraja III was only a part of the objective. The Pandyan upstart Maravarman Sundara Pandya was to be told his place. The Pandyan reaction led to the battle of Mahendramangalam (a village in Tiruchy district) and the defeat of Sundara Pandya.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The latter agreed to recognise Rajaraja III as the Chola king. Hoysala forces now had the full run of the Pandyan territory. They marched upto Ramesvaram, formally establishing their victory over the Pandyan ruler. But these victories were sublimated into alliances which were cemented possibly by marriages among the three ruling dynasties. A political settlement and not an absorption by conquest was effected. Maravarman Sundara Pandya and Rajaraja III evidently married the daughters of Vira Narasimha II (and sisters of Vira Somesvara).

Maravarman Sundara Pandya I, the avenger of the Pandyan defeat at Madurai, died in A.D. 1238, after a scintillating rule of twenty-two eventful years. He was succeeded by Maravarman Sundara Pandya II, a colourless personality who gave the Chola king no further trouble. Finding the Pandyan kingdom under a weakling, and the Chola ruler tired of his very existence after these hectic years and hapless surrender to Hoysala patronage, the Kadava chief 'Maha Rajasimha' (Kopperunjinga) saw the time propitious to declare his long-nurtured intention of becoming an independent ruler. His inscriptions from A.D. 1243 are recorded with *his own* regnal years and this independent status he virtually maintained till his death (A.D. 1279), over a span of thirtysix years. Rajaraja III, with the Hoysala Vira Narasimha (II) overseeing the southern states, led a peaceful existence for the remaining years of his rule till A.D. 1246.

He crowned Rajendra III in A.D. 1246 as the Chola king and retired into private life. Thus ended an unhappy chapter in Chola history which had known no weaklings for over three hundred years.

That the Hoysalas were all over the Chola kingdom is attested by a number of inscriptions relating to gifts to temples by military generals of the Hoysala armies stationed in various parts of the Chola region. Bachala devi, daughter of Bhutadeva Nayaka of Dorasamudra, makes a gift of a lamp to Attiyur Alvar of Kanchipuram in A.D. 1227 (ARE 349 of 1919; 11th year). Ammanna Dandanayaka makes a gift of another lamp in the 14th regnal year (ARE 408 of 1919; A.D. 1230). Another general, Gopayya Dandanayaka, donates a whole village to the same temple in

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

A.D. 1231 (ARE 404 of 1919; 15th year). These gifts pour on for many more years. A *pradhani* of Vira Somesvara, son and successor of Vira Narasimha (II), makes a gift in the 20th year (A.D. 1236) at Kanchipuram (ARE 369 of 1919). There were other important stations where Hoysala troops *(bherundas)* were stationed: Tirumalavadi (Vallala Dandanayaka, a *pradhani* of Vira Narasimha), Tirugokarnam (near Pudukkottai) where Vira Narasimha's queen Somaladevi's *siruppillaigal* (her personal establishment) made a gift, etc. The position in the Pandyan region was not very different. Singanna Dandanayaka invaded the Vedaranyam region of the Chola kingdom presumaby *via* Kana nadu and wrought death and destruction on the locality. This was sometime prior to A.D. 1241. Ravi deva, a general of Hoysala Vira Somesvara, captured the Kana nadu region, south of Tirugokarnam, sometime before A.D. 1245.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

14

Temples of Rajaraja III's Time

VANIYAMBADI

1 ATITHISVARAR TEMPLE (VIDUGADALAGISVARAM UDAIYAR SHRINE)

Vaniyambadi today is an important commercial centre and town in the Arni sub-division of the North Arcot district. It is on the Madras-Coimbatore rail link, about 200 km. from Madras City in an almost westerly direction and about 20 km. south of Jalarpet rail junction.

There is a temple here called the Atithisvarar temple. In the 11th and 12th centuries, this area was ruled by a set of powerful local Chiefs known as the Adigaimans owing allegiance to the Cholas. This temple received much attention during their rule.

In the second *prakara* north wall of this temple there is an inscription dated in *Saka* 1143 (A.D.1221) which mentions that Vijayanallulan Singan Aludaiyan Nulambarayan of Arumbakkam in Tirumunaippadi nadu caused the construction of a shrine upto the *stupi* for the deity Vidukadalagisvaram udaiyar for whom he made a gift of ten cows and one bull for three *sandhi* lamps and entrusted the charity to the *Sivabrahmanas* for maintenance. From the same inscription we get to know that another *sandhi* lamp was set up by Kuttadum pillai, son of Urandai, for which purpose the *Sivabrahmanas* received 1½ *pon* (ARE 185 of 1963–64). We have already seen that Vidugadalagiya Perumal was the son and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

successor of Rajaraja, the Tagadur Chief, and was a feudatory of Kulottunga III. This local Chief evidently outlived Kulottunga III and continued as a nominal feudatory of Rajaraja III, though it seems more likely, from the recording of the inscription in the *Saka* era, that he was virtually semi-independent after the third Madurai war and the defeat of Kulottunga III in the last years of his reign.

NALLUR

VINAYAKA PILLAIYAR SHRINE 2

In the main temple in Nallur, a village in the Tanjavur district, there is a shrine for Ganapati.

From an inscription of the fifth year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1221: ARE 58 of 1911), we find that the temple servants of the Nallur temple *(pala-pani-nivandakkarar)* built this shrine calling it the Agambadi Vinayakappillaiyar temple; they sold to the temple 100 *kuli* of land at 40 *kasu* per *kuli*, together with four yielding coconut trees costing 600 *kasu* and four unyielding trees costing 400 *kasu*.

This is a dated shrine of the days of Rajaraja III.

TIRUMANANJERI

UDVAHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE AMMAN SHRINE 3

Tirumananjeri and its temple of Udvahanathasvamin have already been dealt with in an earlier volume *(Early Chola Temples*, pp. 188–90).

A record of the seventh year of Rajaraja III found in this temple refers to the benefactions of a noble lady, who was the wife of Kannamangalam Udaiyan Vimappillai, and daughter of Puliyur Udaiyan Aditta Devan, the Chief of Milalai nadu. She raised money by public subscription for building the shrine of the Goddess in the local temple, for erecting (setting up) a *guhai* called 'Alalasundara' for the use of Pugalivendar of Pundi and for offerings,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

lamps, etc. Thus the Amman shrine can be attributed to this period (seventh year of Rajaraja III = A.D. 1223).

TUMMURU

4 KARUMANIKKAP-PERUMAL TEMPLE

Tummuru or Tumuru is a village in the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh and the local Vishnu temple is dedicated to Karumanikkap-Perumal. We learn from an inscription found in this temple that one Tyagasamudrapettai Vimarasan, belonging to the 'kingdom' of Madhurantaka Pottapichchola *alias* Gandagopalan Tirukkalattidevan, built the temple and the *tirumaligai* of Karumanikkapperumal in Tumbaiyur *alias* Jayangondasola chaturvedimangalam (N.I.S. 12). This record is dated in the 13th regnal year of Rajaraja III and could therefore be dated to A.D. 1229.

In the 23rd year of this ruler, a prominent local citizen, Erama Reddi, son of Rajendra Muvendavelan, the *kaniyalan* of Tiruvambur, gave one *madai* for the *sandhi vilakku* to Karumanikkap-Perumal (N.I.S. 17).

MAYURAM

5 MAYURANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE AVAYAMBAL (AMMAN) SHRINE

Mayuram is the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Tanjavur district.

We have discussed the Mayuranathasvamin temple here and its renovation by Sembiyan Mahadevi in the days of Uttama Chola and also the retention of the original stone *devakoshtha* sculptures during the later reconstruction of the temple by the *Nagarattars* of Chettinad (vide my *Early Chola Temples*, A.D. 907–985, p. 197).

There is an inscription of the 14th regnal year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja III (A.D. 1229) found in one of the shrines

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

on the north side of this temple. It refers to the existence of a shrine for, and records a gift of land to, the goddess called Tirup-Palliya-rai-Nachchiyar in the temple of Tiru-mayil-aduturai Nayanar (ARE 372 of 1907; also EI, X, p. 134).

The Amman shrine would thus appear to have come into existence during the period of Rajaraja III. Till then, there must have been only a *Bhogasakti* bronze in the sanctum of the central shrine as was the practice till separate Amman shrines were introduced by Kulottunga I.

This shrine has a fine set of bronzes.

ARUMBAVUR

KAILASANATHASVAMIN (VADA-KAILASAM-UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE 6

Arumbavur lies in the region which was dominated by the Magadai chiefs in the 13th century, among whom was the well-known Chief Rajarajadeva Ponparappinan *alias* Kulottunga-sola Vanakkovaraiyar. Arumbavur, called in local inscriptions Arumbar, has a Siva temple now known as that of Kailasanatha-svamin. In earlier days it went under the name of Vada-Kailasam-Udaiya Nayanar temple.

We have already seen that the region falling under Tiruchy, North Arcot, portions of Salem, and areas of South Arcot districts came under the rule of powerful local chieftains who wielded considerable local authority during the late 12th and the whole of the 13th century, with headquarters at Aragalur, Koval, etc.

There are five inscriptions on the walls of this temple belonging to the days of Rajaraja III, ranging from his 14th to his 28th years. There is no foundation inscription.

On the west wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription of his 14th year (ARE 5 of 1913). It records that all *devadana* lands of the temple and those of Tiruk-kattu-Udaiya Nayanar, Durga, Pidari and Ayyanar, situated in this village and at Rajarajanallur and Kiraippadi, were made tax-free by the Chief Vanakovaraiyanar. The next inscription, of the 16th regnal year, records a gift of land

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to this temple, which is called here as that of Vada-Kailayam-Udaiya Nayanar at Arumbar, by one Malaiyan Vanarayan (ARE 3 of 1913). Another of the same year records a grant of land to a private individual by a Vanakkovaraiyan (ARE 4 of 1913). An inscription of the 23rd year specifies the extent of the *devadana* lands 'below the tanks Sirreri and Pereri of Arumbar' as fixed by Tondaiman Perumal Pillai *alias* Sediraya devan. A measuring rod called *magadesan* (named so after the Magadai chief) is mentioned in the inscription (ARE 7 of 1913). The community priests living in the districts of Vembar nadu, Perambalur nadu and Mulai nadu granted the taxes due to them from the *devadana* villages for repairs in the temples of Vada-Kailayam-Udaiya Nayanar and Kulottunga-Vinnagara-Emperuman at Arumbar. The charitable disposition of the priests discloses their devotion to the institutions in their charge and spirit of self-sacrifice. Some scholars have drawn an unfavourable and undeserved picture of their greed and selfishness (ARE 6 of 1913). (Pls. 354–360).

From inscriptional evidence, this temple could be safely assigned to the reign of Rajaraja III, though we do not have a foundation inscription to place this deduction beyond doubt.

The existence here once of a Vishnu temple named after a Kulottunga is brought out by the last-cited inscription. We do not know its location and identity.

ALANGUDI

7 APATSAHAYESVARAR TEMPLE

Alangudi is a village in the Papanasam taluk about 15 km. south of Kumbakonam in the Tanjavur district. Its ancient name was Irumbulai, and, during the days of the Cholas, it became part of Jananatha chaturvedimangalam, located in Mudikondasola valanadu. The temple here is dedicated to Apatsahayesvarar. We have already dealt with this temple under 'Vikrama Chola's Temples' (Ch. 4). It received considerable attention during the days of Vikrama Chola. It was perhaps extensively remodelled by him. On the walls of the main shrine is one of Vikrama Chola's

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

more important inscriptions, dealing with his extensive contributions to temple building activity, particularly at Chidambaram.

An inscription found in this temple and dated in the 15th regnal year of Rajaraja III (= A.D. 1231) (with the *sir manni irunangu* introduction) mentions that land was gifted by Vanadaraya *alias* Rajendra Korramangala Nadalvan for constructing with stone the second *prakara* of the temple and for offerings (ARE 516 of 1920). Thus additions were made to this temple during the days of Rajaraja III.

NELLORE

MANUMASIDDHISVARAM TEMPLE 8

Nellore was the headquarters of the Telugu Chodas, and became important during the late 12th and the entire 13th century. Close allies of the Cholas, they played a vital role in the preservation of the Chola kingdom during the days of Rajaraja III.

We infer from a record found at the Palaivananathar temple at Tiruppalaivanam in the Chingleput district and dated in *Saka* 1152 (corresponding to the 15th year of Rajaraja III, i.e., A.D. 1231) that there was a temple by the name of Manumasiddhisvaram at Nellore. Evidently the temple was built during the days of Madhurantaka Pottapichchola Manumasiddharasan Tirukkalattidevan *alias* Gandagopalan, who was a contemporary of Rajaraja III and a loyal, though nominal, feudatory. The temple was named after him. We shall see that another temple, also called Manumasiddhisvaram Udaiyar temple, was built at the close-by port of Krishnapatnam, during the same rule. The Tiruppalaivanam record mentions that one Panaiyandai *alias* Gandagopala Manikkam, the sister of Sittama deviyar, was a *devaradiyar* (a lady dedicated to the service of the temple) in the temple of Manumasiddhisvaram at Nellore and that Gandagopala (the ruler) gave some lands as a gift on behalf of Panaiyandai for feeding devotees in the Gandagopala-manikka madam at Tiruppalaivanam and for the maintenance of a garden (ARE

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

830 of 1929). We have already noticed that the Telugu Chodas had control over the Kanchipuram region during this period.

KOVILUR (USATTANAM)

9 MANTRAPURISVARAR (USATTANAM UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE, AMMAN SHRINE

Kovilur is in the Pattukkottai taluk of the Tanjavur district. There is a Siva temple here called that of Mantrapurisvarar. In the past, the place was named Usattanam and the presiding deity of this temple was called Usattanam Udaiya Nayanar.

There are forty-seven inscriptions in this temple, engraved on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, the verandah and the inner *gopuram*. They belong to the days of three of the Later Cholas, viz., Vikrama Chola, Rajaraja III, Rajendra Chola III, and of the Later Pandyas. None of them is recorded on the walls of the central shrine. It has to be presumed that all the early records before the days of Vikrama Chola suffered destruction at the time of its renovation.

The earliest inscription is one of the fifth year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Vikrama Chola found on the north wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine (ARE 194 of 1908). It mentions a gift of land to the Lord of Sakkanam (a mistake for Sattanam or Usattanam) *alias* Kerala-kulasani chaturvedimangalam (Kerala kulasani being a title of Rajaraja I, A.D. 985–1014). It is a pity that all the early records of this temple in the southern border of Chola desa have been destroyed during its renovation.

Another, later, unfinished, record gives the boundaries of certain rent-free lands belonging to the temple and incidentally mentions the name of Periya devar Vikrama Chola devar (ARE 200 of 1908).

There are two inscriptions of the 25th year of 'Kulottunga Chola devar who took Madurai, Ilam and the Pandyan head', viz., Kulottunga III. The first (ARE 181 of 1908) mentions a gift of a servant to the temple of Usattanam Udaiya Nayanar by a native of Salgalur in Idaikka nadu, a subdivision of Rajendra-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

sola valanadu. The other (ARE 183 of 1908), built in at the end, records a gift of land to the temple of Usattanam Udaiya Nayanar at Usattanam, a *brahmadeya* in Purangarambai nadu, a subdivision of Rajendrasola valanadu.

There are seven inscriptions which could be assigned to the days of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216–46). One, of his eighth year (A.D. 1223), which is found on the walls of the Chandesvarar shrine (ARE 215 of 1908), records a gift of land for offerings to the image of Pallavanisvaram Udaiya Nayanar set up in the temple by Pichchan Pallavarayan, a native of Poiyyur. An inscription of his tenth year (on the north wall of the *mandapa*, ARE 197 of 1908) mentions that the local Assembly of Usattanam assigned for temple repairs certain taxes collected on temple lands upto the tenth year.

The next inscription is important. It relates to the 20th year of Rajaraja III, equal to A.D. 1237 (ARE 195 of 1908). It records a gift of land by the Assembly of Peruvalvutanda chaturvedimangalam (modern Peruvalandan) in Purangarambai nadu of Rajendrasola valanadu for offerings to the shrine of Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Periya Nachchiyar (the Amman shrine) set up by Prince Purosaikkudaiyar. The gift was made for the health of the king and for the victory of Prince Perungolar, evidently, a local Chola feudatory. The date of this Amman temple is thus well attested (built in or about A.D. 1237).

The next record which is dated in the 21st year (ARE 196 of 1908) refers to a gift of land to this Amman shrine by the Assembly of Suttamalli chaturvedimangalam, which was in charge of the village duties *(grama karyam)*, for the health of the king and for the victory of (the same) prince Perungolar, the local Chief mentioned in the earlier inscription.

A record of the 26th year mentions a gift of land in Sundarasolapuram to the temple by the order of Villupadarayan, a native of Sirrarrukkadu in Pandyakulasani valanadu (ARE 182 of 1908). Another, of the 30th year (ARE 193 of 1908), registers a gift of land to the shrine of Subrahmanyar *(Parivara devata?)* by the Assembly of Peruvalandan perumal chaturvedimangalam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(modern Peruvalandan) in Purangarambai nadu, a part of Rajendrasola valanadu. (Pls. 361, 62).

Surya Devar shrine

An inscription (ARE 198 of 1908) of the 11th regnal year of Rajaraja III (i.e., A.D. 1227) records a gift of land for offerings to the shrine of Surya devar in the temple of Usattanam Udaiyar by the residents of Vikramabharanapuram in Ambar nadu. In the 31st year of this king, another gift of land was made to this deity by the residents of Parantakapuram in Ambar nadu (ARE 199 of 1908).

The construction of an independent Amman shrine in the temple premises and the setting up of a shrine for Subrahmanyar and the installation of an image of Surya devar in this temple are of great importance. (We shall deal with further developments in this temple under 'Temples of Rajendra III's Time', Chapter 16).

KANDARAVIRUPPETTAI
(*alias* **Gandagopala chaturvedimangalam**)

10 KALAMEGHAPPERUMAL TEMPLE (GANDAGOPALA VINNAGAR)

We learn from an inscription found in Kanchipuram (ARE 415 of 1919) that a temple dedicated to Vishnu, called that of Gandagopala Vinnagar Kalameghapperumal, was in existence by the 22nd year of Rajaraja III and that the village of Pundi was given as *tiruvidaiyattam* by Madhurantaka Pottapichchola Manumasiddharasan Tirukkalatti devan *alias* Gandagopalan. This Vishnu temple must have been built around A.D. 1238.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PULIVAY

MAHAMUNISVARAR (VYAKKIRAPADA-MAMUNISURAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE 11

Pulivay is now a small village in the Chingleput taluk of the district of the same name. Here is located a small temple named the Mahamunisvarar temple. In ancient days, the deity bore the name of Vyaghrapada-Mahamunisvaram Udaiyar.

There are three records on the south wall of this temple, one of which is undated; the other two belong to the 23rd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajaraja devar (III). The undated record, which is fragmentary, mentions that one Raman Tali *alias* Sivabhattan, belonging to the regiment of Narasinga Vikkirama virar of the king's army, built the temple and made a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp (ARE 159 of 1923). One of the dated ones registers a gift of 1,000 *kasus* by a certain Rajaraja Villuparaiyan for a twilight lamp to the god Vyakkirapada-Mamunisuram Udaiyar at Pulivay in Pulivala nadu, a subdivision of Kaliyur kottam, a district of Jayangondasola mandalam (ARE 157 of 1923); the other records that the repair of the temple was the work of Peruman *alias* Gandagopalan-Pichchan of Nerkuppai in Tanjavur kurram, a subdivision of Pandikulasani valanadu. A later *Kannada* inscription on the door jamb of the temple records the reconstruction of a *mandapa* for the god Mahamunisvarar by Sangaya and Tayappa, sons of the Mahapradhana Mamchapa Danayakka Vodeyar (ARE 160 of 1923).

This temple is a foundation of the early 13th century and was built before the 23rd year of Rajaraja III (also see *The Colas* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 457).

NEYYADIPPAKKAM

AMMAN SHRINE 12

Neyyadippakkam is a village in the Chingleput taluk, where there is a temple built during the Later Chola period.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

From an inscription dated in the 27th year of Rajaraja III found in this temple, it is learnt that one Igaiyamandal belonging to the village of Naiyadarpakkam (which was the ancient name of the present-day village of Neyyadippakkam) constructed a temple in stone in this village and that Kottattal Perumal Igaiyamandal gave a bell and an incense-burner *(dhupa)* for the worship of the Goddess. Thus this temple came into being (by A.D. 1243) in the closing years of Rajaraja III's rule (ARE 262 of 1922).

VAYALAIKKAVUR

13 SIVA TEMPLE

Vayalaikkavur is a small village in the Chingleput district. There is a small Siva temple in this village.

From an inscription dated in the 27th year of Rajaraja III found in this temple, we learn that one Varanavasi Udaiyan Kalappalan constructed a stone temple and a *mandapa* at the village of Vayalaikkavur and consecrated the image of the God. He also made an endowment of one *madai* for burning a perpetual lamp.

This is a dated temple (A.D. 1243) which came into existence in the closing years of Rajaraja III's reign.

MAGARAL

14 VAIKUNTHAPERUMAL TEMPLE

We have discussed the Siva temple in this locality in Section 3 of the chapter on 'Temples of Kulottunga II's days'. There is a Vishnu temple here, close to the Siva temple. The deity is now called Vaikuntha Perumal. In the earlier days it was named, as seen from inscriptions, Tiru-mer-Koyil-Virrirunda Perumal. Both the main shrine and the Consort's shrine *(Tayar sannidhi)* attached to it belong to the period of Rajaraja III.

There are five inscriptions found on the walls of the shrines of this temple. Four of them are inscribed on the walls of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

central (Vishnu) shrine and one in the Consort's shrine. Three of the four in the main shrine belong to the same year, viz., the 28th year of Rajaraja III, and record gifts of lamps (ARE 221, 222 and 223 of 1901). The fourth one on the Vishnu shrine records the building, by the 23rd year of that ruler, of the central shrine, the *ardhamandapa*, another *mandapa*, the *sopana* (the flight of steps) and the *sripitham* for Vishnu (ARE 224 of 1901). The relevant portion of this inscription reads as follows:

"*Tribhuvanachakravartigal Sri Rajaraja devarkku yandu 23-avadu Jayangondasola mandalattu Eyirkkottattu Magaral nattu Magaral Tiru merk koyil Virrirunda Emperuman koyil Sri-vimanamum tiru-ardha-mandapamum tiru-mandapamum sopanamum sri-pithamum ivvur pattiya Poyan-maniyan Perugan Seyvittan—Harihi*".

The inscription thus records that the temple complex was "caused to be built *(seyvittan)* by Poyan Maniyan Perugan of the same place, viz., Magaral, situated in Magaral nadu, in the district of Eyirk-kottam in the province of Jayangondasola mandalam". The temple must have been completed in or possibly before the 23rd regnal year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1239), the date of the inscription. This is thus a dated temple, one of the few with a regular foundation inscription.

About the same time as the construction of the central Vishnu shrine was in progress, the shrine of the Consort must also have been under construction and was in fact completed much earlier: above the entrance to this shrine, there is an inscription in Tamil verse which states that it was built in the sixth year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1222). The central shrine of Vishnu with all its adjuncts obviously took a longer time to complete.*

TURAIYUR

15

1) Nandikesvarasvamin temple and Nallanayaki amman shrine

2) Kasi Visvanathasvamin temple

*ARE 225 of 1901 (SII, VII, No. 375): "Svasti Sri Sri Rajarajar . . . Tiruvankalan Murugan Tirukkoyil-seydan sirandu".

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

3) Venugopalasvamin (Vishnu) temple

The small town of Turaiyur is situated in the taluk of the same name in the Tiruchy district. It lies north of Namakkal. There are three temples here, which have to be assigned to the thirteenth century A.D. According to a local inscription, this place is said to be on the banks of Kilp-palaru in Panchil kurram, a subdivision of Rajaraja valanadu. It finds mention in the Karandai Tamil Sangam Plates of Rajendra I.

Of the three temples, the most important is the one dedicated to Nandikesvarar. In ancient days, it went under the name of Tiruvalisvaram Udaiya Nayanar temple (ARE 701 of 1908). It consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala*, the *snapana-mandapa*, the *mukhamandapa* and the *mahamandapa*. There is a gateway in the east and a five-storeyed *gopuram* in the south. There are sub-shrines for Ganapati, Subrahmanyar and Chandesvarar. Bhairavar is installed on the north side of the *mukhamandapa*. There is also a Nataraja shrine in the campus. It seems to have been built by a local Chief.

A third year inscription of Rajaraja (III) mentions a gift of land to the shrines of Nallanayaki and Subrahmanya Pillaiyar in the temple of Valisvaram Udaiya Nayanar at Turaiyur. This temple must have come into being by about this time. Is this Amman shrine the same as the one of Mahasapta-Gauri Amman found in the north-west corner of this temple? This shrine faces east and has *devakoshtas* in which are installed the icons of Ichcha Sakti, Mahesvari, Vaishnavi, Brahmi and Durga (ARE 701 of 1908).

Six hundred metres north-east of this temple is another called Kasi Visvanathar temple. It has a two-storeyed *srivimana* with a round *griva* and *sikhara*. The figures in the *devakoshtas* are Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma and Durga. There is a shrine for Amman to the north of the *ardhamandapa*, and another for Nataraja further east.

South-west of the Nandikesvarar temple is the Vishnu temple of Venugopalasvamin. There is an inscription of Rajaraja III on its north wall. There is also an inscription of the eleventh year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (acc. A.D. 1251). (Pls. 363–73).

All these temples may be attributed to the days of Rajaraja III.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

15

Rajendra III

(A.D. 1246 to 1279/80)

Crown Prince Rajendra was of a noble mould, a proper scion of the Chola stock, and given somewhat more conducive circumstances might have restored the Chola dynasty to its traditional greatness and glory, but he came when all the dykes against misfortune had broken and ruin came flooding down the Kaveri. Even prior to A.D. 1246 when he became the (co-ruler) king, Rajendra started in earnest to mend matters. His task was considerably facilitated by the weakened Pandyan hold over Madurai. He set himself the task of avenging the humiliation of two successful Pandyan invasions of the Chola capital and apparently succeeded in wresting the Pandyan Crown from Maravarman Sundara Pandya II (sometime around A.D. 1238–39). The *prasasti* of Rajendra says that he enabled Rajaraja III to wear two crowns (the Chola and the Pandya) for three years:

'*Iru mudigalai munru andugal Irasarasanai sudum padi seyda viran*'

A 15th year record of Rajendra III from Tripurantakam refers to this in the following terms:

'*Iru var Pandiyar mudittalai kondarulina*'

Rajendra's initial successes led to a shift in Hoysala strategy; the latter now switched their support to the weakling Pandya prince. The capture and occupation of Kana nadu and the sacking of Vedaranyam between A.D. 1240 and 1245 were in pursuance of the new strategy of keeping the balance between the two southern kingdoms so that Hoysala hold over the peninsula was not impaired.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The Telugu Chodas ruling from Pottapi and Nellore, faithful allies of the Cholas, felt that their fortunes were interlinked with the fate of the Cholas and so Gandagopala (*alias* Tikka Nirupana *alias* Madhurantaka Pottapi Chola Betarasa Allun Tirukkalattideva, son of Madhurantaka Pottapi Chola Nallasiddha *alias* Manumasiddha) declared his solidarity with the Cholas by capturing Kanchi from the Hoysalas in A.D. 1234; in this battle for Kanchi, Gandagopala claims to have killed the Hoysala king Vira Narasimha (from a record of the 23rd year of Rajaraja III). Tikka (who could be assigned the period A.D. 1230 to 1250) rapidly established his authority over a vast area in the present-day Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah, North Arcot, Chingleput and Salem districts. He fought against many *mandalikas* and brought under his sway the Kanchipuram region, the Chedimandalam and even claims to have suppressed Kadupatti (Kopperunjinga). The Hoysalas were kept at bay and their ruler Somesvara left him to rule in peace, confining his attention to other parts of the Chola and Pandya kingdoms. Tikka helped in restoring the fallen pride of the Chola family. We find Rajendra III, even as early as A.D. 1240, six years prior to his formal accession to the throne, actively campaigning far and near to piece together the broken kingdom. In this effort, the Telugu Chodas were a great and abiding ally; Tikka even assumed the title of *Cholasthapanacharya*. The Hoysalas made repeated efforts to break up the Telugu Choda hold over the Tondaimandalam region, but with no notable success.

Narasimha's son Vira Somesvara attacked Kanchi in A.D. 1246. We do not know the results of this second battle for Kanchi. Whoever won and ruled here had however a short lease. Tikka *alias* Gandagopala perhaps was succeeded by his elder son, also called Gandagopala, sometime in A.D. 1250. But shortly thereafter, in A.D. 1257–58, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, the new and powerful Pandyan ruler, attacked Kanchi and captured it. It is claimed by him that Gandagopala was despatched to Heaven *(Gandagopalanai vinnulagir pokkiya pin)*. Perhaps there is truth in this claim because we are aware that Tikkan (i.e., Tikka Nirupana) had two sons and that the younger son became Manumasiddhi II—who later on became the patron of Tikkanna Somayaji, the author of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Telugu composition '*Nirvachanottara Ramayana*'. This Manmasiddhi II may be Vijaya Gandagopala.

That, right through the fluctuating fortunes of the Cholas, the Telugu Chodas owed allegiance to Rajaraja III is clear from records of Kanchipuram that occur till A.D. 1245; after that date, however, there is a total absence of Chola records or reference to Chola regnal years. We may presume that the Chola hold over Kanchi was lost around this time (*Circa* A.D. 1245) and it was never regained. We may say with some degree of certainty that, between A.D. 1243 and 1246, the Chola kingdom had disintegrated to a point, where Chedimandalam, Nadu nadu, Tondaimandalam, Pandi Nadu and even portions of the present-day South Arcot and Pudukkottai districts had ceased to acknowledge Chola overlordship; and the Chola kingdom remained confined to the Kaveri delta.

Rajendra III's valiant struggle deserves praise. His *birudas* were not mere vainglorious titles. He was called Jagadekaviran—the 'one hero of the world', Khadgaviran, Manukulattai Uyarttiyavan, Raja Paramesvaran, Raja Paramamahesvaran, Rajanarayanan, Cholakulattu erpatta paribhavattai nivarttitta Vikkiraman, Eka-dhiran and by such other names.

The establishment of a temporary Chola hold over the Pandyas after the victory of Rajendra III over Maravarman Sundara Pandya II was followed by his campaign against the Sambuvarayas, ruling in the Tindivanam, Villupuram and North Arcot regions, who called themselves the Vira Rakshasas—after which he assumed the title of 'Rama who conquered the Vira Rakshasas of Uttara Lanka' (Mavilangai near Tindivanam).

The conflict between the Hoysalas and the Cholas would appear to have gone on for a while, Rajendra claiming victory over Vira Somesvara and the latter claiming victory over Rajendra, each claiming that the other fell at his feet and sought succour. Kopperunjinga, however, seems to have had the run of the entire region between the Kollidam (in the south) and the Palar (in the north). He would appear to have been left to rule his domain uninterrupted both by the Cholas and by the Hoysalas, for quite some time.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

In A.D. 1253, the Hoysalas made another big bid to reduce the Kadava prince to his earlier feudal state, but Kopperunjinga was too powerful to be suppressed. In that year, he engaged the Hoysala troops in battle at Perumbalur and captured their Dandanayakas Kesava, Harihara and Yatipati Deva, and their women and treasures *(pendir b(h)andaramum)*, and as an expiation for this act bestowed upon the Lord of Tirumudukunram temple at Vriddhachalam a forehead plate *(tirup-pattam)* named '*Avani-alap-pirandan*' after his own *biruda* (ARE 73 of 1918). The Hoysalas never again bothered the Kadava chief.

Meantime, what the future was to prove the greatest star in the Pandyan firmament, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, ascended the Madurai throne in A.D. 1251. He was the greatest among the Later Pandyas and built up an unprecedented empire in a short time. Within seven years of his accession, he set out at the head of a huge army on a *digvijaya* campaign. He defeated the Cheras, annexed the Malai nadu, captured Senni and invested Kannanur Koppam, the southern capital of the Hoysalas, and drove them to the Mysore plateau. A renewed attempt on the part of Somesvara to recapture lost power over Koppam resulted in defeat and death at the hands of the Pandyan king. Vira Ramanatha succeeded to the *gadi* of Koppam. This campaign evidently lasted more than two years. His *prasasti* describes in glowing terms the great victories Sundara Pandya won wherever he went, subduing the Sri Lanka king, defeating the Pallava Kopperunjinga and compelling him to pay tribute after capturing his elephants and gold and giving back his kingdom to him; then, according to the *prasasti*, he proceeded to Tillai Ambalam (Chidambaram) and paid homage to Lord Nataraja, then marched to Uraiyur (Koli-ma-nagar) and performed the *tulabhara* ceremony at the feet of the Lord of Srirangam, where he ceremonially ascended the throne in the temple and rounded off and crowned the first phase of his *digvijaya* with homage to the Lord there. It was in this campaign that he defeated and killed the Telugu Choda king Gandagopala (A.D. 1258–60) and 'sent him to Heaven', as we saw earlier. Thus the Telugu Chodas became subordinate Chiefs of the Pandyas. He drove out the Kakatiyas from the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Nellore region and performed a *virabhishekam* at Nellore, the Telugu Choda capital. In A.D. 1262, Sundara Pandya waged war with the Kakatiyas, and in this campaign he evidently had the support of Kopperunjinga, who fought with and for him. We find the Pallava chief's inscriptions at Draksharama dated in *Saka* 1184 (= A.D.1262), referring to his gifts to Bhimanatha; from these inscriptions we find that for a while he allied himself with the Kakatiya king, seeking his help to fight the rising Pandyan might. Soon after A.D. 1262, he ceased to send his usual tribute to the Madurai throne, and in A.D. 1267 the Pandya king despatched a big army under the co-ruler Jatavarman Vira Pandya II, who defeated Kopperunjinga again and then proceeded to Tillai Ambalam, where, in the Hundred-pillared Hall, he celebrated *virabhishekam* and *vijayabhishekam: ("kochchadaya-panmarana tri-bhuvana-chakravartigal ..... porp-Puliyur virrirundu .... virabhishe-kamum vijayabhishekamamum panniyaruliya Vira Pandiya devar" : Puduk-kottai State Inscriptions*—370/192/1914).

The Hundred-pillared Hall at Chidambaram, which was built by Naralokavira and bore the name of '*(Im-mandapam)* Akalankan' (Akalankan *tiru-mandapam*) was re-christened after Vira Pandya, as attested by a few pillars which still bear the inscription '*Svasti Sri Virapandiyan tirumandapam*'. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya was succeeded by Maravarman Kulasekhara in A.D. 1268. He was an equally great warrior and a worthy succes-sor of Sundara. He conquered Malai nadu, Iru Kongu, Ilam, and Tondaimandalam and assumed the title of '*Emmandalamum kondaruliya* Kulasekharadevan'. Thus in the face of the rising tide of Pandyan power, Hoysala Vira Ramanatha and Rajendra III found it expedient to forget their differences and rule over whatever territory was left to them to control, under the overall vigil of the Pandyas. We have evidence of this renewed close link from two records from Tiruchchorrutturai (ARE 207 and 208 of 1931). From these we find incidentally that Vira Ramanatha's 10th and 15th years correspond to Rajendra's 20th and 25th years respectively. But even this alliance was of no avail against the Pandyan giants Sundara Pandya and Kulasekhara.

We saw earlier in this chapter that, between A.D. 1243 and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

1246, Kanchi was wrested from the Cholas. But for two stray records, one from Nandalur dated in A.D. 1259, and another from Tripurantakam dated in A.D. 1261, one could say that soon after the fall of Kanchi, the Chola kingdom shrank back to the traditional narrow limits of the Kaveri delta. But, after A.D. 1261, no inscriptions in the name of Rajendra III are found outside the traditional Chola country.

The latest regnal year of Rajendra's inscriptions is his 33rd year, corresponding to A.D. 1279. We may conclude that the last of the Cholas disappeared from the stage of history in that year. We hear of them no more.

The Cholas reigned for over 430 years, a glorious succession of rulers, giants of their time and great warriors. Like all institutions human, the Chola empire too had to have an end. But the Cholas have left behind for posterity a tradition and a tale that any nation can be proud of. Their temples and Gods, their art and culture will live for ever.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

16

Temples of Rajendra III's Time

KOVILUR (USATTANAM)

MANTRAPURISVARAR TEMPLE 1

In Section 9 of "Temples of Rajaraja III's Time" (Ch. 14), we have already dealt with this temple dedicated to Mantrapurisvarar and traced its growth till the death of Rajaraja III. Kovilur, which went under the name of Usattanam during the Chola days, is a village in the Pattukkottai taluk of the Tanjavur district.

The Usattanam temple renovated in Vikrama Chola's days received considerable attention from the last two rulers of the dynasty. Here we deal with the expansion of and additions to this temple during the days of Rajendra III.

There are about twenty inscriptions assignable to the reign of Rajendra III. One, of his fourth year (ARE 185 of 1908), records a gift of paddy to the temple by the tenants of the temple lands. From this inscription, it is learnt that the king had the title of Manu-kulam-edutta Perumal.

i) BHUVANAPATI NACHCHIYAR SHRINE

Two inscriptions of the same (i.e., the fourth) regnal year and one of his fifth year (ARE 187, 188 and 189 of 1908) mention a shrine for Bhuvanapati Nachchiyar—which has to be distinguished from that of Tirukkamakkottam Udaiya Periya Nachchiyar built

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in the 20th year of Rajaraja III (ARE 195 of 1908); these inscriptions refer to gifts made by one Ponnambalakkuttan *alias* Irumudi Solap-pallavaraiyan to burn a lamp in the shrine, gifts by the lady-servants of the temple and a gift of land for offerings to the Goddess by the residents of Mummudisolapuram in Purangarambai nadu, a part of Rajendrasola valanadu.

ii) SAMBANDAR AND APPAR SHRINES

An inscription of the tenth year of Rajendra III (ARE 186 of 1908) records a gift of land for offerings to the shrine of Pillaiyar Nayanar (Sambandar) and of Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar (Appar). Another of the same year (on the north side of the base of the verandah of the first *prakara*—ARE 212 of 1908) records a gift of land for offerings by the Assembly of Suttamalli chaturvedimangalam in Purangarambai nadu of Rajendrasola valanadu.

There are four inscriptions of the eleventh year of this king (A.D. 1256). Of these, two mention a local Chola feudatory, Paiyulan Periyan Alagiya Perumal *alias* Solagangan. One (ARE 202 of 1908) records a gift of land for worship and repairs in the temple of Usattanam Udaiya Nayanar by the order of this Chief. The other (ARE 205 of 1908) records a gift of land to this temple by the same Chief. Yet another (ARE 204 of 1908) records a gift of duties payable (in kind) on each 'bullock load' *(podi)* of paddy and rice carried by the road called Jananathan-*padai*, to the temple of Usattanam Udaiya Nayanar by order of the villagers of Mummudisolapuram in pursuance of the directions of the prince' (king). A sale of land is mentioned in the fourth inscription of that year (ARE 208 of 1908). It also refers to the land-survey in the 38th year of 'Periya Devar Tribhuvana Vira devar' (Kulottunga III) (= A.D. 1216).

Of the three inscriptions of the 12th year of this ruler, one refers to a gift of land to the temple by Aditta devan, a native of Vellur in Paiyur kottam, a district of Perun-Tondaimandalam (ARE 206 of 1908; see also ARE 207 of 1908, an inscription relating to the 13th regnal year).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

iii) PALLAVAN MADEVISVARAM SHRINE

In the 12th regnal year of this king, an officer of the king, called Vanaraya *alias* Soliyavaraiyan, made a gift of land to the image of Pallavan-Madevisvaram-Udaiya Nayanar (ARE 210 of 1908); another records a gift of land for a *matha* called Vanarayan *matham*.

iv) KUTTADU NAYANAR MATHAM

From another record (ARE 218 of 1908), which mentions a gift of land to a *matha*, we come to know of a *Saiva* teacher called Paripurna Sivacharya who headed that *matha*, called Kuttadu Nayanar *matham*, said to have been located on the western side of the temple; he is said to have come of the lineage *(santana)* of Tiruchchatti-murram-mudaliar. The same *guru* is said to have made a gift of money for offerings to the image of Alagiya-Tiruch-Chirrambalam Udaiyar set up by him in the temple (ARE 220 of 1908).

A gift of land for the maintenance of a flower-garden was made in the 17th year of the king (= A.D. 1267, ARE 223 of 1908). An inscription of the 28th year (ARE 216 of 1908) records a gift of land for offerings to the image of Tirujnanam-perra-pillaiyar (Sambandar) by a merchant of Mummudisolapuram. It refers also to the revenue survey of the 38th year of Kulottunga III.

The last Chola inscription is one of the 30th year (A.D. 1276) of Rajendra III (ARE 193 of 1908). It records a gift of land to the shrine of Subrahmanyar by the Assembly of Peru-valvu-tanda-Perumal chaturvedimangalam (i.e., modern Peruvalandan) in Purangarambai nadu, a subdivision of Rajendrasola valanadu. We are not clear about the surname '*Peruvalvu tandan*'—whether, and, if so, in what sense it is applied to Rajendra III.

This was a period of great popularity of the Nayanmars. In many temples, their images were set up; numerous Saiva *mathas* for the propagation and encouragement of Saivism were set up and flourished during Rajendra III's days. The practice of *Devaram* hymns being sung by a band of singers in temples is mentioned in one of the inscriptions. A gift of land was made by the order of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sokkarayan *alias* Rajagambhira Soliyaraiyar to the Tirukkaikotti Oduvar; a relic of which practices we see in the modern *Devaram Oduvars* of our temples.

NARTTAMALAI

2

i) Tiru-Anaikka-Udaiya Nayanar temple
ii) Nachchiyar Tiruk-koyil (Amman temple)

We have already referred to the temples of Narttamalai in *Early Chola Art, Pt. I* (pp. 44–52) when dealing with the temple of Vijayalayasolisvaram and in *Middle Chola Temples* (pp. 191–201) when studying Tirumalaik-Kadambur.

Narttamalai is a small village in the Pudukkottai district, about 4 km. from the railway station of the same name on the Tiruchy-Manamadurai section of the Southern Railway. It was a centre of great commercial activity in early days and its present name of Narttamalai is merely a corruption of Nagarattar-malai (a commercial town). In the 11th century, the place went by the name of Telinga-kula-kala-puram, and in the 12th and 13th centuries, it was renamed Kulottungasola-pattinam (after Kulottunga III).

In the earlier volumes, we have traced the origin and growth of the cave-temples and the other main temples of Vijayalaya-solisvaram and Tiru-malaik-kadambur-Isvaram.

According to a record of the seventh year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rajendradeva III (inscription no.200 of the *Inscriptions (Text) of the Pudukkottai State* and ARE 357 of 1904) the Adi-Chandesvara *Devakanmis* of the Tirumalaikkadambur temple of Telinga-kula-kala-puram *alias* Kulottungasola-pattinam (Narttamalai) gave a gift of *iraiyili* land to *Tachchar Acharyan* Poreru Seman *alias* Akalankan Asari as *acharya-dakshina* for the temple-building works done by him and his father in respect of the Tirumalaikkadambur temple, the Tiruvanaikka-Udaiya Nayanar temple and the Nachchiyar Tirukkoyil (shrine for the Goddess), and the installation of the Tiruk-kodi-devar (the flag-staff of the temple).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHENNUR

CHENNAKESAVA TEMPLE 3

Chennur is a small village in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore district in Andhra Pradesh. It is about 6 km. from Gudur town in a westerly direction on the road leading to Saidapuram. There is a local temple dedicated to Chennakesava.

During the 13th century, the Pottapi Chola Chiefs held sway over this region and were virtually independent of the Chola central authority. On a round pillar in the south-western corner outside the central shrine in this temple is a short Tamil inscription (ARE 72 of 1963–64) dated in *Saka* 1176 (= A.D. 1254–55) recording the grant, of dry and wet lands irrigated by a tank, evidently the one behind the temple, for food offerings to god Chennagopala by Hageraya Singaradevan for the merit of Pottapichcholan *alias* Manumasittaraisar. From the date of the record, 'Manumasittaraisar' should be none other than Manumasiddharasa II *alias* Viragandagopala (acc. A.D. 1250). There is an image of Venugopala in a niche very near the pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The sculpture is in high relief, carved on a single slab and depicting a four-armed Krishna playing on the flute with his two consorts on either side. The image is not under worship any longer, being damaged, and may be dated prior to A.D. 1254–55, both on stylistic and on epigraphical grounds. The Chennakesava temple bears the alternate name of Chittirameli vinnagaram *alias* Kesavapperumal koyil in two other inscriptions found in this temple (ARE 70 and 71 of 1963–64). The temple was evidently built by the well-known merchant-guild 'Chittirameli'.

This must be a foundation of the days of Rajaraja III or Rajendra III and Viragandagopala, the Telugu Choda chief of Nellore.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KRISHNAPATNAM

4 SIDDHESVARA TEMPLE

Krishnapatnam is now a small village close to the seacoast, about 22 km. by road from Nellore in a south-easterly direction, and is accessible from the Nellore-Muttukuru road. It can also be approached from the Venkatachelam railway station, which lies between Gudur and Nellore. It is in the Nellore taluk of the Nellore district. It was once a flourishing sea-port, which served the international merchant-guild that built up extensive commerce with the far-eastern and south-eastern Asian empires of those days.

There is a temple in the village dedicated to Siddhesvarar.

The original name given to the temple by its builders was Manuma-Siddhisvaram, from which the (present) name of Siddhesvarar for the deity is derived.

On a slab fixed to the left of the entrance to this temple, there is an inscription which belongs to the days of 'Virarajendra' (i.e., Rajendra III) which records that the *uravar* of Kollitturai *alias* Gandagopalap-pattinam and the *Padinenbhumi samasta paradesis* gathered in the *Desinayakan tirukkavanam* in the temple of Chandattiraip-pillaiyar and arranged for the contribution from certain levies from among themselves towards the various offerings to god Manumasiddhisvaram-udaiya Nayanar (named after Manmasiddhi II *alias* Vira Gandagopala). The levies included among others those charged on *marakkalam*, *padavu* and *kalavam*, terms that denote marine vessels. The inscription contains some post-scripts, of which one, of the 15th regnal year, refers to a grant of land made according to the orders of Nayanar Manumasiddharasar (II), the Telugu-Choda chief.

Another inscription, also found on a slab built into the wall to the right of the entrance into the temple (ARE 78 of 1963–64), relates to the second year of the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartigal Irumadi Tirukkalattidevar; it is in Tamil and is dated in *Saka* 1201 (= A.D. 1279). It records that the *Ainjuvanna vanigar* and *Padinenbhumi-samasta-paradesigal* of the *nadu*, the *nagaram* and the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Malaimandalam, all of Kollitturai *alias* Gandagopala-pattinam, met in full strength at the *Ainnurruvar-tirukkavanam*† and agreed to assign the income from a levy on all commodities that passed through the port at the rate of 1/4 per cent of their value, for worship and food offerings to the god Manuma-siddhisvaram Udaiyar and repairs and maintenance of buildings (see Appendix to this Section).

Reading these two inscriptions together would indicate that considerable maritime activity took place through this sea-port called Kollitturai, which was given an alternate name after the Telugu-Choda Chief Gandagopala; and the commercial community comprising the various trading societies or companies met and transacted business and codified rules of business and regulations of port administration.

The temple called Manumasiddhisvaram in the inscriptions was founded in the name of Manumasiddharaisar II, the Pottapi-Chola Chief, who 'came to the throne' in A.D. 1250. The temple has evidently undergone renovation at a subsequent stage; however, there is a *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, with pillars containing figures of deities such as Indra, Agni, Vayu and Varuna with their respective iconographic weapons. It is apparently this *mandapa* which is referred to (in ARE 78 of 1963–64) as the *Ainnurruvan tirukkavanam*, wherein the Assembly is stated to have met to conduct its deliberations. One can infer from the identity of the names of the merchant-guild and of the hall that this body was concerned with the construction of the hall.

Thus the temple and the hall in front could be attributed to the second half of the 13th century. This inference is confirmed by the stylistic characteristics of the *mandapa*. The central shrine has undergone subsequent renovation.

---

† For a discussion of *Ainnurruvar*, see my *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 119–20.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

APPENDIX

NANADESIS

The *Nanadesis* were a trading organisation. They claimed descent from Vasudeva, Mulabhadra or Virabhadra. They were devotees of Bhagavati, Paramesvari or Nachchiyar. They have described themselves as *Nanadesi Tisai Ayirattu-ainnurruvar*, 'the Lords *(adhipatis)* of eighteen *bhumis (padinen bhumi* or *vishaya)*, thirtytwo *valarpuram (muppattirendu valarpurangal)* and sixtyfour *ghatikai-tavalam*'. They travelled over land and by sea and traded in six 'continents' *(khanda)*. Among the lands they covered could be mentioned: Chera nadu, Chola nadu, Pandya nadu, Malaya nadu (Malay peninsula), Magadha desa, Kosala desa, Saurashtra, Dhanushtiram, Kurumbam, Kambojam (Cambodia), Gauda desa, Lata desa, Pavïru, Parasam (Persia), Nepalam, Ekaparam, Lambakarnam, Sri Rajyam (Sri vijayam), Kolamulam and others. Among the goods/articles they traded in were elephants, horses, *indranilam*, *chandrakantam*, pearls, diamonds, *vaiduryam*, *gomedakam*, *maragatam*, *pushparagam* and other gems, cardamom, sandal-wood, camphor, *kasturi*, *ahil*, *clover (lavanga)* etc.

The earliest reference to them is contained in an inscription discovered by me in the village of Munisandai in the present district (and the former princely state) of Pudukkottai. It is dated in A.D. 870 in the reign of Vijayalaya. It was found near the lake in the village (See plate 33-a in my *Early Chola Art, Pt. I)*. It mentions that the lake *(eri)* known as *Ainnurruvar pereri* was maintained by this guild or trading organisation, and towards the provision of funds, a sub-group known as the *Valamsiyar Ainnurruvarar*, on behalf and in the name of the main body (viz, the *Tisaiayirattu ainnurruvar)*, deposited 2 *kasus* from whose interest the repair and maintenance of the lake was to be looked after. A similar epigraphical reference in Tamil was found at a place known as Loebe Tiva in the island of Sumatra in Indonesia dated in *Saka* 1000 (= A.D. 1078), referring to a grant by the *Tisai ayirattu ainnurruvar*. This relates to the period of Kulottunga I. An inscription from Pranmalai in Pudukkottai district gives a detailed account of their activities. They set up their own establishments in India and abroad and each had its own distinctive status and designation. They had extensive godowns and necessary security personnel. An interesting grant was made by this corporation to the temple of Alagiya Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiya Nayanar located at the foot of the Tirumalai at Tiruk-kodungunram (modern Pranmalai) in Tirumalaà nadu. Certain taxes, levies and duties on a number of commodities were to be collected and gifted to the temple for *tirup-podi-marru*, *tirup-pani*, *tirup-parisattam*, *tiru-merppusu* etc., besides meeting the needs of the attached *madam (matha)*, *tirumadaivilagam* and the sacred tank. The items taxed were: salt, paddy, rice, *dhals* like green-gram, horse-gram etc., castor-seed, areca-nut, pepper, turmeric, ginger, onions, mustard, *jeera*, *amla (nelli)*, *tanri*, iron, steel, cotton, yarn, *pudavai (sari)*, *ulandu pili*, wax, honey, sesame, *konigaip-pattu*, sandal, *ahil*, silk, *pannir kudam*, *Savari* (hair fly-whisk), *karpurattailam*, *sandu-pulugu* (a paste for the forehead, scented), *javvadu*, *semodu*, horses and elephants, on all of which octroi *(sungam)* had been levied.

We have another detailed reference to them from Avur dated in A.D. 1272 (i.e., corresponding to the 30th regnal year of Kopperunjinga, the Later Pallava Chief), which mentions a gift of an image of Astra-devar to the temple of Udaiyar Tiru-Agattisvaram Udaiya Nayanar of Avur, in Sedi-(Chedi-) mandalam, which was on the north

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

bank of the Pennai. They are described as *padinen-bhumi tisai vilangu tiral ayirattu tigal vanigar*. The local Chief who made this grant was Surandar *alias* Seya Sevaganach-chedirayar.

This organisation comprised perhaps followers of many religions, Saivism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Vaishnavism.

They were thus a powerful lot, of extensive international links, with privileges and powers, and duties and responsibilities; and the wars and feuds between the kingdoms where they traded left them unhindered, as they discharged a function so essential for the smooth running of societies. Their ideals were noble and are summarised in the following succinct words:

'*Aram valara; kali maliga*
pugal peruga; pagai taniga'

(May *Dharma* increase; May Darkness disappear; May fame (grace) spread; May enmity decline!)

How long after the Cholas and Pandyas disappeared this international trading organisation survived is not known. But one would presume that they had a long record of trading service to the known world of those centuries and played a quiet but important role in the life of the peoples and the nations they served.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MANNARGUDI

5 KAILASANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE AMMAN (TIRUK-KAMAK-KOTTAM UDAIYA PERIYA NACHCHIYAR) SHRINE

We have dealt briefly in *Middle Chola Temples* (pp. 358–9) with the temple of Kailasanathasvamin built during the days of Rajadhiraja I at Mannargudi (the headquarters of the taluk of the same name, in the Tanjavur district).

A local inscription (ARE 97 of 1907) records the setting up of the shrine of the goddess (Tiruk-kamak-kottam Udaiya Periya Nachchiyar), and a gift of land to it for offerings and repairs, by the *Mahapradhanar* (Prime Minister and General) Kampaya Dandanayaka of the Hoysala ruler Vira Somesvara in the 26th year of that king. This would fall in the reign of Rajendra III. This Amman shrine was thus built by the Hoysala general in about A.D. 1260 when the Cholas were still in power though in a very attenuated manner, and very often there was loose joint control over the various parts of the empire by both the Cholas and the Hoysalas.

MANUR

6 CHOLISVARAR TEMPLE

There are four inscriptions, on the south, west and north walls of this temple; one of them relates to Vira Ballaladeva, the Hoysala king (ARE 150 of 1908), two of them to a Tribhuvana-chakravartin Konerinmaikondan, whose identity is not known (ARE 151 and 152 of 1908), and the fourth one to Tribhuvana-chakravartin Konerinmaikondan Sundara Pandya deva (ARE 153 of 1908). From them we learn that the temple was called that of Virarajendra Solisvaram Udaiyar. This is obviously a reference to Rajendra III, who went under the name of Vira Rajendrasola deva; Manur gets the alternate name of Vira Rajendrasolanallur in Vaigavur nadu.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

17

Chola-Pallava Phase (The Later Pallavas)

PART I

MANAVALAP-PERUMAL AND KOPPERUNJINGA

With the defeat of Nripatunga and the extinction of the Kanchi Pallavas in the 10th century A.D., one does not hear of the Kadavas (Pallavas) for more than two hundred years; during the reign of Rajaraja II, we noticed local feudatories rising to varying degrees of prominence, partly as a result of decentralisation of the authority of the Chola court. One such family of local Chieftains, calling themselves Pallavas or Kadavas and bearing the title of Kadavarayans, make their appearance in the Vriddhachalam-Villupuram region (Pennai and Vellar basins corresponding roughly to Nadu nadu). We do not know their centre of power or their origin and how, if at all, they were related to the Early Pallavas of Kanchi. Two inscriptions in Tamil verse (one a copy of the other) found at Vriddhachalam and Tiruvennainallur mention five generations of this Pallava line which flourished in the 12th and the 13th centuries, from the time of the Chola king Rajaraja II to that of Kulottunga III, and enumerate their achievements. The third in this line claims the *biruda* of Elisai Mohan and is called "the conqueror of the four directions". The fifth Chief of this line claims to have conquered Kudal and is called "Arasanarayanan Kudal Alappirandan" *alias* "Virasekhara Kadavarayan". All his successors claim this *biruda*. (Kudal is perhaps to be identified with

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tirthamalai in Puramalai nadu (in the modern Salem district); the deity of the temple there is called Kudal Alvar; Kudal might have been an important fortified centre ruled by a local Chief.) He might have lived in the early years of Kulottunga III (vide an 11th year inscription of Kulottunga III at Madam; ARE 255 of 1919).

The chief next in succession (the sixth) is one described as Tondaimandalam konda Pallavandar *alias* Viraiviran Kadavarayan. His inscription at Atti, in Tamil verse (ARE 296 of 1912), describes him as Tondaimandalam konda Pallavandar *alias* Kadavarayan, son of Kudal Alappirandan *alias* Kadavarayan. He is eulogised variously: as a matchless warrior, who won a great victory over his enemies in all directions; as one who brought the Tondai nadu under his control and spread his sway over the region watered by the Pennai; and as the Lord of Sri Vengadam and Kanchi. In the Munnur inscription, he is called Kudal Alappirandan Alagiya Pallavan *alias* Kadavarayan (ARE 62 of 1919). In a Sendamangalam inscription also, the same title is found (ARE 73–A of 1903). His Tiruvennai-nallur inscription (ARE 481 of 1921) describes him as Alagiya Pallavan *alias* Manavalapperumal. He is known as Jiya Mahipati or Maharaja-simhan in the Tripurantakam inscription of Kopperunjingan (ARE 197 of 1903). He is also known as Kudal Alappirandan Alagiya Siyan, according to a Sendamangalam inscription.

The most important of his inscriptions is at Sendamangalam in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot district (ARE 73 of 1923; SII, VIII, 350). It was issued in the fifth 'regnal year' of Sri Sakalabhuvana chakravartigal Sri Manavalapperumal. It mentions that he chose this place for his capital, founded a city known by the name of Sendamangalam, and made it a fortified military station *(padai vidu)*; and he also built a temple there whose deity was named after his surname, Valnilai Kandisvaram Udaiya Nayanar (*valnilaikandan* may mean a peerless swordsman, equivalent to *Khadgamallan*, a *biruda* applied to Kopperunjingan) and instituted a service called Elisiamohan *sandhi*; a grant of land was made for its observance and for the burning of ten lamps. This was a great step forward to political independence, which

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

came to his successor Kopperunjingan in the days of Rajaraja III. His death and the consequent incompletion of the Alagiya Pallava vinnagar at Tiruvennainallur is referred to in an inscription in that place dated in the 33rd regnal year of Kulottunga III (= A.D. 1211) (*Ayyan Manavalapperumal abhavattale* . . . ; ARE 486 of 1921). A grant of land was made two years later, in the 35th year of Kulottunga III, by the mother of Alagiya Pallavan Sri Kopperunjingan (ARE 487 of 1928).

These events must have happened between the 13th and 35th years of Kulottunga III (i.e., A.D. 1191–1213).

In the 14th regnal year of Rajaraja III, a subordinate of Pallava Kopperunjingan made a gift of a perpetual lamp to the Lord of Vriddhachalam. So the year A.D. 1230 seems to be the latest date of the nominal acknowledgment by these "Later Pallavas" of Chola overlordship (ARE 136 of 1900). Then Kopperunjingan took advantage of the weakness of the Chola kingdom and made serious efforts for its overthrow by his aggrandisement. He collected a powerful army and attacked Rajaraja III at Tellaru. This event is graphically described in the inscription at Vayalur (ARE 418 of 1922). The Chola king was defeated and he, his queen, and his ministers were taken* prisoner and kept in confinement in the capital of Sendamangalam. Soon, however, followed the anti-climax described in the 16th year inscription of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1231–32; ARE 142 of 1902) found at Tiruvendipuram in the South Arcot district. It mentions that the Hoysala king, Vira Narasimha devar, despatched troops on two routes to converge on Sendamangalam for the relief and rescue of the imprisoned Chola emperor. When he found the impending fall of Sendamangalam and his options closed, Kopperunjinga offered truce on promise of the release of the Chola emperor. Accordingly, Rajaraja III was set at liberty at Tiruvendipuram. Even after this setback to his rising career, Kopperunjinga continued to

*His horses, the inscription describes, quenched their thirst in the Kanni, Kaveri and the Ganga (rivers); his feudatories waited at his gate to pay him tribute. The Kannadan (the Hoysala king) suffered defeat at his hands. From this inscription, we also learn that he was a staunch devotee of the Lord of the (gilded) Ponnambalam (Nataraja of Chidambaram).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

increase his military strength greatly and declared himself independent, crowned himself king in A.D. 1243, and ruled for 36 years, playing a leading role in the politics of South India as far north as Warangal and Draksharama. He defied Rajendra III, the successor of Rajaraja III, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas; and spread his influence as far as Tripurantakam and Draksharama (ARE 419 of 1893) in Andhra Pradesh, till his death, at a battle with Ambadeva, the Kayastha chief ruling in the region of Nellore, Cuddapah and Kurnool districts, terminated his meteoric career.

Kopperunjinga was a powerful personality; he was a great soldier and general. He had many surnames: he was 'Avani Narayanan'; he was 'the Lord born to make Sen-Tamil flourish; he was 'the master of Mallai (Mamallapuram = modern Mahabalipuram) and Puhar' (Kavirippumpattinam); other surnames are: Mindan Siyan, Arasar Tambiran, Nripatungan, Avani-Alappirandan and Sokkachchiyan (*vide* ARE 418 of 1922); Bhumipati, Kripanamalla, Sarvajna Khadgamalla and Nissanka-malla (ARE 191 of 1904).

In spite of his preoccupation with the struggle for political supremacy, he gave attention to the welfare of his subjects; he excavated tanks and increased irrigation facilities for the promotion of the welfare of the people (ARE 191 of 1904, Tiruvakkarai; ARE 182 of 1919, Tribhuvani); he was a deeply religious man and made many gifts and endowments to temples for the conduct of worship. The Lord of Dance, Nataraja of Chidambaram, was his patron deity. He performed the *tulabhara* ceremony and offered gold to decorate (gild) the east *gopuram* of the Nataraja temple; he gifted the entire income of the village of Attur for meeting the expenses of building the south *gopuram*, which is his creation. The western *gopuram* of the Vishnu temple at Tiruvendipuram was constructed during his time for the merit of the king

---

Note: I reject the theory of the late V. Venkatasubba Ayyar of two Kopperunjingas (I and II) (see S.I.I., XII, and paras 1 and 2 of page XV—Ins. Nos 119, 120–125 and 128); and for an amplification of my view that there was only one powerful Later Pallava ruler of that name and that he ruled from A.D. 1243 to A.D. 1279, refer to my article in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Madras and my Tamil book '*Kopperunjingan*' (Paari Nilayam, Madras).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(ARE 146 of 1902). He was a patron of Tamil and Sanskrit and the fine arts, especially *Bharata Natya*; he was eulogised as the king who was born to encourage and enrich *Sen Tamil* and as *Bharatam vallan*. Sendamangalam, the creation of the line of the Kadavas of Kopperunjinga, has rich associations and has played a notable role in the history of South India.

PART II

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE LATER PALLAVAS TO THE CHOLA-PALLAVA PHASE

SENDAMANGALAM

APATSAHAYESVARAR (UDAIYAR VALNILAI-KANDISVARAM UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE TIRUK-KAMAK-KOTTAMUDAIYA PERIYA NACHCHIYAR SHRINE 1

Sendamangalam village is on the 185th km. stone from Madras City on the Madras-Tiruchy trunk road. It is in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot district. Tirunamanallur is only 4 km. north-north-east of this village and the river Gadilam flows about 3 km. north of this ancient fortress. Mangalam, Vriddhachalam, Elavanasur, Tiruvennainallur and Tiruvadigai are all within distances of 20 to 25 km. It is located in a strategic place where the Chola and the Hoysala influences met and could be kept at bay.

The entire fort and the two temples within are in an unspeakable state of ruin. The fortified city must have had an outer fortification spread over a km. square, of which only the north-western corner is discernible as a mound of earth and rubble, with a fine Ganesa figure dominating the crown. The inner fortification, also in total ruins, would measure about 100 metres by 60 metres. The remains of the grenels and arrow-holes are still visible in the corners of the wall. In this campus are the two shrines, one dedicated to Apatsahayesvarar (current name) and the other to the Consort. The main temple is in alignment with the entrance

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to the inner fortification. The fort and the two shrines face east. In the north-eastern corner, immediately after entering the fort wall is a 100-pillared hall, in ruins, built in consonance with the tradition of the day to have multipillared halls in the temple campus for coronations, festivals and expounding the *vedas* and the *puranas*. This hall faces south.

The main temple, built by Manavalapperumal and named (after one of his surnames) the temple of Valnilaikandisvaram Udaiya Nayanar, faces east and consists of a square *garbhagriha*, an *ardhamandapa*, a *mukhamandapa* and a *mahamandapa*. From a brief epigraph engraved on the south wall of the *mahamandapa*, we learn that the *mandapa* was named "Ahankarakutta-rayan Tiru-mandapam", presumably after a local noble and donor. None of the three niche-figures on the three wall-faces of the *garbhagriha* is in position, the niches being empty. Fortunately, the beautiful image of Lingodbhavar (with the boar and the *hamsa*) which (at some distant past) should have adorned the rear niche, is leaning on the *balipitham* east of the temple within the innermost wall of enclosure; the Dakshinamurti and Brahma figures have been taken into the *ardhamandapa* and kept there. As at Melakkadambur, a shrine for Dakshinamurti, housed in the southern niche of the *garbhagriha*, had been built as an integral part of the temple. On the base of this subsidiary shrine is inscribed the name (one of the many surnames) of the founder of the temple. It reads: *Kudal Alappirandan Alagiya Pallavan Kadavarayan*. Mana-valap-perumal was also called Kudal Alappirandan Algiya Siyan (ARE 73-A of 1903, SII, VIII, 351). There is a shrine for Chandi-kesvara, in its usual place. On the door-jamb of this shrine, there is a brief epigraph (ARE 81-A of 1903) which reads as follows:

Svasti Sri Rajakkanayan
Tirukkoyil Svasti Sri

We may conclude this shrine was a later addition made by the Pandyan ruler who was famous through his surname of Rajakkanayan.

The entire central complex of halls is surrounded by what once must have been a beautiful circumambulatory passage with a covered colonnaded platform and the wall of enclosure

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(the *prakara* and the *tiruch-churru-maligai*). Now only the western part of the wall and the platform remain. The entire *prakara* is covered with debris and fallen stones from the *prakara* wall. There is a well-covered *balipitham* in front of the entrance to the *mukha-mandapa*. It is strange that Kopperunjinga who raised such massive seven-storeyed *gopurams* at Chidambaram and Tiruvendipuram should have let his father's temple go without a grand gateway. If any once existed, these *gopurams* are no longer there. The stone gateway portion, again in ruins, without the tiers, however, is there at the entrance on the first wall of enclosure (in the east), and at the rear on the second wall of enclosure. (Local tradition goes that it was meant as the gateway to a Vishnu shrine which does not exist any more).

The *srivimana* is square in cross-section and *eka-tala*. In the first tier, there are *kutas* at the corners and *salas* in the middle. The *griva* and *sikhara* are circular in cross-section and rise over a high platform resting on the first tier. A close look at the *srivimana* of the Vaikuntha Perumal temple built about this time by the Later Pallava Chiefs at Tiruvennainallur brings out a close parallel with this *srivimana*. Basically *eka-tala*, the *srivimanas* give the impression of great height as the *griva* rests on a high platform. The *garbhagriha* has a simple basement *(adhishthanam)* consisting of the *upanam*, the *tri-pattakumudam*, a token *kandam*, the *vari* and the *varimanam*. The *garbhagriha* walls are adorned with octagonal pilasters with wide *palagais* and *padmam* mouldings, tenoned, three-pronged corbels supporting the entablature consisting of the *bhutagana* frieze, a modest cornice and the *yali* frieze.

The Amman shrine facing east lies to the north of the Siva temple and is a modest structure with a *garbhagriha*, *ardhamandapa* and *mukhamandapa*. This shrine is also in utter ruins.

The crucial inscription of Manavalapperumal in this temple is found on the south base of the *mandapa* (ARE 73 of 1903; SII, VIII, no. 350) and reads as follows:

"Svasti Sri: Sakalabhuvana-chakravartigal Sri Manavalapperumal Udaiyar(kku) yandu anjavadu Sendamangalattu Urom padai-vidu seydu udaiyar Vanilaikandisvaram udaiya Nayanaraiyum elundarulap-panni in-Nayanarkku nam kanda Elisai Mohan sandikkum.....

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Manalavapperumal eluttu".

Thus epigraphical evidence is available to establish that this site of Sendamangalam was chosen for establishing a cantonment *(padai-vidu)* or military station, in which, within the fort, a temple dedicated to Lord Siva named "Va(i)nilaikandisvaram Udaiya Nayanar" was also built by the king Sakalabhuvana-chakravartigal Manavalap-perumal udaiyar in the fifth year of his reign. Valnilai kandan and Elisai Mohan are among the surnames of Manavalap-perumal, the father of Maharajasimha (Ko-perum-Singan). In the 17th year of Kulottunga III (= A.D. 1195), we find a reference to Kudal Elisai Mohan Manavalap-perumal Vanilaikandar, *alias* Kadavarayan, who is referred to as a feudatory of the Chola emperor (ARE 213 of 1902). We continue to get references to this Chief till the 28th and 29th regnal years of the Chola ruler (= A.D. 1206–07).

There are three inscriptions in the main temple belonging to Kopperunjingan (A.D. 1243–79). One, of the second regnal year (ARE 70 of 1903; SII, VIII, 346), refers to a gift of 32 cows by one Arulalan *alias* Tyagavinodan of Jananatha chaturvedimangalam to Udaiyar Vanilaikandisvaram Udaiya Nayanar.

There is a ninth year inscription of Kopperunjingan (ARE 71 of 1903; SII, VIII, 348), which refers to a gift of 32 cows and a bull made to Udaiyar Valnilaikandisvaram Udaiyar by one Tirumalai Alâgiyan Virakavira Pallavaraiyan, a *kaikolar* of Tiruvennainallur.

A third inscription, dated in the 17th regnal year of Kopperunjinga (ARE 69 of 1903; SII, VIII, 345), deals with a gift of 4000 *kasus*, out of whose interest two lamps were to be maintained by the *Sivabrahmanas* of the thirty *vattams* in the shrines of Vanilaikandisvaram Udaiya Nayanar and of the Tirukkamak-kottam-Udaiya Periya Nachchiyar (the Amman shrine). The gift was made by Tondaiman Udaiyar, the *araiyar* (i.e., Chief or Lord) of Pennagadam. This leads us to conclude that the Amman shrine must also have been built along with the main Siva temple.

The temple complex was enclosed in an inner fortification, and the city or cantonment, along with the royal palaces, would

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

appear to have been enclosed by an outer wall of fortification. (Pls. 376–81).

TIRUVENNAINALLUR

VAIKUNTHA PERUMAL TEMPLE (ALAGIYA PALLAVA VINNAGAR) 2

In addition to the famous Saivite temple of Kripa-purisvarar associated with Sundaramurti Nayanar, there is a historic Vishnu temple at Tiruvennainallur in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district, built by the local Kadava Chiefs (the Later Pallavas). The old Alagiya Pallava Vinnagar was perhaps named after Alagiya Pallavan *alias* Manavalapperumal, the father of Kopperunjinga. (According to me, there was only one Pallava king of this name, who ruled a large part of South India between A.D. 1243 and 1279: see my thesis published in the *Journal of the Madras University* and my fuller version in Tamil "*Kopperunjingan*"—published by "Paari Nilayam"). This temple was renovated in the eleventh year of Kopperunjinga (SII, XII, 170; ARE 486 and 487 of 1921). The earliest records and the ones engraved before the renovation of the earlier structure were copied and re-engraved on the north and south walls of the renovated temple. Its renovation seems to have been started about the 29th year of the Chola king Tribhuvana Vira Deva (Kulottunga III) (*circa* A.D. 1207, ARE 320 of 1932). The first of the copied inscriptions mentions that in the 12th year of Rajaraja II (A.D. 1158), a gift with the object of being blessed with a son was made by Atkolli Kadavarayar (the second Chief of the Vriddhachalam record) (ARE 74 of 1918 and Chapter 3 of "*Kopperunjingan*") who is said to have set up images of Tiruvaykkulattalvar and His Consort and to have made a gift of land for offerings and worship. In this inscription, the temple is called Vaikuntha Perumal temple.

The next copied inscription belongs to the 35th year of Tribhuvana Viradeva (Kulottunga III—A.D. 1213). It refers to a gift of land at Senji as *tiruvidaiyattam* to the image of Periyapirattiyar set up in the name of the mother of Alagiya Pallava

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kopperunjinga *(Alagiya Pallava Sri Kopperunjinga Devar Irasakkal Tiruttayar)* in this temple of Vaikuntha Perumal.

An original inscription (not dated) is an order of 'Kadavarayar', who should be none other than Kopperunjinga, (recorded on the north wall of this central shrine) to the trustees of the temple whose deity is called for the first time *Alagiya Pallava Vinnagar* Emperumanar. The work of its reconstruction formerly started by his mother *(Engal Achchi)* remained suspended on account of the death of his father *(Ayyan Manavalapperumal abhavathiley ittirumurram novupadugaiyaley)*; he had it reconstructed in his name *(nammudaiya peyaral ugandarulappanni)* and made a gift of land for effecting repairs as *tiruvidaiyattam* (see SII, XII, 257; ARE 484 of 1921).

In the 11th year of Kopperunjinga, corresponding to A.D. 1254, the renovation of this Vishnu temple at Tiruvennainallur was completed by Kopperunjinga himself (SII, XII, no. 170), and named the Alagiya Pallava Vinnagaram. (Pls. 382–87).

OMAMPULIYUR

3 PRANAVA VYAGHRAPURISVARAR (VADA-TALI UDAIYA NAYANAR) TEMPLE

Omampuliyur is a village on the banks of the Kollidam 24 km. south-west of Chidambaram and 6.5 km. west of Mannargudi in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot district.

There is a temple here called Pranava-Vyaghrapurisvarar temple. A hunter in the face of an attack from a tiger climbed up a *vilva* tree and spent a whole night on it. He plucked the leaves by way of passing the time and threw them down, and they by chance fell on a *linga*. Siva was pleased with this 'adoration' by the hunter and granted him grace. This place is described as the home of scholars versed in the *Vedas* and the *Vedangas*. Both Appar and Sambandar* have sung hymns on the Lord of

*"*Karta-nal veda—angamararum-Karuttinar-ruttiyar-taniyum urta pal—pugalar—Omampuliyur-Udaiyavar—vada-tali-aduvey"*—Sambandar's* Devaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the temple of this place "Omampuliyur Udaiya Vadatali"; and this *Vada tali* is said to lie east of the present temple which seems to be a foundation of Pallava Kopperunjinga.

There are three records, all belonging to Sakalabhuvana-chakravartin Kopperunjingadeva's 14th year, on the west and south walls of the central shrine in this temple. Two of them relate to the same day and record transactions relating to the sale of certain jewels of the temple and the purchase of land with the money received from such sales; in one case the seller of the land makes further gifts of land for the worship of the deity, which in these and the other inscriptions is referred to as Vada-tali Udaiya-Nayanar. The donor in this case is Arasalvan Aravamudalvan; in another gift transaction, Tiruvalanjuli Udaiyar of Alisupakkam purchased some land from one Alappirandan Sani, a prominent lady from Perumarudur, in Ulagalandasola chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Merkkaa nadu.

We may hazard a guess that this temple (in its present form) must have come into existence in or before the 14th year of Kopperunjinga deva (A.D. 1257).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

18

Chola-Hoysala Phase

The crushing defeat suffered by Kulottunga III in about A.D. 1216 at the hands of Maravarman Sundara Pandya was a turning point in the fortunes of the Chola empire. That marks the beginning of the fall of the empire, that dragged its feet, however, for sixty more years before disappearing without a trace. We have seen how the forces of disintegration cropped up all over the kingdom during the next two decades. This was also the signal to the neighbouring growing power, the Hoysalas, to intervene in the affairs of the southern kingdoms, to restore the balance that had been upset. The Hoysala power had by then been growing for more than a century, since the days of Vishnuvardhana, who had embarked on a policy of quiet consolidation at home and had pushed the Cholas out of the Mysore plateau. In the sad closing years of Kulottunga III, Hoysala power was at the peak of its glory, Pratapachakravartin Vishnuvardhana Vira Ballaladeva II was ruling over Nonambavadi 32,000, Banavase 12,000, Huligere 3,000, the two Beluvolas and Masavadi right upto Heddore, from his capital Hallavura *alias* Vijayasamudra, and his Queen Padumaladevi is stated to have been ruling at Hose Hadangili (ARE 495 of 1914). Another of his queens was a Chola-mahadevi, probably a Tamil Chola princess, which connection would explain his predilection towards the Cholas in their struggle for survival against the growing might of the Pandyas. Ballala's contribution to the prolonging of the life of the Chola empire is handsomely conveyed by a description of Ballala as '*Chola-rajya pratishtha-*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

charya' (= the establisher of the Chola empire) and '*Pandya-gaja-kesari*' (= the lion to the Pandyan elephant). His son Vira Narasimha is said to have marched against Srirangam during the reign of the father (*circa* A.D. 1217). He too assumes various titles to the same effect, like *Chola-kula-eka-rakshaka*, *Mahadoorvipala-nirmulaka*, *Chola-sthapana*, and *Pandyakhandana*. From their first interference in the affairs of the southern dynasties in the crucial years A.D. 1216–18, for at least about a quarter of a century, the Hoysalas made a big bid, and almost succeeded in the attempt, to establish their influence and power over the entire peninsula. We hear of the presence of Hoysala troops at Kanchipuram about this time, while their records are found at Tirumalavadi and Tirugokarnam, and even south of Pudukkottai in connection with the efforts to confine the Pandyas to their traditional boundaries. Vira Ṣomesvara, the son and successor of Vira Narasimha II, in fact settled himself down in the heart of the Chola country with his capital at Kannanur-Koppam, eight km. north of Srirangam, to control the strategic and commanding position over the entire southern region. One of his generals Ravi deva captured in A.D. 1245 Kana nadu, which lay south of the Pudukkottai region, the traditional Chola-Pandya boundary. Some semblance of a struggle was maintained even as late as A.D. 1264, when Vira Somesvara made a fresh attempt to challenge the Pandyan ruler, which resulted in his defeat and death in a battle fought near Kannanur, his southern capital. Somesvara was succeeded by Vira Ramanatha, whose powers were soon curtailed by the decisive victory of Jata-varman Sundara Pandya I over the Chola Rajendra III, who was supported by the Hoysalas. Vira Ramanatha and Rajendra III dragged on, and in a final act of destruction, Maravarman Kula-sekhara, the successor of Sundara Pandya, inflicted a death-blow to the Cholas in a battle fought about A.D. 1279, thus formally closing in that year the grand chapter of Chola history. We hear no more of Rajendra III or of the Cholas.

But, in the years between A.D. 1216 and 1279, the Hoysalas under three successive rulers* contributed considerably to the

*See Hoysala genealogy at Note I, Ch. 11.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

temple-building activity in and around their southern capital of Kannanur Koppam. Their benefactions to the Sri Ranganathasvamin and Jambukesvarar temples have been dealt with in the respective sections.

Here we shall deal briefly with the temples and shrines that they erected on their own in this region. They are:

1. Vallalisvaram, Tiruvanaikka
2. Padumalisvaram, Tiruvanaikka
3. Somalisvaram, Purisaikkudi, Pachchil kurram
4. Tyagavinodisvaram (in the third *prakara* of the Tiruvanaikka temple)
5. Prasannisvaram, Tiruvanaikka
6. Posalisvaram, Kannanur
7. Venugopalasvamin shrine, Srirangam

TIRUVANAIKKA

1 VALLALISVARAM

2 PADUMALISVARAM

With the establishment of his (secondary) capital at Kannanur, Vira Somesvara converted the Srirangam island and the area around it into a veritable citadel, and in addition embarked upon a temple-building activity that, for the short span of time that the Hoysalas were there, should be termed profuse. Vallalisvaram, the first of the two temples built in the northern suburb of Tiruvanaikka, was in memory of his grandfather (Pratapachakravartin Vishnuvardhana) Vira Ballaladeva II who ruled from his capital of Hallavura *alias* Vijayasamudra (Hadagalli taluk of Bellary district). His queen Padumaladevi also joined her husband in ruling the kingdom, and from a record at the old capital, we learn that she ruled at Hose Hadangili (ARE 495 of 1914). In the name of this grandmother, Somesvara built the other temple, the Padumalisvaram.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PURISAIKKUDI

SOMALISVARAM UDAIYAR TEMPLE 3

There were at least three royal ladies by the name of Somala devi in the Hoysala family; one of them was the queen of Vira Narasimha II and mother of Somesvara. An inscription (SII, VII, No. 1043) found on a rock to the north of the Gokarnesvarar temple on the way to the natural spring at Tirugokarnam reads as follows: '*Svasti sri: tribhuvanachakravartigal Sri Irasarasadevarkku—yandu 10-avadu Toraisamuttirattu Sri Posalavira Sri Narasingadevar maganar Somisvara devar maataa Somaladeviyar .....*". Another was a sister of Narasimha's *(Ep. Car.* IX, Intro., p. 21), and a third one was the queen of Somesvara, who died in A.D. 1253. From a record in the Jambukesvarasvamin temple at Jambukesvaram, we get the location of this temple as being at Purisaikkudi in Pachchil-kurram, a sub-division of Rajaraja valanadu; we also learn that it was built by Vira Somesvara as a *pallippadai* for Deviyar Somaladeviyar. It seems probable that the Somaladevi for whom this sepulchral temple was built was his mother and the queen of Narasimha II, referred to in the inscription quoted above. The record, dated in the fifth year of Vira Somesvara, gives the details of the income in paddy from different kinds of lands made over by the king to provide for worship and offerings to the deity in the temple of Somalisvaram Udaiyar (ARE 124 of 1936–37). In dealing with the Sri Ranganathasvamin temple, mention was made of a Somaladeviyar (ARE 22 of 1891), in the 25th year of Rajaraja III (i.e., A.D. 1241); the Government Epigraphist considers that this lady should be identified with the sister of Narasimha who was one of the queens of Rajaraja III. This construction lends weight to the support that the Hoysalas gave their kinsman by marriage which determined the direction of the Chola-Pandya conflict for power for the next few decades.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

JAMBUKESVARAM

4 TYAGAVINODISVARAM

Another record from Jambukesvaram found on the north wall of the third *prakara* of the Jambukesvarasvamin temple, dated in the 22nd year of Vira Somesvara (beginning with the introduction *Samastabhuvanasraya*) mentions that one Kalvakkur Tyagapperumal of Posala Vira Narasimha chaturvedimangalam built a shrine for 'Tyagavinodisvaram Udaiyar' in the third *prakara* of the Jambukesvarasvamin temple and bought land belonging to the temple for 40,000 *kasus* and endowed the same for worship and offerings in the shrine. Incidental mention is also made of his gifting a *tiruvasi* (aureole) for Chandesvarar (ARE 118 of 1936–37).

TIRUVANAIKKA

5 PRASANNISVARAM

Very little is known about this temple; possibly it was erected in the time of Vira Ramanatha, as the king figuring in the relevant record assumes the title of Rajakkal-nayan. On the *gopuram* of the Rajarajesvarar temple at Jambukesvaram is a record of Pratapachakravartin Vira Ramanatha of doubtful date mentioning a gift of land by a servant of Nagala Mahadevi to the shrine of Prasannisvaram Udaiyar *alias* Rajakkal-nayanar situated on the western side of the temple of Tiruvanaikka Udaiyar. The signature *(Malaparoluganda)* of the king is given at the end of the record (ARE 92 of 1910). (All records of Somesvara also contain at the end the sign manual of the family, viz., *Malaparoluganda* engraved in Kannada characters).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KANNANUR KOPPAM

6 POSALISVARAM (HOYSALISVARAM, BHOGESVARAM) UDAIYAR TEMPLE

About 16 km. north of Tiruchirapalli lies Samayavaram, the centre of a celebrated Sakti cult; a little to its north is the temple called Posalisvaram (or Hoysalisvaram, 'Posala' being the Tamil rendering of 'Hoysala') in the inscriptions, the name current being a corruption thereof, namely, Bhogesvaram.

In the 25th year of Hoysala Vira Somesvara, this temple was built of granite stone by the Hoysala ruler in truly Chola style in the new southern Hoysala capital called Kannanur Koppam, in the Chola country. By a strange irony of fate, it is again here that the Hoysalas were overthrown by the Pandyas.

On plan the temple consists of the *garbhagriha* (8.15 metres square), the *ardhamandapa* (5 metres long) and the *mukhamandapa* (11.20 metres square), all resting on a common *adhishthana*. There is a *manimandapa* in front with flights of steps in the flanks. The *vimana* is two-tiered and the *sikhara* is round. There are *deva-koshtas* but now there are no sculptures in them. The simplicity, immensity and majesty of the building are admirable. Over the cornice of the *garbhagriha*, there is a row of birds. The Devi shrine, close to the *mukhamandapa*, is perhaps a later structure.

The Posalisvaram is a Hoysala monument built in the Chola country with all the characteristics of the Chola style, and is a striking relic of a great dynasty that ruled in South India for more than three centuries.

In the 25th year of Vira Somesvara is a record from the north wall of the third *prakara* of the Jambukesvarasvamin temple at Jambukesvaram, which mentions that he consecrated a temple at Kannanur for the merit of his mother Kalaladeviyar, called Posalisvaram Udaiyar temple, and made a grant of the paddy derived from the villages of Narasingamangalam, Kannanur, Ottanur, Sengavur and others in Rajaraja valanadu ('on the northern bank'). We learn from this record that the river Kaveri had breached its banks and had caused extensive damage to some lands

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and that these lands were reclaimed during that year (ARE 18 of 1891; also ARE 122 and 123 of 1936–37).

Some of these temples and shrines are referred to in another inscription from Jambukesvaram belonging to the reign of Vira Somesvara, beginning with the introduction *Samasta-bhuvanasraya*. It remits taxes from the third year of the king on 32 *velis* of *devadana* land belonging to the temple (of Jambukesvaram) and to the shrines of Viracholisvaram, Padumalisvaram, Vira-Narasingisvaram and Somalisvaram in Vada Tiruvanaikka; these lands were subsequently converted into *tirunamattukkani* land for the consideration of a payment of 1,10,000 *kasus* (ARE 119 of 1936–37). (Pls. 388–90).

SRIRANGAM

7 VENUGOPALASVAMIN SHRINE

In the southwest corner of the fourth *prakara (Akalankan Tiruvidi)* of the Sri Ranganathasvamin temple at Srirangam, there is a small Hoysala shrine called the Venugopala Krishna shrine. It has certain purely Hoysala stylistic features and so is not in harmony with the otherwise typical Chola idiom of the main temple.

The Venugopala shrine consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa*, and the *mukhamandapa* and it seems to rise from a pit, as the area round about has risen in level during the past eight centuries. The stone used is granite, unlike in the Hoysala temples of the homeland, built of soft soapstone. The outer walls of the *garbhagriha* are not covered with panels of sculptures of gods, men and beasts, of delicate workmanship, as in typical Hoysala temples of Dvarasamudra (Halebidu = old town) and its neighbourhood, but are ornately decorated with *devakoshtas* and *kumbhapancharas*. These niches are adorned with female figures of exquisite beauty, bedecked with beautifully sculpted clothes and ornaments. One is playing with a parrot, another is having her toilet, applying the *tilak* with the help of a mirror. Are they Gopis dancing around Krishna? The ceiling of the *mandapa* contains contemporary paintings, for whose preservation credit is

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

due to the State Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu. (See figs. 10, 11, 12, 13 of *Sri Ranganathaswamy temple* by J. Auboyes, and N.S. Ramaswami, *Sunday Standard*, Dec. 12, 1976). This is a gem of a Hoysala temple set in an outstandingly Chola realm.

Thus the Hoysala period marks a phase of considerable activity in the field of temple-building, and their preoccupation with the Pandyas did not prevent them from promoting this activity; unfortunately, these buildings do not share with the temples in the heartland of the Hoysalas either their charm or the ornate quality of stone-carving. These temples, however, belong to a class of their own, which we would term Chola-Hoysala. (Pls. 391–400).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

19

Supplement

TIRUVENKADU

1 SVETARANYESVARAR TEMPLE

Tiruvenkadu lies midway between Sirkali, the taluk headquarters (12 km. from it) and the famous Sangam period seaport of Kavirippumpattinam in the Tanjavur district. It was the birth place of the saint Pattinattar, who came to be called Tiruvenkadar after his native place. The wife of the Tamil Saint Siruttondar also hailed from this place and hence bore the name of Tiruvenkattu Nangai. Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar have sung the praise of the Lord of Tiruvenkadu. In ancient days, Tiruvenkadu was part of the larger complex known as Nangur, which name is applied today to a small village about 5 km from Tiruvenkadu. So in the inscriptions of the Chola period, Tiruvenkadu is referred to as Nangur and the deity of the temple here is referred to as Tiruvenkattu Udaiyar. According to local legends, the *Asura* Maruttuvan performed severe penance and the Lord pleased with his devotion gave him his *sula* as a boon, which the *asura* used for the destruction of the *devas* and the mortals; and Siva to destroy this evil doer took the form of Aghoramurti and killed the *asura*. A majestic representation of this deity is housed in a south-facing shrine in the northwest corner of the first *prakara*.

The oldest inscriptions of this temple are found not on the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

walls of the central shrine or its *mandapas* but on the eastern and western *gopurams* and on pillars which are now found round the *mulasthana*. The earliest of these inscriptions is engraved on a pillar forming part of the *mulasthana* wall on the north side. It relates to the second year of a Rajakesari who on the basis of the *biruda* of Perunarkkilli Solar mentioned in the inscription should be none other than Aditya I (A.D. 870 to 907). Thus this temple existed in some form even in the days of Aditya I. Among the other Early Chola period epigraphs may be mentioned three, all relating to gifts to the temple—one by Sadirayan Uttamasiliyar, wife of Vannadudaiyar, another by a queen of Uttama Chola and a third by a lady called Aruran Ambalattadigal (ARE 482 to 486 of 1918). On the west inner *gopuram* there is a record of the fourth year of the Parakesarivarman 'who took the head of the Pandya' (ARE 497 of 1918).

The earliest inscription found on the wall of the central shrine belongs to the second year of Rajaraja I referring to a gift of gold by a merchant of Adirayamangalyapuram in Merka nadu and mention is made of an organization called the '*Parthiva sekhara terinda kaikolar*'. A sixth year inscription of Rajaraja I's time lists out the gifts to this temple made by the members of the royal family including Sembiyan Mahadevi, though no chronological pattern is followed in the enumeration. The gifts include the copper vessels presented by this royal lady in the fourth regnal year of her son, Uttama Chola, gold ornaments studded with precious stones gifted in the sixth year of the same ruler, a gold image of *Chandrasekhara devar*, gold and silver ornaments studded with precious stones and a gold pot, all gifted in the sixth year of a Rajakesarivarman and finally gifts made in the tenth and the 11th regnal years of Uttama Chola by his queen and his mother Sembiyan Mahadevi.

(a) In the 26th year of Rajaraja I, one Kolakkavan set up the image of *Vrishabhavahanadevar* in the temple and made a gift of money for offerings and jewels for the image (ARE 456 of 1918).

(b) In his 27th year, certain persons of the *Rajaraja Jananatha terinja parivarattar* jointly set up a copper image of the *Consort* of *Rishabhavahanadevar* (ARE 457 of 1918).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(c) From a 28th year record of the same ruler, we hear of Nakkan Lokachintamaniyar, mother of queen Villavan Mahadeviyar of Rajaraja I making a gift of gold for a lamp. In this inscription Nangur nadu is said to be in Vadagarai Simhendra valanadu (ARE 447 of 1918).

(d) In the same year mention is made of an image of *Adavallar* in the temple of Tiruvenkadudaiyar in Nangur in Nangur nadu, a sub-division of Rajendrasinga valanadu for whom gifts of gold were made by Kuttan Viraniyar, a queen of Rajaraja I (ARE 449 of 1918).

(e) In the 27th year of Rajadhiraja deva I, an image of *Pichcha devar* (Bhikshatanar) was set up (ARE 451 of 1918) and extensive endowments were made for its worship; gold and silver ornaments were also gifted. (Incidentally we find the *nadu* being also called Vadagarai Nangur nadu).

(f) In the 29th year of the same ruler, a lady by name Tuppayan Uttamasoli set up the now famous metallic image of *Ardhanarisvarar* and made tax-free endowments for its worship.

(g) In the 30th year of 'Rajakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Rajadhirajadevar', it is mentioned that one Amalan Seyyavayar set up this image (of Pichchadevar) and gave lands for its requirements, presented gold and silver ornaments, opened a charity house and sought and obtained from the king's father Rajendra I lands which he gifted to the temple (ARE 450 of 1918). We learn from another record of his 34th year that he had a queen by the name of Trailokyamudaiyar whose mother Araiyan Nambanangai made a gift of sheep for lamps (ARE 446 of 1918).

(h) In the tenth year of Vikrama Chola there is a reference to a pavilion in the temple called Vikkiramasolan *tirumandapa* (now found in front of the shrine). The king was seated on the south side of the steps of the pavilion when he made a gift of land in Peruntottam, called Kaliyugakanna chaturvedimangalam in Adiyamangai nadu in Rajadhiraja valanadu for a *matha* set up in the street called Vikramasolan tiruvidi (ARE 473 of 1918). In the 15th year of his successor there is mention of an image of *Devara devar* (ARE 470 of 1918).

(i) Thus throughout the Chola period, particularly during

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Middle period, this temple received great attention at the hands of the kings, queens, noblemen and local citizens, who made extensive endowments for worship and festivals. During the Later Chola period, the deity acquired the sanskritised name of Svetaranyesvarar, meaning Ven-kadu-udaiyar.

(j) In the post-Chola period, the Pandyas who held sway over this region and later the Vijayanagara chiefs in charge of Solamandalam paid equal attention to the temple.

The present structure is attributable to the early years of Rajaraja I, in whose period and his immediate successors' the temple received the attention of the king as well as the community, their major contribution being the set of beautiful bronzes.

Some of these were miraculously recovered in big treasure troves unearthed in stages some years back. The icons included the famous images of *Ardhanarisvarar* and *Chandesvarar* now kept in the Madras Museum. Images of Nataraja identified with *Adavallar*, Sivakami, Somaskanda, a seated Devi and a Bhoga Sakti are now in the temple itself. Metallic images of Subrahmanya with His Consorts, Vrishabhavahana devar and His Consort, Bhikshatanar, Kalyanasundarar, Kannappar and others are now housed in the Tanjavur Art Gallery besides a pair of metallic images of Nataraja and Sivakami (see illustration).

The Nataraja* image bears an inscription on the pedestal which reads as follows:

"*Svasti Sri Desi Abhayanidhiyabharana Nayakar Sri.*"

This beautiful icon representative of the age is highly ornamented and demonstrates a pose in the dance style known as *Desi* as different from *Suddha Nritta*. The expression has the following meaning:

Desi: a style of dance; *Abhayanidhi*: a store-house of sympathy and protection; *abharana*: bejewelled; *Nayaka*: lord—the Lord who is the embodiment of *abhaya*, whose person is heavily bejewelled and who stands in a pose of the *Desi* style of dance.

On stylistic grounds, as well as on the basis of the epigraphy of the inscription, this image belongs to the Middle Chola period and

*See *South Indian Studies*, pp. 152–156, K. Damodaran

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is coeval with the Ardhanarisvarar icon (plates 350, 351, also plate 349 *of Middle Chola Temples*). Though one cannot be quite as assertive about the date of the Sivakami icon as one could be in respect of Nataraja, it would not be far wrong if we would date it as of about the same date, though the delineation of the face would tend to indicate a subsequent date. These icons are, however, both of the Middle Chola period.

MEL-SEVUR

2 VRISHABHAPURISVARAR TEMPLE

Mel-Sevur lies in the Gingee taluk of the South Arcot district. There is a Siva temple in this village called that of Vrishabhapurisvarar. It contains fifteen inscriptions. One of them, dated in the second regnal year of a Parakesarivarman, is found on the base of the central shrine (ARE 215 of 1904). We are not certain if it could be assigned to Parantaka I. If it could be, then it would be the earliest inscription in this temple. But there is another inscription here of the 21st year of 'Maduraikonda Parakesari'. This is certainly an inscription of Parantaka I (ARE 217 of 1904). This is found on the south face of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine. It records a gift of sheep for a lamp. It is evident that both the central shrine and the *mandapa* in front of it belong to the period of Parantaka I. In the same (south) face of the *mandapa* there is a mutilated inscription (ARE 218 of 1904) of the 37th regnal year of a Rajakesarivarman. This makes mention of Kannaradeva, the Rashtrakuta king. We cannot identify the ruler. Its regnal year is too high for it to refer to Rajaraja I. We do not know if it belongs to Kulottunga I.

There are three inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1008 to 1011). One, of his 23rd year, (ARE 212 of 1904) registers an allotment of paddy to certain temple servants: that of his 24th year records a gift of two lamps. The 26th (or is it the 29th?) year record is built in.

Of the two inscriptions of the days of Rajendra I, one has lost its date (ARE 211 of 1904). The other, of his 10th year (A.D. 1022; ARE

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

214 of 1904), is damaged. It relates to a gift of a lamp.

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the 27th year of Rajadhiraja deva I (A.D. 1045), which records a gift of ninetysix sheep for a lamp.

A gift of 32 cows was made in the 45th year of Kulottunga I (= A.D. 1115). On the east wall of the first *prakara*, there is an inscription of the 13th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajadhiraja deva II which records a gift of land made by Sengeni Ammaiyappan Pandi *alias* Rajaraja Sambuvarayan. This mentions that in the fifth year of the king's reign, the donor's grandfather conquered the Pandyan country. The last inscription here is one of the 13th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1191; ARE 223 of 1904) which records that two Chiefs pledged themselves to be loyal to Sengeni Ammaiyappan Rajaraja Sambuvarayan 'who took the Pandyan country'. The Sambuvarayans were a powerful class of distinguished warriors closely associated with Rajadhiraja II and Kulottunga III in their wars against the Pandyas.

The hard core of the temple comprising the central shrine and the *mandapa* in front of it was thus in existence at least from the period of Parantaka I.

An image of Goddess Uma Bhattaraki was set up by an individual belonging to the regiment, *Jananatha terinja valangai velaikkarar* in the 22nd year of Rajarajakesarivarman *alias* Rajarajadeva (I) (A.D. 1007), according to an inscription found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine.

AMANGUDI

RAJARAJESVARAM 3

Krishnan Raman was a great general under Rajaraja I, and among the numerous contributions made by him towards temple building in the Choladesa, mention was made in *Middle Chola Temples* (pp. 22–23) of the construction of the *tiruch-churru-maligai* in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur, the then Chola Capital. He hailed from the village of Amangudi, otherwise called Keralantaka chaturvedimangalam in Ve nadu, a subdivision of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Uyyakkondan valanadu in Chola mandalam. This village, the birth place of the *brahmana* general, who bore the alternate name of Mummudisola Brahma-marayan, has retained its old name to the present day and is now a beautiful, small village in the Nannilam taluk of the Tanjavur district.

There is a Siva temple here which in ancient days bore the name of Rajarajesvaram, according to epigraphs found on its walls and it is further learnt that it was built by the general in the name of the emperor. A respectfully small temple, it came up coevally with the great royal chapel at Tanjavur, bearing the same name. The temple appears to have undergone modifications and repairs; but the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala* retain their old features. Sculptures of Vishnu, Brahma and Durga are found in the *devakoshtas*.

Mutilated inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I are found on the temple walls. References are found in them to the *alunganattar* of the *brahmadeya* of Amangudi, to a Malayalam Kailayan, a *madhyastha*, to Rajarajavadi, Mummudisola-*vaykkal*, Rajendrasolan-*vaykkal*, Parakesari-*vaykkal*, Madhurantaka-*vilagam*, provision for feeding three *sivayogins* daily in the *prakara* under the supervision of the *srikarya*, the Rajarajan-*kol*, the rod for measuring land, a tank called *Munnurruvan kulam*, provision for the feeding of *Mahesvaras* on all the nine days of the *Chitra* festival by a noble lady named Marayan Cholakulasundari, provision for *Tiruppadiyam* singers, musicians, potters, *uvachchars*, florists and other service tenure holders.

TIRUVALLAM

4 BILVANATHESVARAR TEMPLE, NAKULESVARAR SHRINE

We have already dealt with the Siva temple at Tiruvallam in our *Early Chola Art—Pt. I* (pp. 215–220). In the campus of this temple there is a shrine now called that of Nakulesvarar. On the north wall of this shrine is found engraved an inscription dated in the fourth year of Rajendra I, from which we learn that the famous

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Perumdaram in the court of Rajaraja I and later of Rajendra I, named Irayiravan Pallavayan *alias* Uttamasola Pallava(rai) yan and the chief of Pambuni kurram in Nittavinoda valanadu *(Middle Chola Temples*, p. 65) caused to be built a shrine for Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar in the temple of Tiruvallam Udaiyar in the city. He gifted 50 *kasus* for the purpose of providing for two perpetual lamps to the shrine of Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar described as being in Araisur Vadagai, a hamlet to the west of the city, which is called Tikkali Vallam.

This shrine is thus a foundation of the days of Rajendra I.

MANAMBADI (NAGANPADI)

NAGANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE 5

The village of Manambadi, which is in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjavur district, lies at a distance of 10 km. in a northerly direction from Kumbakonam on the Kumbakonam-Lower Anicut-Madras State Highway. On the same road, about a kilometre short of Manambadi, is another village of importance called Solapuram. In the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, these two villages were part of a common mercantile village known as Viranarayanapuram. In the days of the Middle Cholas (i.e., from A.D. 985 to 1070), this larger village bore perhaps the name of Ilaichchikkudi as we find it referred to in inscriptions of Rajendra I by this name *alias* Viranarayanapuram (the latter name after a surname of Parantaka I). Today, however, these are two distinct villages separated by a kilometre. There are five main temples in these two villages. One of them is in Manambadi and the others are in Solapuram.

The temple at Manambadi is now known as the Naganathasvamin temple; but in ancient days it bore the name of 'Kailasam Udaiyar temple, situated in the village of Ilaichchikkudi *alias* Viranarayanapuram in Milalai nadu of Rajendrasimha valanadu' (ARE 97 of 1931–32). It is located south of the main Kumbakonam-Lower Anicut road.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This is a very important temple of the Middle Chola period, attributable to the reign of Rajendra I (A.D. 1012–1044). It is one of a very few temples of this period having a unique group of *devakoshta* figures, of which mention will be made later. In this respect, it resembles the temple of Panchavan Madevisvaram (now known as Ramanathan-koyil) in Kil-Palaiyaru built by Rajendra I in memory (and perhaps over the mortal remains) of Panchavan Mahadevi, his step-mother and one of the more famous queens of Rajaraja I.*

As many as nine interesting and informative inscriptions have been recorded from this temple (ARE 90 to 98 of 1931–32). The earliest among them (ARE 98 of 1931–32), found on the south wall of the *garbhagriha*, relates to the fourth regnal year of Parakesari Rajendra I. It refers to a grant of land free of taxes by the *nagarattar* of Ilaichchikkudi *alias* Viranarayanapuram for raising a flower-garden, named after the king, for the use of the temple. On the south wall of the *garbhagriha* is an inscription (ARE 97 of 1931–32) of the fifth year of a Parakesarivarman beginning with the introduction *tiru manni valara* (so it refers to Rajendra I) which records an agreement made by the *Sivabrahmanas* of the temple of Sri Kailasam Udaiyar (in Ilaichchikkudi *alias* Viranarayanapuram in Milalai nadu of Rajendrasimha valanadu) to burn three perpetual lamps in return for the money received by them from one Marai Kodan Patanjali Bhatara of Nangur who was the *Devaranayakam* of Rajendra Chola deva. There is a fragmentary inscription (on the north wall of the central shrine: ARE 92 of 1931–32) which, from the introduction '*tiru manni valara*', is to be attributed to Rajendra I.

On the same wall, there is another inscription (ARE 90 of 1931–32), dated in the 18th year of Rajakesari Kulottunga I and beginning with the introduction *pu madu vilanga*. It refers to a grant of land in Naganpadi as *kuttattuk-kani* by the *Nagarattar* and the temple authorities to Vikramadittan Tirumudukunran *alias* Virudarajabhayankara Acharyan for enacting the *Tamilak-*

*For further details of this temple see my *Middle Chola Temples* (Sec. 62, Ch. 4, pp. 269–72).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

kuttu on five occasions during the *Chittirai* festival in the temple of Kailasam Udaiya Mahadevar at Viranarayanapuram in Milalai nadu. There is again an inscription (ARE 96 of 1931–32), dated in the 23rd year of Rajakesarivarman Kulottunga I (beginning with the introduction *pugal sulnda punari*), that records an agreement given by the *Sivabrahmanas* of Kailasam Udaiyar temple to feed the *Apurvi-mahesvaras* (pilgrims) in the temple, with the interest on the paddy received by them from a merchant of Gangaikondasolapuram. There is a 38th year inscription (ARE 91 of 1931–32) of 'Rajakesarivarman Chakravartin Kulottunga Chola deva' beginning with the introduction *virame tunaiyaga*. This is found on the north wall of the *srivimana* and deals with a gift of some land by the *Nagarattar* of Viranarayanapuram for the expenses of *tiru-vidi* festival of the God in the month of *Chittirai*. There is another inscription (ARE 93 of 1931–32) of the same year (38th year) of the same ruler beginning with the introduction *pugal sulnda punari* recording a gift of land after purchase, making it tax-free by payment of a consolidated amount to the Assembly of Viranarayanapuram in Milalai nadu, by a merchant of the village for offerings etc. during the seven days of the *Chittirai* festival. This record is found engraved on the north and west walls of the central shrine.

Another inscription (ARE 94 of 1931–32) found on the west wall of the *srivimana* mentions a 'Parakesari' (which is a mistake for Rajakesari) Kulottunga, beginning with the introduction *pugal madu vilanga*, and deals with an agreement entered into by the *Sivabrahmanas* and the *sthanattar* of the temple to measure out 111 *kalams* of paddy annually as interest on 444 *kalams* owned by the merchant mentioned in the earlier record (ARE 93 of 1931–32) in addition to the gift of the same land for the festival. From the same record we learn that provision was also made for the performance of a *kuttu* (dance recital) and for feeding the devotees in the *Bhaktargal-bhakta matham*. Finally there is an inscription (ARE 95 of 1931–32) on the south and west walls of the *srivimana* dated in the 36th year of a king (whose name or details do not find mention in the record) which registers the order *(sammadaniyoga)* issued by the *Nagarattar* of Viranarayanapuram to

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the *devakanmis* and *mahesvaras* of the temple of Srikailasam Udaiyar permitting the latter to supply daily 2000 lilies from the tank called 'Nambi-Nangai' during the seven days of the *Chittirai* festival. In this record there is the mention of one Mahesvara Mara Nambi Pichchar.

In one of these records, as we have seen, there is mention of a gift of land in the village called Naganpadi, which was perhaps a part of the village of Viranarayanapuram. It is likely that the present-day village of Manambadi derives its name from the ancient name of Naganpadi—corrupted in course of time.

The temple which is entirely of stone is surrounded on all four sides by a thick brick wall of later origin measuring 36 metres by 20 metres. It consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa* separated by a narrow recess. The entire structure measures 11.45 metres in length and 5.35 metres in breadth. The *garbhagriha* is a square of 5.35 metres side, each of the three free walls being divided into three bays of 1.30, 2.25 and 1.30 metres width. The *ardhamandapa* projects eastwards from the *garbhagriha* by 5.60 metres, its side walls being divided into three bays of 1.80, 2.00 and 1.80 metres. On the south wall of the *ardhamandapa* there are three niches, one in each bay, which contain three fine stone sculptures exhibiting features of the period. They are: Bhikshatanar, Nataraja and standing (dancing) Ganapati (from east to west). Similarly on the northern wall (outer face) there are three niches, housing Gangajathadharar, Durga and Ardhanari (from east to west). On the faces of the central bays of the three free walls of the *garbhagriha* there are the images of Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar* in the west and Brahma in the north. On the flanks of the three *devakoshtas* of the *garbhagriha*, there are decorative *koshta-pancharas*. In the recesses between the *ardhamandapa devakoshtas*, there are similar *koshta-pancharas;* and again in the demarcating recess between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*, there are similar *koshta-pancharas*. Each of these nine *devakoshtas*

*An interesting feature of this image is that apart from Brahma and Vishnu shown on the *linga* itself searching for Siva, they are also shown as standing figures in the flanks in a posture of worshipping Lingodbhavar.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is crowned by an ornamental *makara-torana*, in the centre of which is a low relief sculpture of unusual beauty and clarity. The *sri-vimana* is *ekatala* and the *griva* and *sikhara* are both circular. The *adhishthanam* contains *kumudam*, *jagati* and *padmam* mouldings, and all the inscriptions found in the temple are engraved on it.

There is an Amman shrine facing south, located immediately to the north-east of the *ardhamandapa*.

There are some fine stray sculptures located at odd places in the campus of the temple. An image of Chandesar is found in a brick-shrine at its appropriate place. An image of Surya is kept inside the *ardhamandapa;* four of the seven *matrikas* are housed in provisional niches on the inner face of the northern compound wall. The others are not readily traceable. An image of Bhairavar (very fine but broken below the thigh) has been loosely positioned on the eastern face of the *ardhamandapa*, south of the entrance to that chamber. The temple had evidently the full complement of the *ashta parivara devatas*.

On epigraphical grounds as well as on sculptural features and distribution, this temple must be attributed to the period of Rajendra I.

Continuing the architectural tradition and style of Sembiyan Mahadevi temples like the ones found at Olagapuram (the Siva temple: see my *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 137–141) and bearing, as mentioned earlier, a near-identical relationship to the Pancha-van Madevi-Isvaram temple built at Kilpalaiyaru at almost the same time (see *ibid.*, pp. 269–272), the Naganathasvamin temple at Manambadi set the pattern for temple-design and disposition of icons that we find in the Later Chola temples of Kulottunga I's period, as exemplified for instance by the Bhairavar (Siva) temple at Solapuram (close to Manambadi) and the Kulottunga-solisvaram at Chintamani Agaram near Villupuram (see secs. 27 and 47 of Chapter 2).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MANIMANGALAM

1 RAJAGOPALA PERUMAL TEMPLE
2 DHARMESVARAR TEMPLE

Manimangalam is a village in the Kanchipuram taluk of the Chingleput district about 10 kilometres west of Vandalur, a station of the Southern Railway. This place was already famous during the Pallava period, having been the site of one of the battles in which the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I defeated the Western Chalukya king Pulakesin II. Reference to this village is found in the Kuram plates also.

Manimangalam bore the alternate names of Ratnaagrahara or Ratna-grama (SII, III, 27 and 40) and bore also various other names from time to time. During the Middle Chola period, it went under the name of Lokamahadevi chaturvedimangalam; Rajachulamani chaturvedimangalam and Pandiyanai-irumadi-ven-kanda-sola chaturvedimangalam were other names.

In this ancient place, there are a number of temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu. Rajagopala Perumal temple, Vaikuntha Perumal temple and Krishnasvamin temple are the three Vishnu temples, and the Dharmesvarar and the Kailasanathar temples are dedicated to Siva. We will make a brief reference to only two of them.

Rajagopala Perumal Temple

The ancient name of the deity of this temple was Dvara-pati or Dvaraka-pati, the Lord of the city of Dvaraka, i.e., Sri Krishna, and in Tamil the name was Vanduvarapati. It also bore other names like Sri Kamakoti vinnagar (SII, III, 28, 29 and 30), Puravuvari Vinnagar and Tiruvaykkulam.

The earliest inscriptions found here relate to Rajadhiraja I. A sixth year Rajakesarivarman inscription that does not mention the name of the king could also be attributed to him, because it refers to the village of Manimangalam by the alternate name of Lokamahadevi chaturvedimangalam. Thus this temple was in

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

existence well before the sixth year of this king (A.D. 1024). In other words, even during the lifetime of Rajendra I, this temple in its present form had come into existence.

The niche sculptures of Vishnu, Tumbikkai Alvar, Vaikunthanathar and Vishnu-Durga are noteworthy.

During the days of Rajendradeva (II), the village went under the name of Rajasulamani chaturvedimangalam, in Maganur nadu, in Sengattu kottam, in Jayangondasola mandalam and in another record the later name of Sri Kamakoti Vinnagar alvar is found (SII, III, 29). We come across another General evidently of Rajadhiraja I named *Senapati* Jayangondasola Brahmadhiraja. He is said to be the son of Kamakavvayal, who gifted certain sums of money to the great assembly and also land at Amanpakkam purchased by her husband Jayasimhakulantaka Brahmamarayar, a nobleman. The above-mentioned *senapati* is seen making a gift of 4450 *kulis* of land to the temple of Srimad-Dvarapati *alias* Sri Kamakoti Vinnagar alvar in the village of Manimangalam, *alias* Rajasulamani chaturvedimangalam, *vide* a sixth year inscription of the reign of Vira Rajendra (A.D. 1068). In the records dated in the last decade of the rule of Kulottunga I, the village assumes the name of Pandiyanai-irumadi-ven-kanda-sola chaturvedimangalam in Kunrattur nadu in Kulottungasola valanadu (48th year inscription, SII, III, 31). 1050 *kulis* of land is purchased and gifted by a private citizen to the temple for carrying the god in procession on new-moon days. In the 18th year of Rajaraja III (A.D. 1234), two brothers, Brahmapriyan and Ahavamalladevan, the sons of Manimangalam Udaiyan Panchanedi Lakshmanan Malaiginiyaninran 'caused to be made' the stone work of a flight of steps with a tiger's head at the bottom *(puli mugamana sopanam)* for the *abhisheka-mandapa* in the temple of Vanduvarapati-emberuman (SII, III, 39). An image of Narasimha (Singa-perumal) was set up in the 18th year of Rajaraja III and the main deity is called Mannanar. The village acquires a new name of Gramasikhamani chaturvedimangalam in this age.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Dharmisvarar Temple

The same brothers referred to earlier made provision in the 18th year of Rajaraja III for burning of lamps in this temple whose deity is called in the inscription Tanmisvaram Udaiya Nayanar (SII, III, 41). Some fine bronzes belonging to the Middle Chola period are found in this temple, particularly of Nataraja and Somaskanda.

KADAGODI

7 KASI VISVESVARA (RAJADHIRAJA BHANGISVARAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

Kadagodi is a village in the Hoskote taluk of the Bangalore district in Karnataka State. There is a temple here, now called Kasi Visvesvara temple. Its original name was Rajadhiraja Bhangisvaram Udaiyar temple. According to an order inscribed on the basement of the temple (north-east part), 'certain lands, including those that were being enjoyed as *kudangai* by the Bhangiya family of Kalamangalam, were granted, with exemption from taxes, for the deity Rajadhiraja Bhangisvaram Wadiyar of Pattandur', described as being in Sennai nadu in Vikramasola mandalam* (A.D. 1150?: *Epi. Carn.*, Hoskote, 143). According to an inscription found in the upper portion of the northern wall (to the

---

* Vikramasola mandalam was the name given to the geo-political unit known as Tadigaivali mentioned in Rajaraja I's *prasasti* as among the regions conquered by him (like Tadigaipadi, Nolambapadi, Kudamalai nadu): some portions of the present-day Devanahalli and Hoskote taluks fell under this *mandalam*.

Mannai nadu seems to have covered a region falling in modern Dodda Ballapur and Nelamangala taluks. *Epi. Carn.*, Vol. IX, No. 11 relating to the former taluk and No. 25 referring to the latter both speak of Mannai nadu of ... nnappadi *alias* Vikramasola mandalam. Jayangondasola Vanakkovaraiyan was the commander-in-chief of the Chola army at Mandikere in the days of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1115) and Sattayan *alias* Virudaraja bhayankara Mannai nadalvan was the *gamunda* of Mannai nadu. We also learn, from *Epi. Carn.*, Bangalore, IX, Nos. 75, 76 and 77a of Devanbath, that Sennai nadu was part of Vikramasola mandalam, otherwise called Tadigaivali, of which *nadu*, Rajendrasola Brahamamarayar was the Senapati during the days of Rajadhiraja I, and Kuradi Vasavayya Viman, the *gamunda* (29th and 33rd year records).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

east), at about the same time, one Kulottungasola Sennai nattu Kularajar granted some lands for the temple (*ibid.*, 145). Another inscription, also on the basement (to the north-east), tells us that certain devotees (among them one Semba Bhattar, son of Naga Bhattar) paid some money to meet the demands of the temple (A.D. 1151?: *ibid.*, 143 a). Apparently, one of the *Sivabrahmanas*, one Damodara Samundan *alias* Mudikondasola Brahma marayan of the Bharadvaja *gotra*, was appointed to hold all the lands of the temple on trust, according to an inscription found on the upper part of the north wall (A.D. 1150?: *ibid.*, 144).

This temple could be attributed to the Later Chola period, and must have been built after the Cholas regained this territory (in the days of Vikrama Chola) after a short spell of reoccupation by the Hoysalas. Could the Rajadhiraja in the name of the deity refer to the first Chola of that name? The *temple might then have been renovated* in the days of Rajaraja II.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Epilogue

After a long period of splendour, the Chola sun set in A.D. 1279–80. Vijayalaya was the founder of this illustrious line which lasted for four hundred and thirty years (A.D. 850–1280). Their deeds of valour, their magnificent achievements in administration, and their great contributions to art and culture will continue to compel the admiration of generations yet unborn. The Chola ethos is very much a part of our cultural heritage. Not the least of their achievements was the smoothness of transition from one reign to another, unmarred by wars of succession, and the early nomination and association of the heir-apparent with the running of the empire.

The Pandyas who were instrumental in the decline of the Chola empire were themselves overrun by the Muslim invasion from the north, and the struggle for regional independence and religious freedom was carried on by the Vijayanagara empire for about three centuries from A.D. 1336. When the last of their dynasties, the Aravidu, declined, the mantle of the struggle against the invader-rulers fell on the Marathas under Chhatrapati Sivaji, who crowned himself king in A.D. 1674. The kingdom passed from his weak successors into the hands of their powerful ministers, the Peshwas, who became hereditary rulers and made gallant efforts to enlarge the kingdom at the expense of the Later Mughal emperors, but their ambitions received a rude blow at the third battle of Panipat in A.D. 1761.

Meanwhile, the English merchants who had come to trade

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

under the name of the East India Company stayed on to rule, and gradually extended their sway over a large part of India. The angry Chiefs and princes rose in arms in the name of the nominal Mughal Emperor in the first great struggle for independence of 1857–58; this was crushed and India was brought directly under the British Crown. The seeds of Indian independence unsuccessfully sown earlier sprouted not much later, with the formation of the Indian National Congress in A.D. 1885 under the inspiration of Indian and British Liberals who, however, envisioned for India nothing more radical than gradual self-government under the Crown.

After a protracted struggle over several decades, India finally attained freedom (albeit in an attenuated form) in A.D. 1947.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

APPENDIX

The *kudu* ornamentation

The *kudu* forms the nucleus of all ornamentation on the superstructure of the *vimana* in Indian temples, whether of the *vesara*, *nagara* or *dravida* styles. In fact, this superstructure is an aesthetically pleasing build-up and elaboration of the *kudu* or the *chaitya* window and derivatives thereof.

Kudus with inset figures adorn the cornices of the Pallava rock-cut cave-temples of the seventh century A.D.

In Cave No. 9 at Ellora in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra State, also of the (early) seventh century A.D., the facade has a frieze of sculptures and two rows of cornices, each adorned with *kudus* having inset figures.

In the first *tala* of the *dravidian vimana* (of Chola temples of the ninth century), a facade of *salas* (elongated waggon-roofed decorative miniature shrines) is to be found in the middle, with *karna kutas* (also decorative miniature shrines) at the ends, immediately above the *garbhagriha* walls on every side.

In the (ruined) Harihara temple no. 3 at Osian near Jodhpur in Rajasthan, *phamsana* ('wedge-shaped') ornamentation is introduced in place of the *salas*, with *nagara* style miniature decorative shrines at the ends.

The Melakkadambur temple has a different set-up. A full-blown *kudu* is perched astride the first *tala*, and its crowning *simha-mukha* rises above the *griva* and reaches upto the level of the base of the *sikhara*. Highly evolved decorative miniature shrines serve as *karna kutas* (see Pls. 102 and 103).

(For a discussion on the *phamsana* ornamentation, see the article by Michael W. Meister, "Phamsana in Western India", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 38, 2/3 (1976), 167–188.)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN BLACK AND WHITE

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
	Chidambaram, Nataraja temple	
1	Tripurasundari, west *gopuram*	
2	*Chit sabha* (view from the north-east)	
3	*Nritta sabha*	
4	Inscription of the 44th year of Kulottunga I	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
5	The hundred-pillared hall (with the north *gopuram* in the background)	
6	*Akalankan tiruvasal* inscription	
7	*Bharata-natya karanas* with *grantha* labels (13th century A.D.), east *gopuram*, north face of passage-way	
8	West *gopuram*	
9	West *gopuram*, east face, north side	
10	Bhadrakali, west *gopuram*, west face	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
11	Devendra on the Airavatam, west *gopuram*	
12	Sridevi and Vishnu on Garuda, west *gopuram*	
13	Sarasvati, west *gopuram*	
14	Surya, west *gopuram*	
15	Vaijayan, *dvarapala* (name inscribed), west *gopuram*	
16	Kamadeva (name inscribed), with consorts Priti and Rati, west *gopuram*	
17	Dhanvantari (name inscribed), west *gopuram*	
18	Adi Chandesvarar, west *gopuram*	
19	Durga devi, west *gopuram*	
20	North *gopuram*, south-east view	
21	South *gopuram*, north face	
22	The thousand-pillared hall, west face details	
23	The third *prakara* with the Rajakkal Tambiran *tirumaligai* (west-south corner)	
24	The Sivaganga tank, with the north *gopuram* in the background	
25	Amman shrine, *mandapa* at entrance and *gopuram*	
26	Amman shrine, *Natya karanas* on peristyle basement	
27	Surya (Later Chola) from the Sengalanir Pillaiyar Koyil Street	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
28	Devi (bronze), Period of Kulottunga I	—do—
29	Pradoshamurti (bronze: Later Chola)	—do—
30	Patanjali (bronze: Later Chola)	
31	Parvati (bronze: Later Chola)	
32	Adhikara Nandi (bronze: Later Chola)	
33	Somaskandar (bronze: Later Chola)	

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
	Sirkali, Brahmapurisvarar temple	
34	General view of the Brahmapurisvarar, Sattanathar and Toni Appar shrines	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
35	Bhikshatanar (north *ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
36	Bhairavar (north *ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
37	Brahma (north *garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
38	Gangadharar (north *ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
39	Ganapati (south *ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
40	Agastya (south *ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
41	Sambandar (bronze)	—do—
	Uttara kosamangai (Pandya desa)	
42	Dancing Sambandar and Chandikesvarar (bronze: Middle Chola)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
	Achchalpuram, Sivaloka Tyagesvarar temple	
43	Nataraja and Sivakamasundari (bronze: Middle Chola)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
44	Tripura samhara murti and Parvati (bronze: Middle Chola)	—do—
	Tiruppulivanam, Vyaghrapurisvarar temple	
45	*Srivimana*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
46	Subrahmanya	—do—
47	Vishnu	—do—
48	Durga	—do—
	Tiruvottur, Vedanathesvarar temple	
49	Dakshinamurti	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
50	Vishnu	—do—
51	Brahma	—do—
52	Durga	—do—
53	Virabhadramurti (*mahamandapa*)	—do—
54	Ganapati (Old *valampuri*)	—do—
55	Somaskanda (bronze)	—do—
56	Nataraja (bronze)	—do—
	Nandalur, Soumyanathasvamin temple	
57	*Srivimana*	
	Nangupatti, Madattuk koyil	
58	General view, south face, west half	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
59	General view, south face, east half	—do—
60 to 63	Decorative *kudus* (with insets)	—do—

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
	Ambar Makalam, Makalanathar temple	
64	*Srivimana*, general view	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
65	Ganapati	—do—
66	Durga	—do—
67	Nataraja (bronze)	—do—
68	Somaskanda (bronze)	—do—
69	Vrishabhantikar and Consort (bronze)	—do—
	Siddhalingamadam, Vyaghrapurisvarar temple	
70	*Garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa* (north face)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
71	*Garbhagriha*, north face	—do—
72	Durga	—do—
73	Lingodbhavar	—do—
74	Brahma (north *garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
75	Ganapati (*ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
76	Dakshinamurti (loose sculpture)	—do—
	Arakandanallur, Oppillamanisvarar temple	
77	*Garbhagriha*, rear view	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
78	Lingodbhavar (*garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
79	Hariharar (east *prakara*)	—do—
80	Chandikesvarar (bronze)	—do—
81	Nataraja (bronze)	—do—
	Trisulam, Brahmapurisvarar temple	
82	*Sikhara* (*maha nasika* type)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
83	Ganapati (south *ardhamandapa* niche)	
84	Dakshinamurti (south *garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
85	Lingodbhavar (west *garbhagriha* niche)	
86	Brahma (north *garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
87	Durga (north *ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
	Solapuram, Kasi Visvanathar temple	
88	General view (north-west)	
89	Inscription of Kulottunga I on the *garbhagriha* basement	
90	Brahma (loose sculpture)	
	Solapuram, Kailasanathar temple	
91	*Srivimana*, general view	
92	Ganapati, *ardhamandapa* niche	
93	Brahma (loose sculpture)	

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
	Solapuram, Bhairavar temple	
94	*Srivimana* (south-west view: before renovation)	
95	*Ardhamandapa* south wall (before renovation)	
96	*Ardhamandapa* north wall (before renovation)	
97	General view (south face: after renovation)	
98	*Ardhamandapa* north wall (after renovation)	
	Melakkadambur, Amritaghatesvarar temple	
99	*Srivimana*, south face	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
100	*Garbhagriha*, south face	—do—
101	*Srivimana*, another view	
102	*Kudu* with inset	
103	*Panchara* in second tier	
104	Horse of the *ratha vimana*	
105	Surya	
106	Gangadharar	
107	Durga	
108	Dakshinamurti	
109	Pilaster carvings, Nataraja	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
110	Vrishabhantikar	—do—
111	Bhairavar	—do—
112	Sadyojata (from Kilkkadambur)	—do—
	Tiruppalaitturai, Palaivananathar temple	
113	Outer *gopuram*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
114	Inner *gopuram*	
115	*Srivimana*	
116	General view from the south-east from the first *prakara*	
117	Ganapati	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
118	Urdhva tandava murti	—do—
119	Lingodbhavar (loose sculpture)	
120	Ardhanari	
	Suryanarkoyil, Surya temple	
121	*Gopuram*	Sri N. Ramakrishna, Mayuram
122	General view (central shrine to the left, *gopuram* to the right)	—do—
123	*Sapta asvam*	—do—
124	Surya and Consorts (bronze)	—do—
125	The *ashta grahas* (bronze)	—do—
	Perungalur, Vamsoddharaka natha svamin temple	
126	General view	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
127	*Ardhamandapa* and *mahamandapa*	—do—
128	*Garbhagriha, adhishthanam*	—do—
	Nidur, Somanathasvamin temple	
129	Ganapati	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
130	Dakshinamurti	—do—
131	Lingodbhavar	—do—
132	Somaskanda (bronze: now in the Madras Museum)	
133	Bhogasakti	—do—
134	Manikkavachakar	—do—
135	*Tani* Amman	—do—
	Kallaperumbur, Kailasanathar temple	
136	*Gopuram*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
137	*Srivimana*	—do—
	Udayalur, Kailasanathar temple	
138	*Garbhagriha* (northwest view)	
139	Ardhanarisvarar	
140	Bhikshatanar	
141	Vrishabhantikar	
142	Brahmi	
	Kaniyamur, Kanakasolisvarar temple	
143	General view: *srivimana* and *ardhamandapa*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
144	*Srivimana*, *griva* and *sikhara* portions, south face	—do—
145	Ganapati (south *ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
146	Dakshinamurti (south *garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
147	Vishnu (rear *garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
148	Brahma (north *garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
149	Durga (north *ardhamandapa* niche)	—do—
150	Yoga Narasimha (rear *griva koshta*)	—do—
151	Brahma (north *griva koshta*)	—do—
	Elavanasur, Ardhanarisvarar temple	
152	The outer *goupram*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
153	General view	—do—
154	Ganapati	—do—
155	Vallabha Ganapati	—do—
156	Uchchhishta Ganapati	—do—
157	*Dvarapala*	—do—
158	Dakshinamurti (south *garbhagriha* niche)	—do—
159	Vishnu Durga (*mahamandapa* niche)	—do—

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
	Chintamani Agaram, Isvarar temple	
160	*Garbhagriha*, south face of *adhishthanam*, with sculpture of Dakshinamurti fallen from niche	
161	Ganapati (*ardhamandapa* niche)	
162	Bhikshatanar	
	Tirukkalar, Parijatavanesvarar temple	
163	Tirukkalar Plates of Rajaraja II	
164	Tirukkalar Plates of Kulottunga III	
	Tiru Miyachchur, Muyarchchinathesvarar temple	
165	Tripurantaka (dated bronze: of A.D. 1074)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
166	Tripurantaka (rear view)	—do—
167	Inscription on the pedestal, of Kulottunga I	—do—
	Tiruvidaimarudur, Mahalinga svami temple	
168	Portrait of Kulottunga I (?)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
	Tiruvili milalai, Netrarpanesvarar temple	
169	The hundred-pillared hall	
170	Manikkavachakar	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
	Tukkachchi, Vikrama solisvaram Udaiyar temple	
171	Inner *gopuram*	
172	*Srivimana*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
173	*Maha-* and *ratha- mandapas*, north face	
174	*Rathamandapa*, close-up	
175	Brahma	
176	Ardhanari	
177	Chandesvarar (icon on *ratha vimana*)	
178	Sarabhamurti	
179	Nataraja (south *ardhamandapa* niche)	
180	Amman temple	
181	*Dvarapalika* (fallen and broken)	
182	*Dvarapalika*	
183	*Tani* Amman and Somaskanda bronzes	
	Melaperumballam, Valamburanathar temple	
184	Kiratamurti and Parvati	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
185	Parvati	—do—
186	Nataraja	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
187	Parvati	—do—
188	Bhikshatanar	—do—
189	Vrishabhantikar	—do—
	Madarvelur, Madalisvarar temple	
190	*Srivimana*, general view	
191	Ganapati	
192	*Adhishthanam* of *garbhagriha*, west face	
	Kumbakonam, Sar(a) ngapani temple	
193	Horse in the *rathamandapa*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
194	Elephants and wheels	—do—
195 to 200	*Karanas* on the east *gopuram*	Sri N. Sethuraman
201	*Natya* panels (Pandya or Vijayanagara?)	—do—
202	*Natya* panels (Pandya or Vijayanagara?)	—do—
	Palaiyarai (-yaru), Somanathar temple	
203	Outer *gopuram*, east face	
204	*Srivimana* and general view	
205	*Rathamandapa*	
206	*Garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*, south face	
207	Ardhanari	
208	Brahma	
209	Durga	
210	Nataraja (bronze)	
211	Amman temple, general view from the east	
	Tiruvarur, Tyagarajasvamin temple	
212	Sundarar (metal: days of Kulottunga II)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
	Mulaiyur, Parasunathasvamin temple	
213	Ardhanari (rear *devakoshta* niche)	
	Uttattur, Siddharatnesvarar temple, Amman shrine	
214	Ichchha sakti	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
215	Jnana sakti	—do—
216	Kriya sakti	—do—
217	Brahmi	—do—
218	Durga	—do—
	Munnur, Adavallisvarar temple	
219	*Srivimana*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
220	Ganapati	—do—
221	Dakshinamurti	—do—
222	Vishnu	—do—
223	Brahma	—do—
224	Durga	—do—
	Darasuram, Airavatesvarar temple	
225	Dilapidated outer *gopuram* (west face, north wing)	
226	Bird's-eye-view (northeast)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
227	Inner *gopuram*, west face	
228	Rajagambhira hall and *srivimana* (southeast view)	—do—
229	*Ardhamandapa*, south face	
230	*Srivimana*, west face	—do—
231	*Garbhagriha*, south face	
232	*Garbhagriha*, north face	
233	*Mahamandapa* and *Rajagambhira* hall, north wall	
234–35	Anecdotes on the *Nayanmars* (on the *upapitham*)	
236–37	*Mahamandapa* ceiling decoration	—do—
238	Sivacharyas (*Devaram* hymnists), north *prakara* (peristyle)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
239–41	Pillar carvings in Rajagambhira hall	
242	Nagadeva	
243	Lingodbhavar	
244	Mohini (Annapurani?)	Sri N. Sethuraman, Kumbakonam
245	*Chauri*-bearer	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
246	Mahamaya	—do—
247	Amman (Deiva Nachchiyar)	—do—
248	*Rishipatnis*	Sri E. S. Mahalingam
249	Gajasamharamurti	—do—
250	Sarabhamurti	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
251	*Dvarapala* from Kalyani (Late Chalukya, now in the Thanjavur Art Gallery: see my *Middle Chola Temples*, pp. 334–335)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
	Darasuram, Amman temple	
252	West *prakara* view	
253	*Garbhagriha*, south face	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
254	Jnana sakti	
255	Kriya sakti	
256	Ichchha sakti	

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
	Ponnamaravati, Cholisvarar temple	
257	*Srivimana*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
258	Wall and entablature details	—do—
259	Brahma	—do—
260	Bhairavar	—do—
	Pallavarayanpettai, Sundaresvarar temple	
261	General view (from the south-west)	
262	Ganapati (*ardhamandapa* niche)	
263	Lingodbhavar	
264	Durga	
265	Jyeshthadevi	
266	Dakshinamurti	
267–8	Composite view of the inscription	Sri N. Sethuraman
269	Nataraja (bronze)	
270	Amman (bronze)	
	Srivanchiyam, Vanchisvarar temple	
271	Nataraja (bronze)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
272	Sivakamasundari	—do—
273	Somaskandar (bronze)	—do—
	Tiruvasi, Marruraivar isvarar temple	
274	*Srivimana* (northwest view)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
275	Vaishnavi (Amman shrine)	—do—
276	Brahmi (Amman shrine)	—do—
277	Mahesvari (Amman shrine)	—do—
278	Raudri (Amman shrine)	—do—
279	Rudrani (Amman shrine)	—do—
	Arpakkam, Tiruvalisvarar temple	
280	*Griva*, *sikhara* and *stupis*	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
281	*Garbhagriha* wall	—do—
282	Ayyanar	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
283	Vishnu	—do—
	Pattisvaram, Tenupurisvarar temple	
284	*Srivimana* superstructure, northwest view	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
285	Amman shrine, north face	—do—
286	Durga	Sri N. Sethuraman
287	Jnanambika	—do—

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
288	Nataraja (bronze)	
289	Amman (bronze)	
290	Govinda Dikshitar and spouse	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
	Tirusattimuttam, Tirusattimuttam temple	
291	*Srivimana*	
292	Agastya	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
293	Nataraja (*ardhamandapa*)	
294	Dakshinamurti	—do—
295	Lingodbhavar (*srivimana* figure)	
296	Alingana Amman (Tiru Sakti)	—do—
297	Nataraja (bronze)	—do—
298	Siva of Somaskanda group (bronze: Later Chola)	
299	Manikkavachakar	
300	Sattanathar	
	Tiruvakkarai, Chandramoulisvarar temple	
301	Hundred-pillared hall	The American Academy of Benares, Varanasi
	Tiruvennainallur, Arul turai temple	
302	General view from the west	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
303	Nataraja and Amman (bronze)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
304	Lingodbhavar	—do—
305	Dakshinamurti	—do—
306	Bhikshatanar	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
307	Brahma (*garbhagriha* niche)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
	Achyutamangalam, Somanathesvarar temple	
308	General view from the southwest	
309	*Garbhagriha*, west face	
	Kalahasti, Kalahastisvarar temple	
310	Mukhalingam	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
311	Mohini (bronze)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
312	Bhikshatanar (bronze)	—do—
	Ten Tiruvalangadu, Alangadu Udaiyar temple	
313	Portrait of Kulottunga III (as Sivapadasekhara: with 'Siva's feet' on his head)	Sri N. Sethuraman

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
	Korukkai, Kulottungasolisvaram	
314	*Srivimana*, south face	
315	General view, west face	
316	Ardhanari	
317	Durga	
318	Ganapati	
319	Surya (loose sculpture, in a *mandapa*)	
	Tribhuvanam, Kampaharesvarar temple	
320	Eastern outer *gopuram*	
321	Outer *gopuram*, inner face, southern half	
322	General view	
323	South *prakara*	Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle
324	Inscription of Kulottunga III on the *adhishthanam* of the *garbhagriha*	
325	Wheel (loose)	
326–8	Decorative elements in *upapitham*	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
329	Lingodbhavar (*srivimana* west face)	
330	Durga (*ardhamandapa* north face)	
331	Nataraja (loose, broken)	
332	*Salabhanjika* (loose)	
333	*Dvarapala*	
334	Sarabhamurti (bronze)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
	Tribhuvanam, Kampaharesvarar temple, Amman shrine	
335	Rear view	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
336	Mahesvari	—do—
337	Vaishnavi	—do—
338	Kaumari	—do—
339	Brahmi	—do—
	Tirumananjeri, Udvahanathasvamin temple	
340	Nataraja (bronze)	
341	Amman (bronze)	
	Kuttalam, Omkarisvarar temple	
342	General view from the southwest	
343	Inscription on the west wall of the *adhishthanam* of the *garbhagriha*	
344	Durga	
345	Nataraja (bronze)	
346	Chandrasekharar	

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
347	Parvati	
348	Vishnu	
	Seranur, Vamsoddharakanathar temple	
349	General view from the northeast	
	Allur, Panchanadisvarar temple, Amman shrine	
350	Superstructure (renovated)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
351	Basement mouldings	—do—
	Tiruvarur, Tyagarajasvamin temple	
352	Main (eastern) *gopuram*	
353	*Upapitham* and *adhishthanam* of *gopuram*	
	Arumbavur, Kailasa nathar temple	
354	*Srivimana*, view from northwest	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
355	Ganapati (*ardhamandapa*)	—do—
356	Dakshinamurti	—do—
357	Lingodbhavar	—do—
358	Brahma	—do—
359	Durga (*ardhamandapa*)	—do—
360	Chandesvarar	—do—
	Kovilur, Mantrapurisvarar temple	
361	Sambandar (bronze)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
362	Appar (bronze)	—do—
	Turaiyur, Nandikesvarar temple	
363	Brahma	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
364	Lingodbhavar	—do—
365	Dakshinamurti	—do—
366	Durga	—do—
367	Sasta	—do—
368	Bhairavar	—do—
	Turaiyur, Nandikesvarar temple, Amman shrine	
369	Durga (*ardhamandapa* north)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
370	Brahmi (*garbhagriha* north)	—do—
371	Vaishnavi (*garbhagriha* west)	—do—
372	Mahesvari (*garbhagriha* south)	—do—
373	Ichchha sakti (*ardhamandapa* south)	—do—

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
	Tirthanagari, Jivankuresvarar temple	
374	Pradosha Nayakar and Consort (inscription on pedestal: '*Svastisri Sakala bhuvana Chakravarti Kopperunjingan*')	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
375	Pradosha Nayakar and Consort (rear view)	—do—
	Sendamangalam, Apatsahayesvarar temple	
376	General view from the south (temple ruins)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
377	*Srivimana* west face	—do—
378	Ganapati (loose sculpture, in *mahamandapa*)	—do—
379	*Garbhagriha*, west face	—do—
380	Lingodbhavar (loose sculpture) originally from rear niche of *garbhagriha*	—do—
381	Gajalakshmi (loose sculpture in *mahamandapa*)	—do—
	Tiruvennainallur, Vaikuntha Perumal temple	
382	Main (eastern) gopuram	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
383	General view from the south	—do—
384	Tayar *sannidhi*	—do—
385	Andal *sannidhi*	—do—
386	Tayar (Consort)	—do—
387	Andal	—do—
	Kannanur Koppam, Posalesvarar temple	
388	General view from southwest	
389	*Dvarapala*	
390	*Dvarapala*	
	Srirangam, Venugopalasvamin temple	
391	General view	
392	*Srivimana*	
393	Venugopala (west *garbhagriha* niche)	
394	Decorative *kanya* figure	
395–6	*Vadya kanyas*	
397	Damsel with parrot	
398	Nude damsel	
399	Damsel with mirror	
400	Damsel with parrot in swing	
	Miscellaneous	
401	Hanuman (bronze): Victoria and Albert Museum	Sri R. Nagaswamy
402	Parvati (bronze): Nallur	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
403	Gramam, Sivalokanathar temple, Amman shrine	—do—
404	Tirunedungalam, Nedungala nathar temple, Amman shrine	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
405	Tiruvadigai, Virattanesvarar temple, Nataraja (bronze)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
406	Tiruvadigai, Virattanesvarar temple, inscribed conch	—do—
407	Another inscribed conch	—do—
408	Tirutturaippundi, inscribed *kudamula*	—do—
409	Processional car of Nataraja temple, Chidambaram	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
410	Processional car of Tyagarajasvamin temple, Tiruvarur	Sri V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar
411	Sirkali, Brahmapurisvarar temple, inlaid 'mango necklace' (*'kallilaitta mangai malai'*)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
412	Sringeri, Sankaracharya *matham*, *makutam*	—do—
413	Srirangam, Ranganathasvamin temple, *ratna kavacham*	—do—
	Supplement covering the Early and Middle Chola Periods	
414	Velanjeri, copper plate grant of Parantaka I	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
415	Velanjeri, copper plate grant of Parantaka I, seal	—do—
416	Velanjeri, Vrishabhantikar and Consort (Early Chola) from treasure trove	—do—
417	Anatandavapuram, Panchanadisvarar temple, Nataraja (bronze)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
418	Karaiviram, Karaiviresvarar temple, Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze), age of Parantaka I.	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
419	Karaiviram, Karaiviresvarar temple, Sivakami (bronze) with inscribed pedestal	—do—
420	Karaiviram, Karaiviresvarar temple, inscription on the pedestal of the (above) Sivakami icon	—do—
421	Somangalam, Somanathesvarar temple, Nataraja (bronze)	—do—
422	Kollimalai, Arapallisvarar temple, general view (Sembiyan Mahadevi age)	—do—
423	Nallur, Kalyanasundarar temple, Uma Paramesvari (bronze)	—do—
424	Nallur, Kalyanasundarar temple, Vrishabha vahanar (bronze)	—do—
425	Nallur, Kalyanasundarar temple, Sundarar and Paravai Nachchiyar (bronze)	—do—
426	Kamarasavalli, Karkotakesvarar temple, Vrishabhantikar (bronze): Sembiyan Mahadevi age	—do—
427	Kamarasavalli, Karkotakesvarar temple, Sembiyan Mahadevi (?) (bronze)	—do—
428	Kamarasavalli, Karkotakesvarar temple, Vrishabhantikar (bronze)	—do—

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate No.	*Description*	*Courtesy of*
429	Kamarasavalli, Karkotakesvarar temple, Vrishabha	—do—
430	Kodavasal, Konesvarasvamin temple, Nataraja (inscribed bronze)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
431	Kodavasal, Konesvarasvamin temple, Sivakami (bronze)	—do—
432	Kilvelur, Akshayalinga svamin temple, Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze)	—do—
433	Melsevur, Vrishabha nathesvarar temple, Vishnu	—do—
434	Melsevur, Vrishabha nathesvarar temple, Kamala ma munivar (bronze)	—do—
435	Melsevur, Vrishabha nathesvarar temple, Surya	—do—
436	Melsevur, Vrishabha nathesvarar temple, Chandra	—do—
437	Melsevur, Vrishabha nathesvarar temple, Amman shrine, Ichchha sakti	—do—
438	Melsevur, Vrishabha nathesvarar temple, Amman shrine, Kriya sakti	—do—
439	Manambadi, Naganathasvamin temple, general view	—do—
440	Manambadi, Naganathasvamin temple, Lingodbhavar	
441	Manambadi, Naganathasvamin temple, *ardhamandapa* south wall	
442	Manambadi, Naganathasvamin temple, *ardhamandapa* north wall	
443	Tiruvenkadu, Nataraja and Sivakami: inscribed bronze from treasure trove	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
444	Tiruvenkadu, Nataraja and Sivakami, rear view	—do—
445	Korukkai, Virattanesvarar temple, Parvati (bronze)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry
446	Saikkadu (Chhayavanam), Chhayavanesvarar temple, Subrahmanya (bronze)	Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu
447	Manimangalam, Dharmisvarar temple, Nataraja (bronze)	French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry

CHIDAMBARAM, Nataraja temple
1. Tripurasundari

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

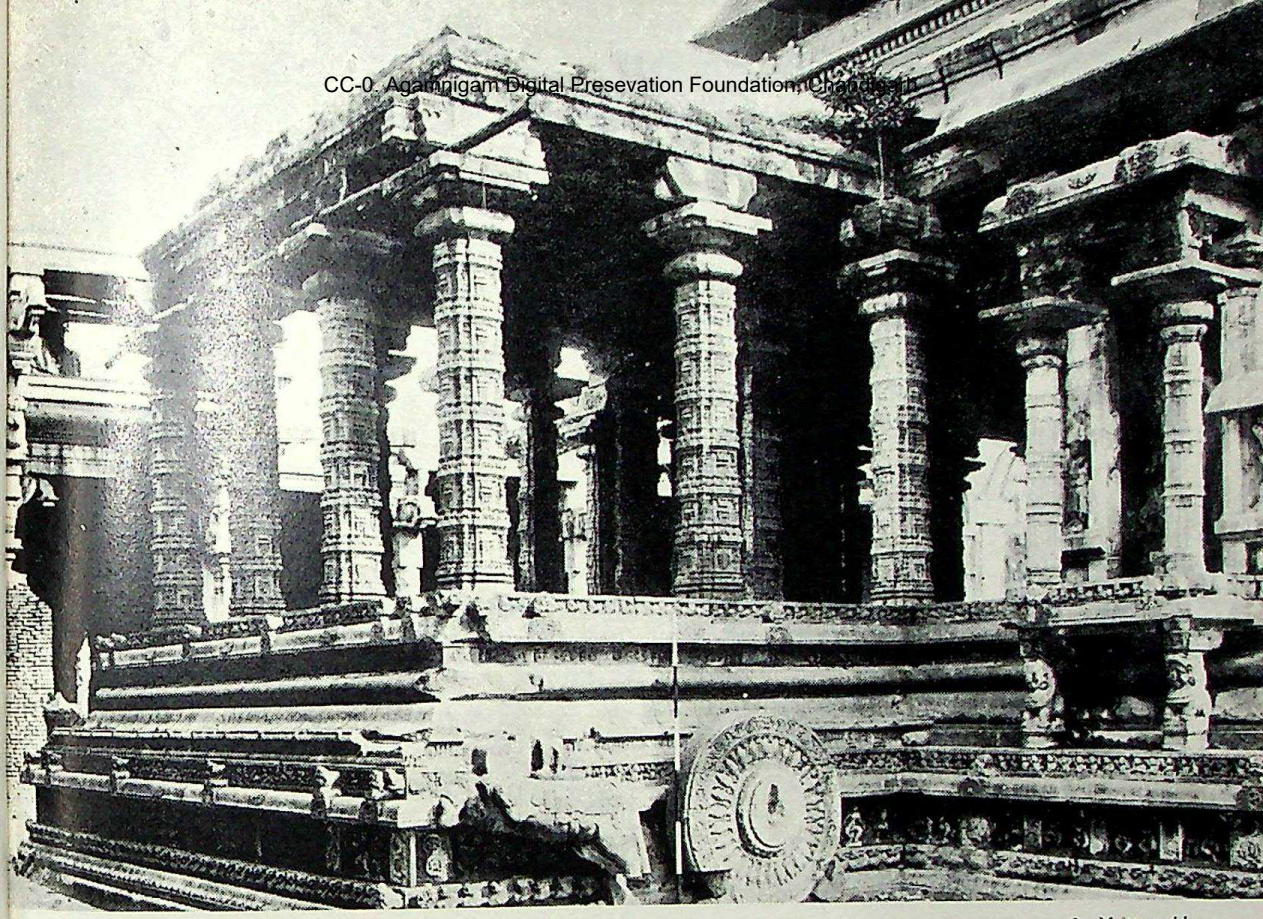
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHIDAMBARAM, Nataraja temple

2. *Chit sabha*

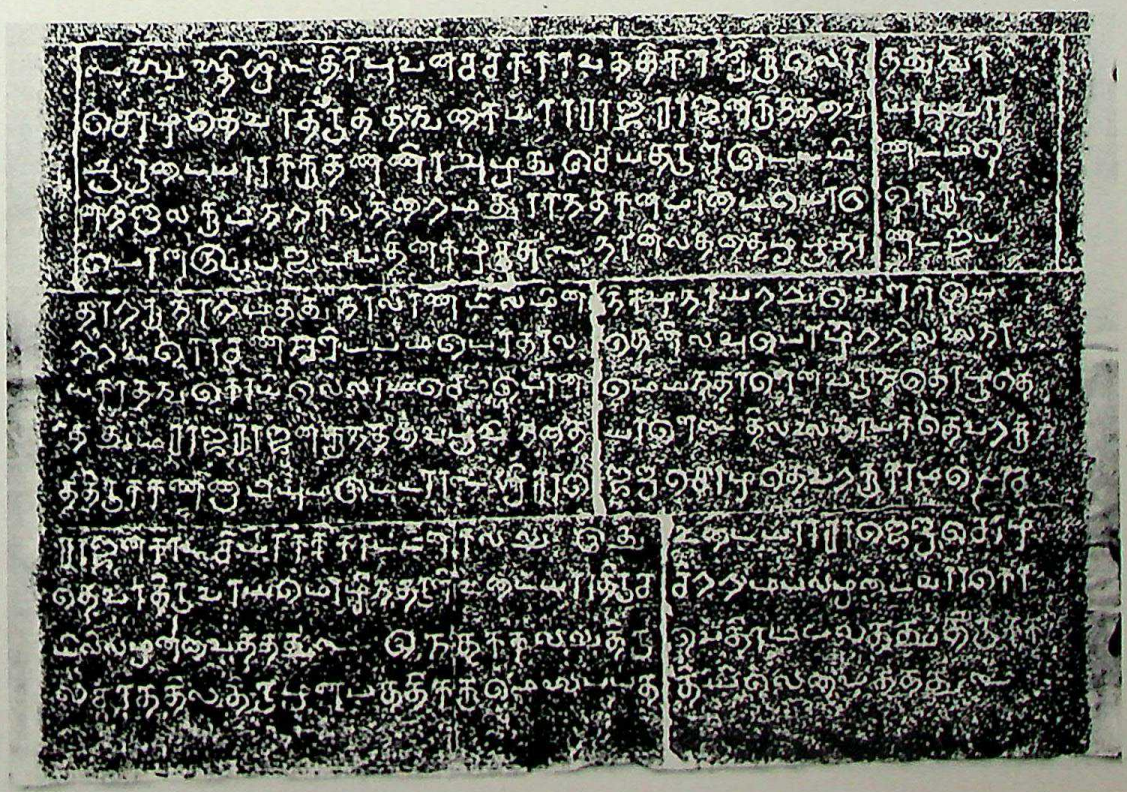
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



3. *Nritta sabha*

CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

4. Kulottunga I inscription



Courtesy: Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu

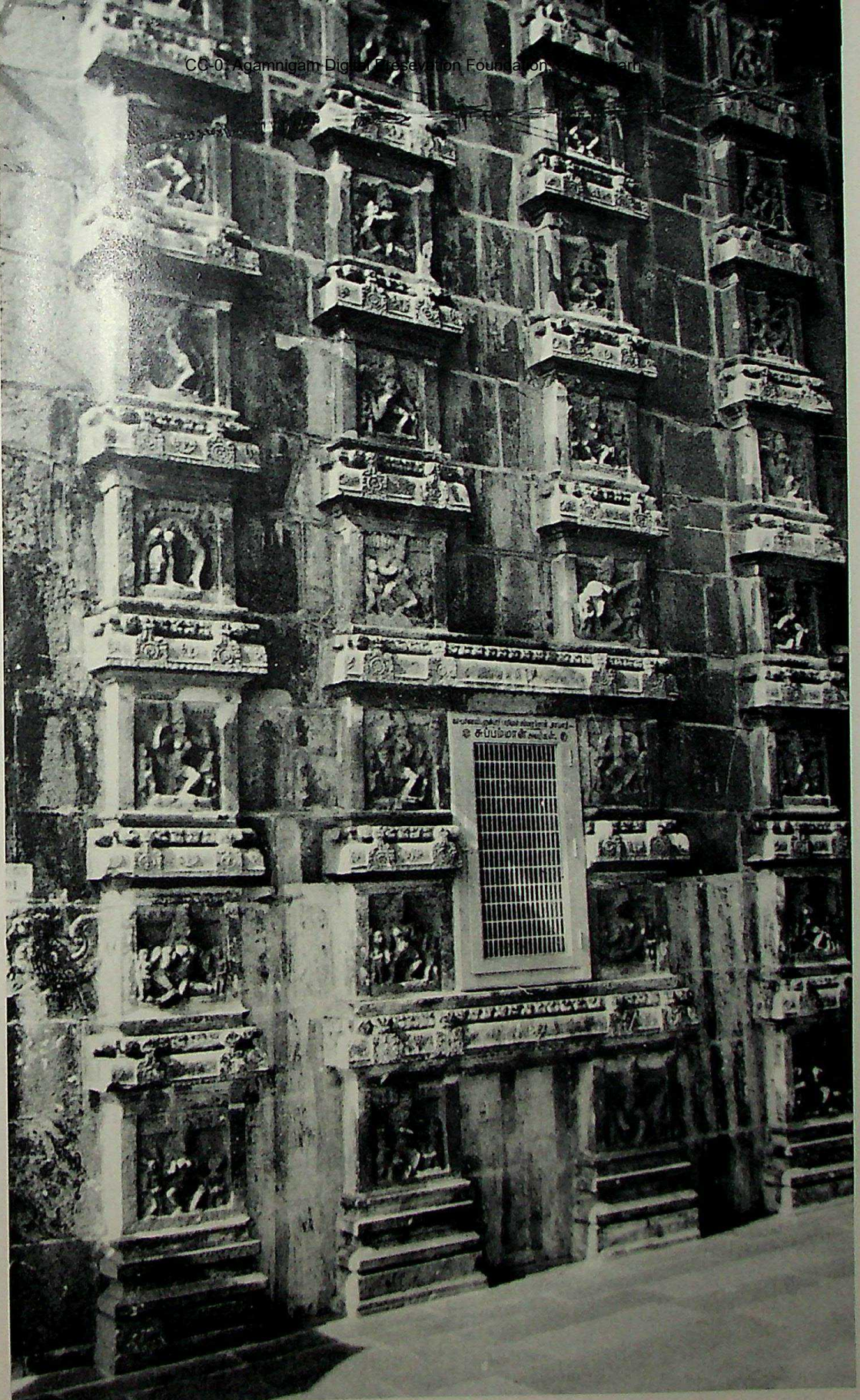
CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

5. 100-pillared hall

6. 'Akalanka tiruvasal' inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

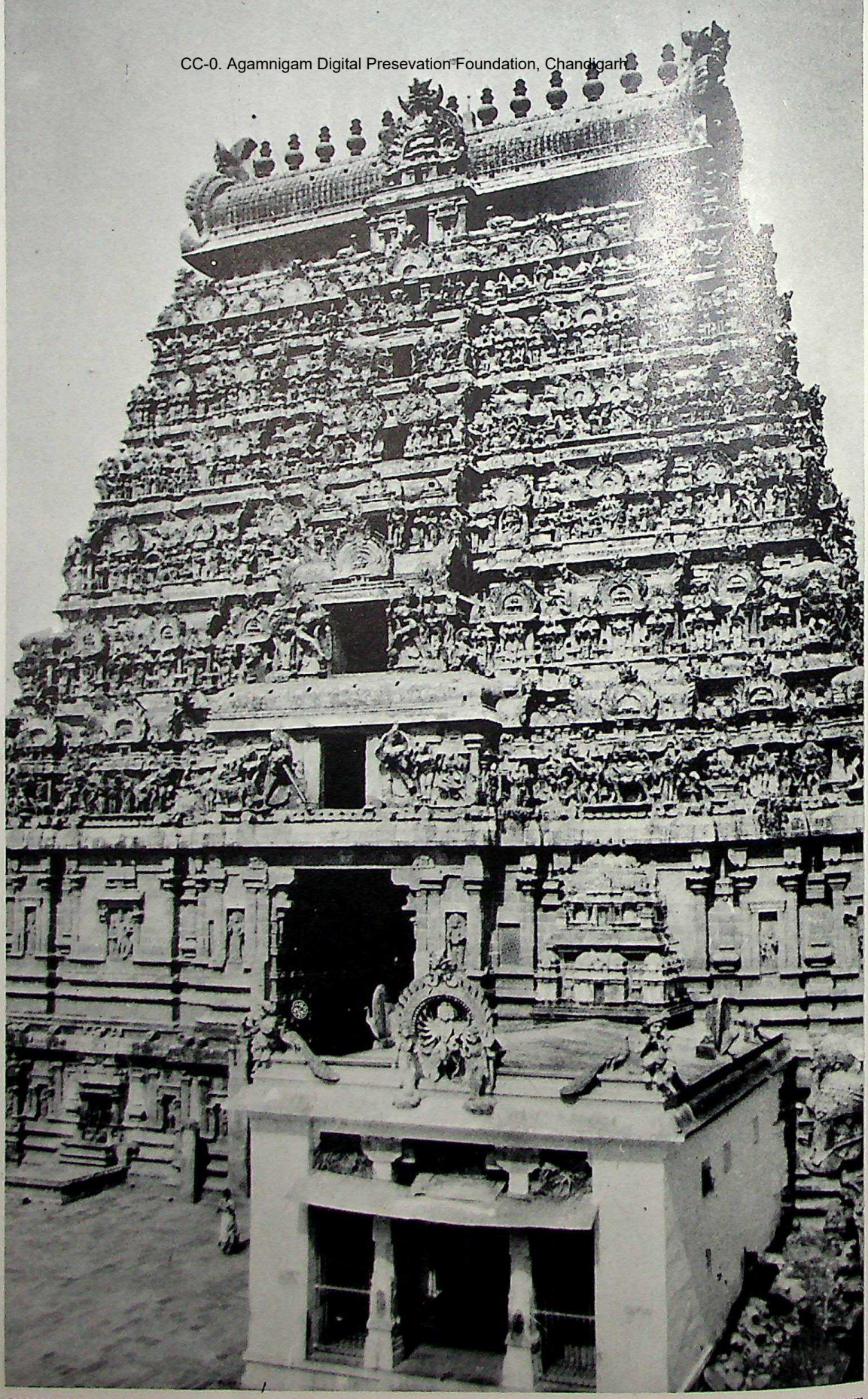
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, New Delhi



CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

7. *Bharata-natya karanas*
with *grantha* labels (13th cent., A.D.)

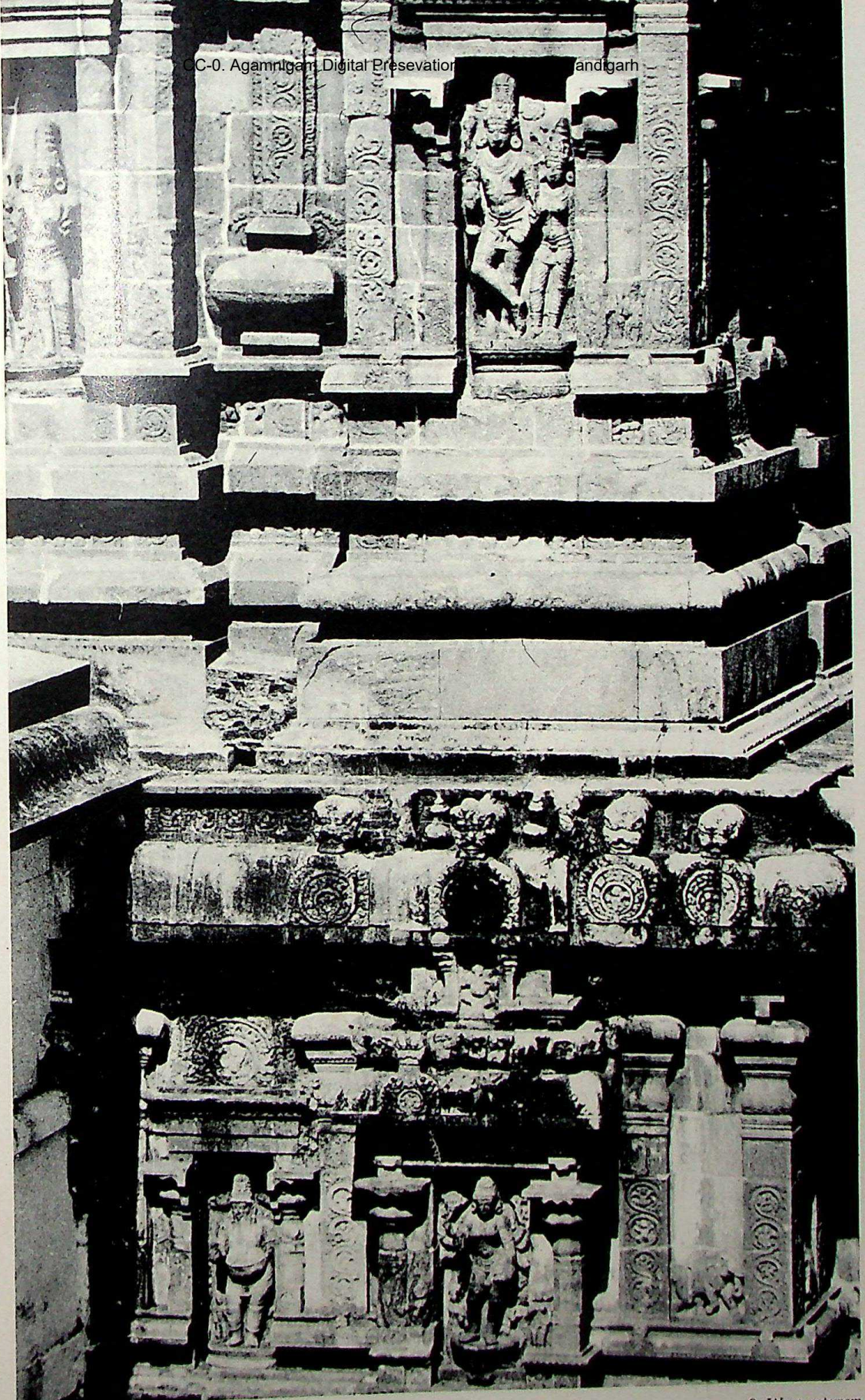
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

8. West *gopuram*

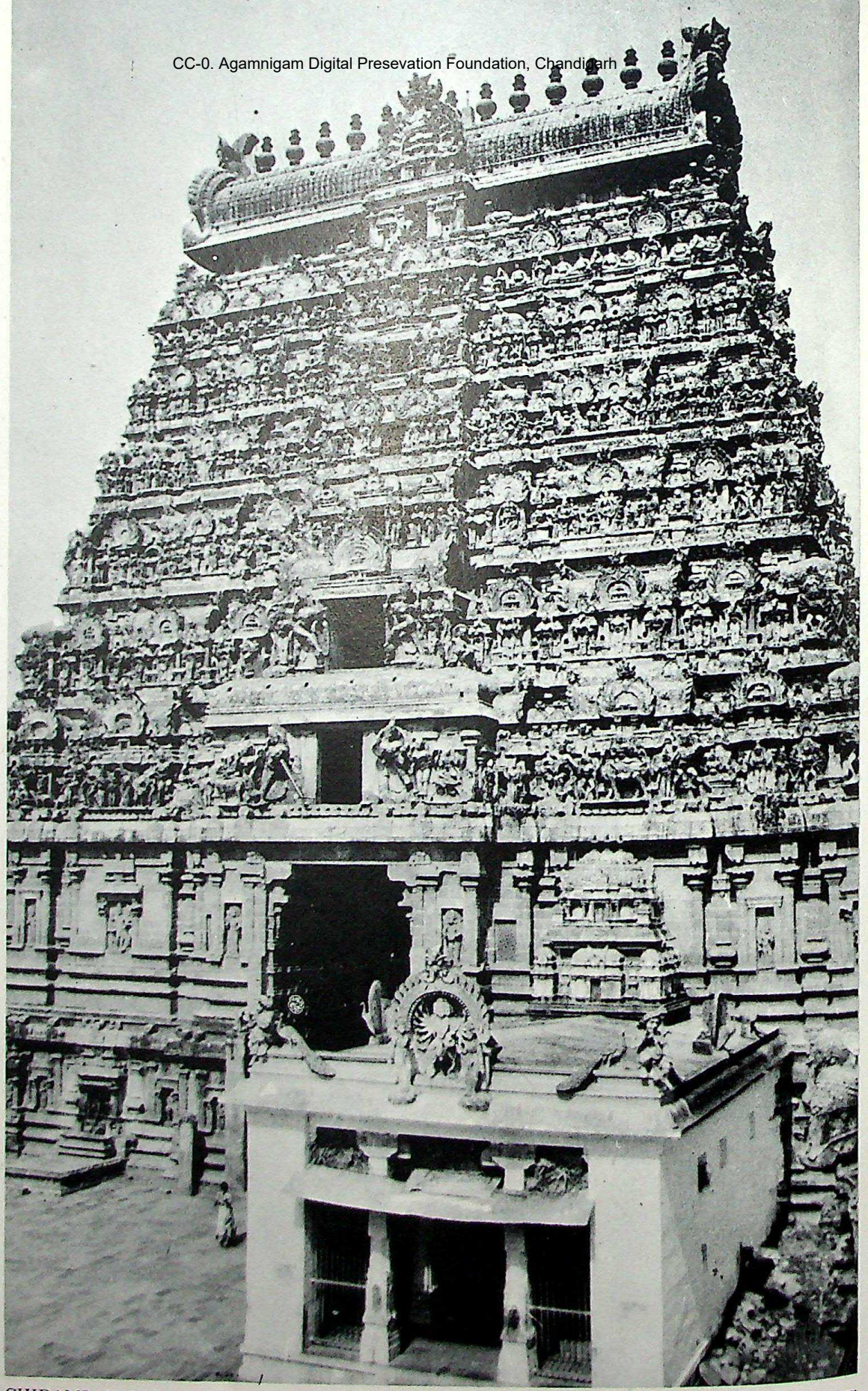
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



9. West *gopuram*

CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

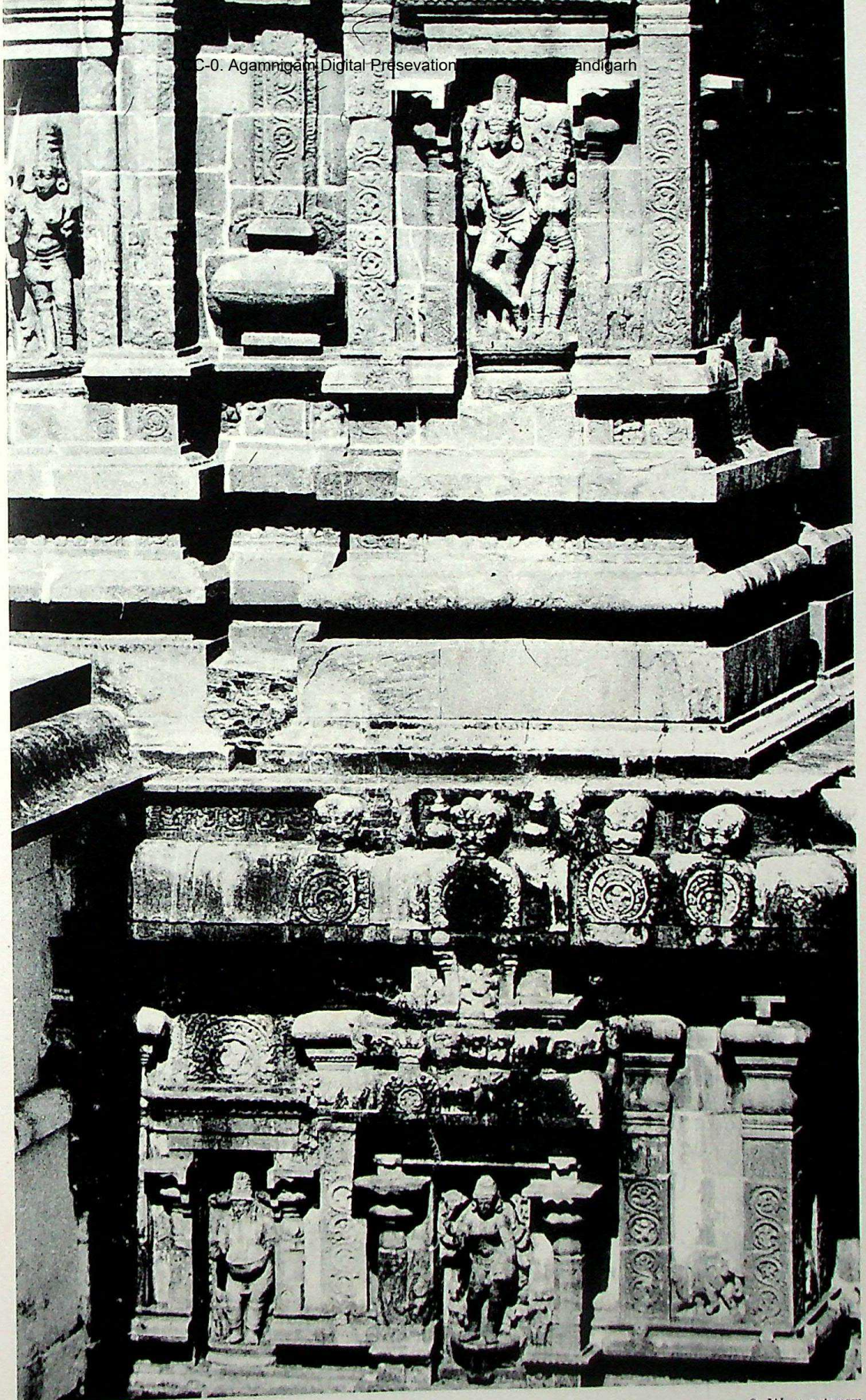
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

8. West *gopuram*

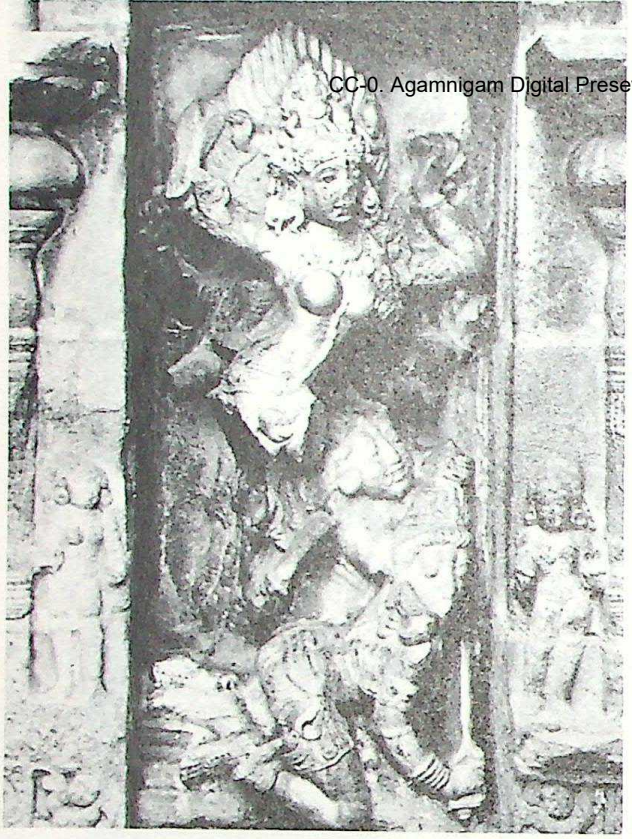
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



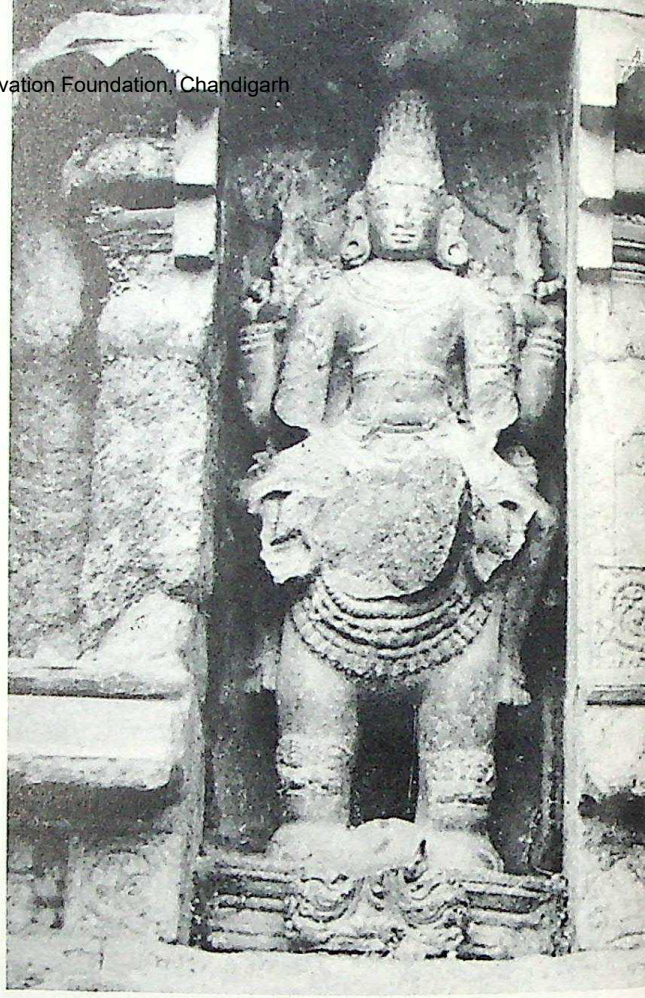
9. West *gopuram*

CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



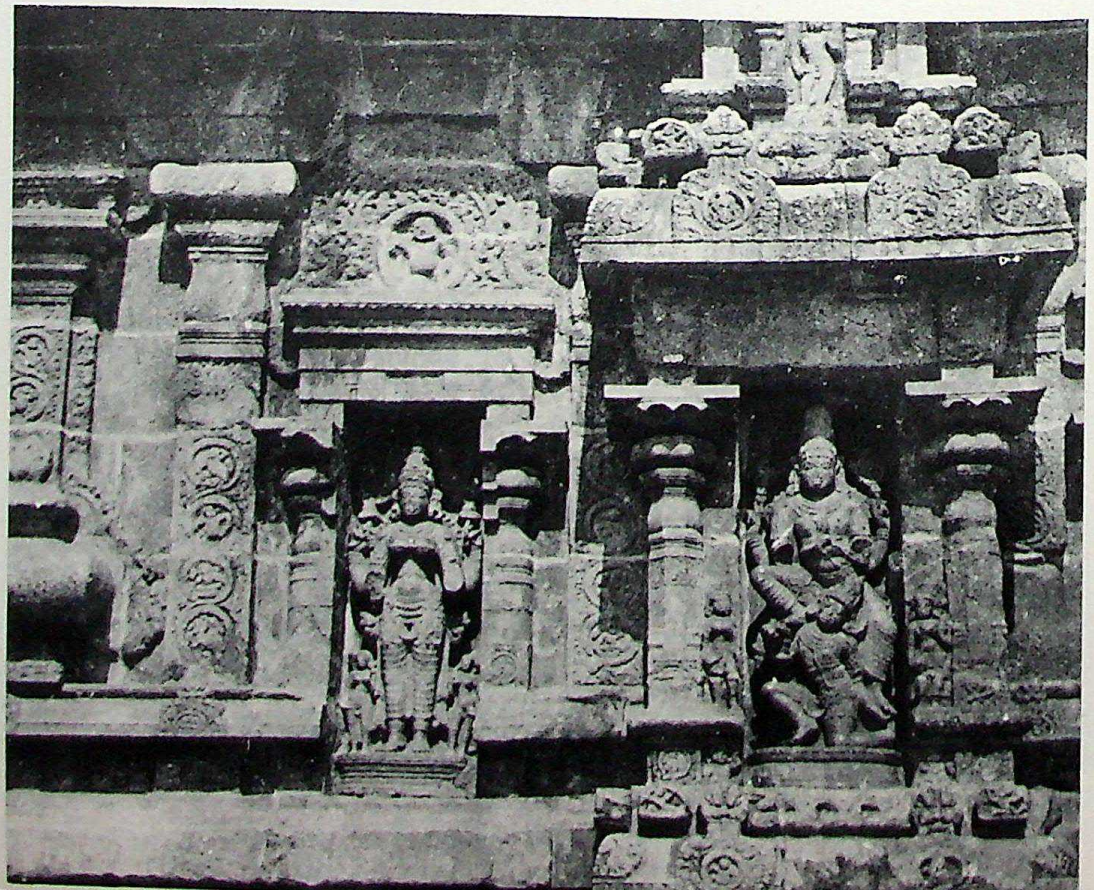
10. Bhadrakali



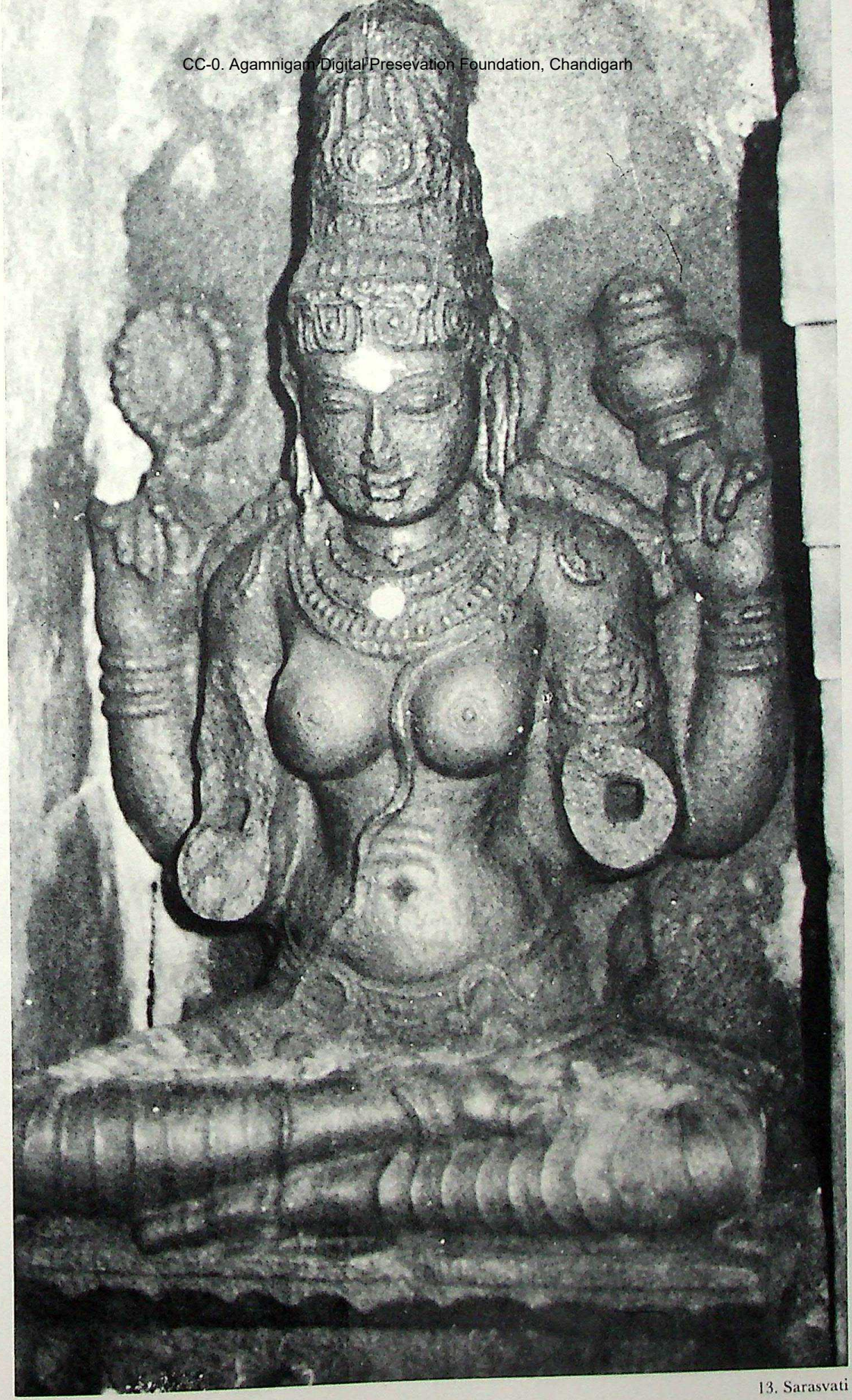
11. Devendra on Airavatam

CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

12. Sridevi, and Vishnu on Garuda



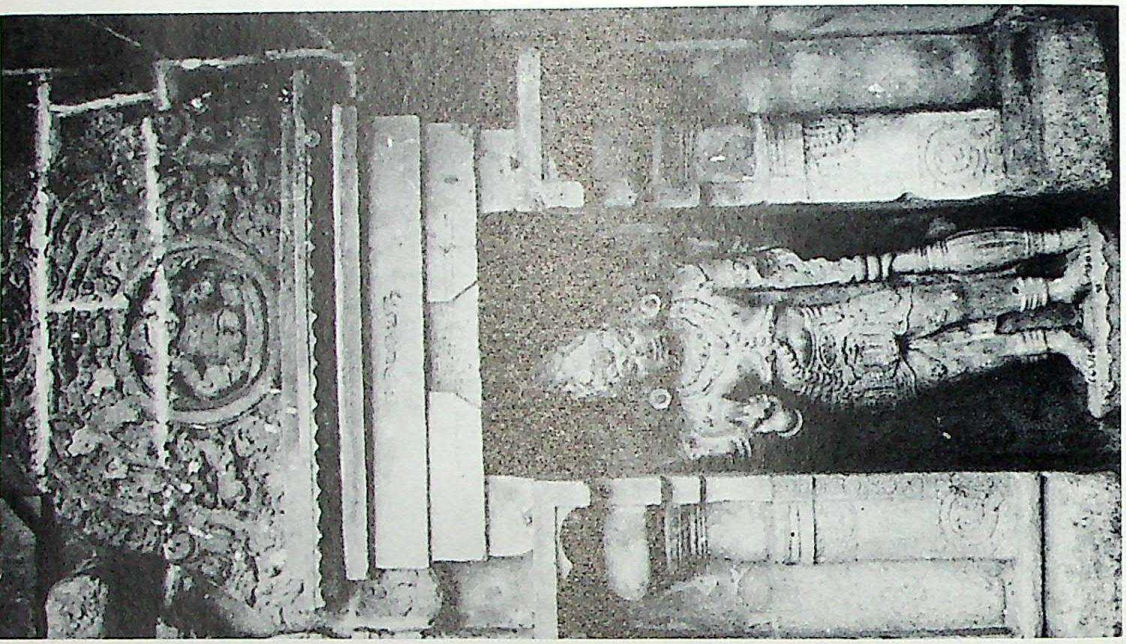
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



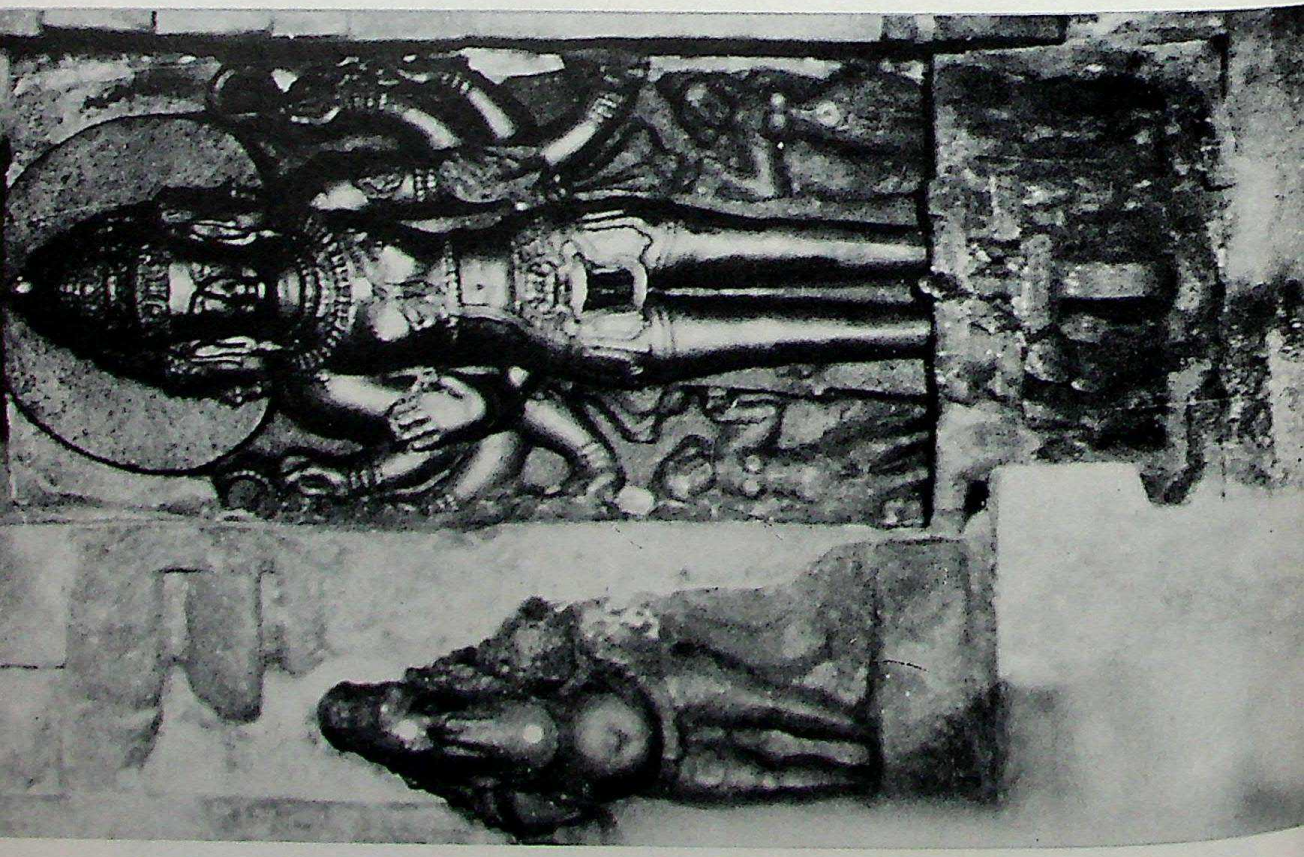
13. Sarasvati

CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

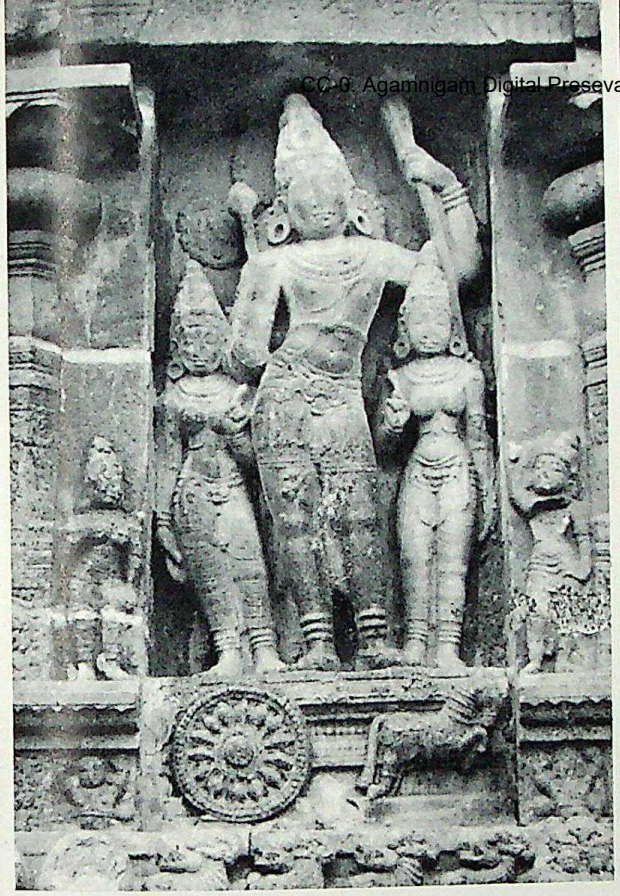
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



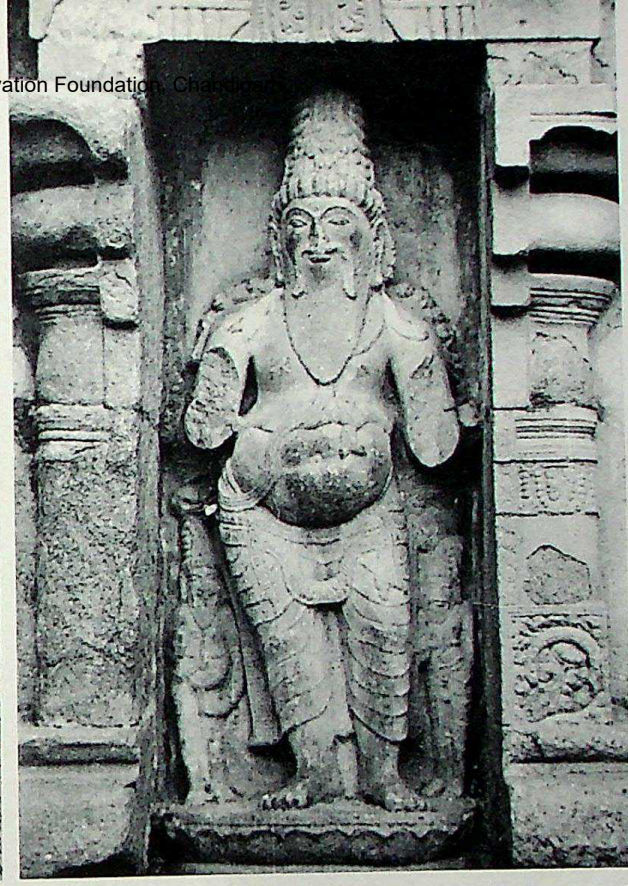
15. Vaijayan (inscribed *dvarapala*)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



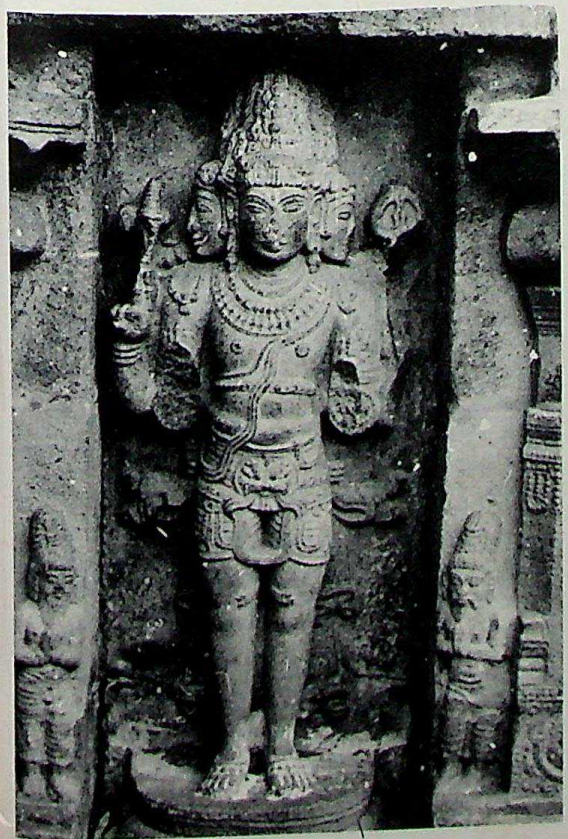
16. Kamadeva with Priti and Rati



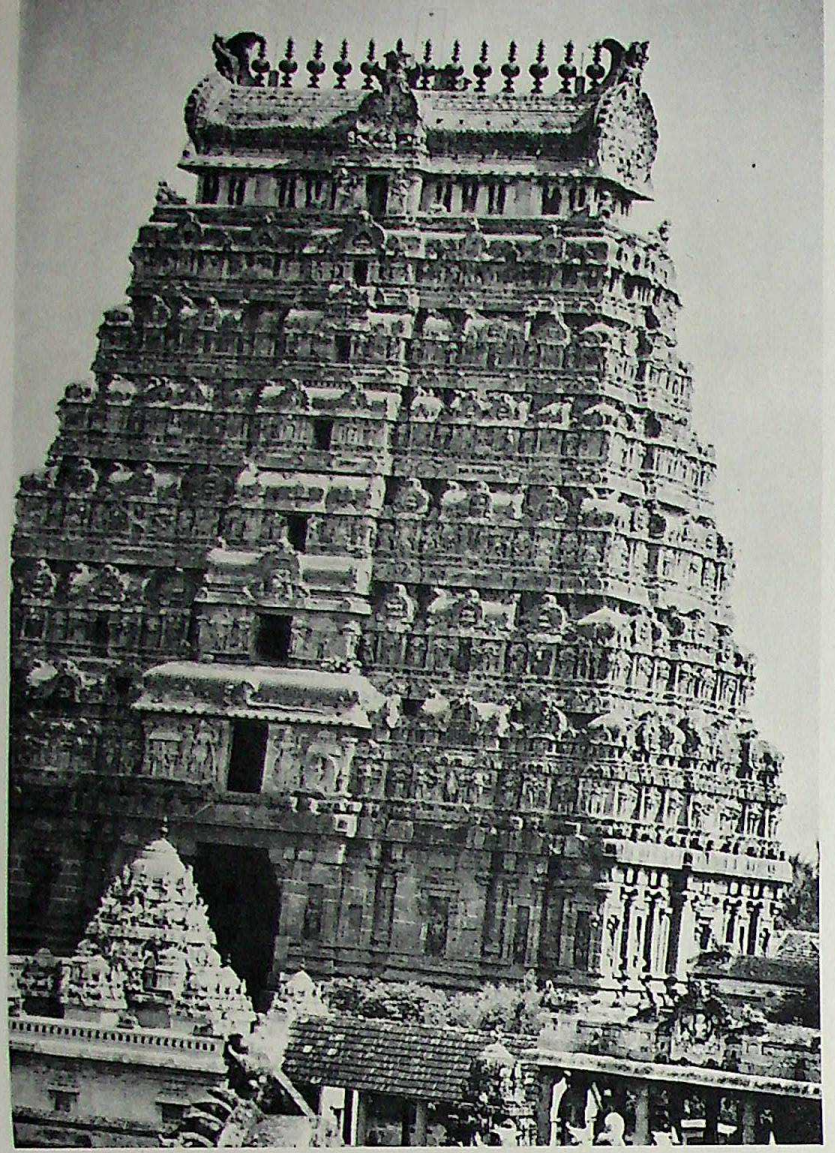
17. Dhanvantari

CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

18. Adi Chandesvarar

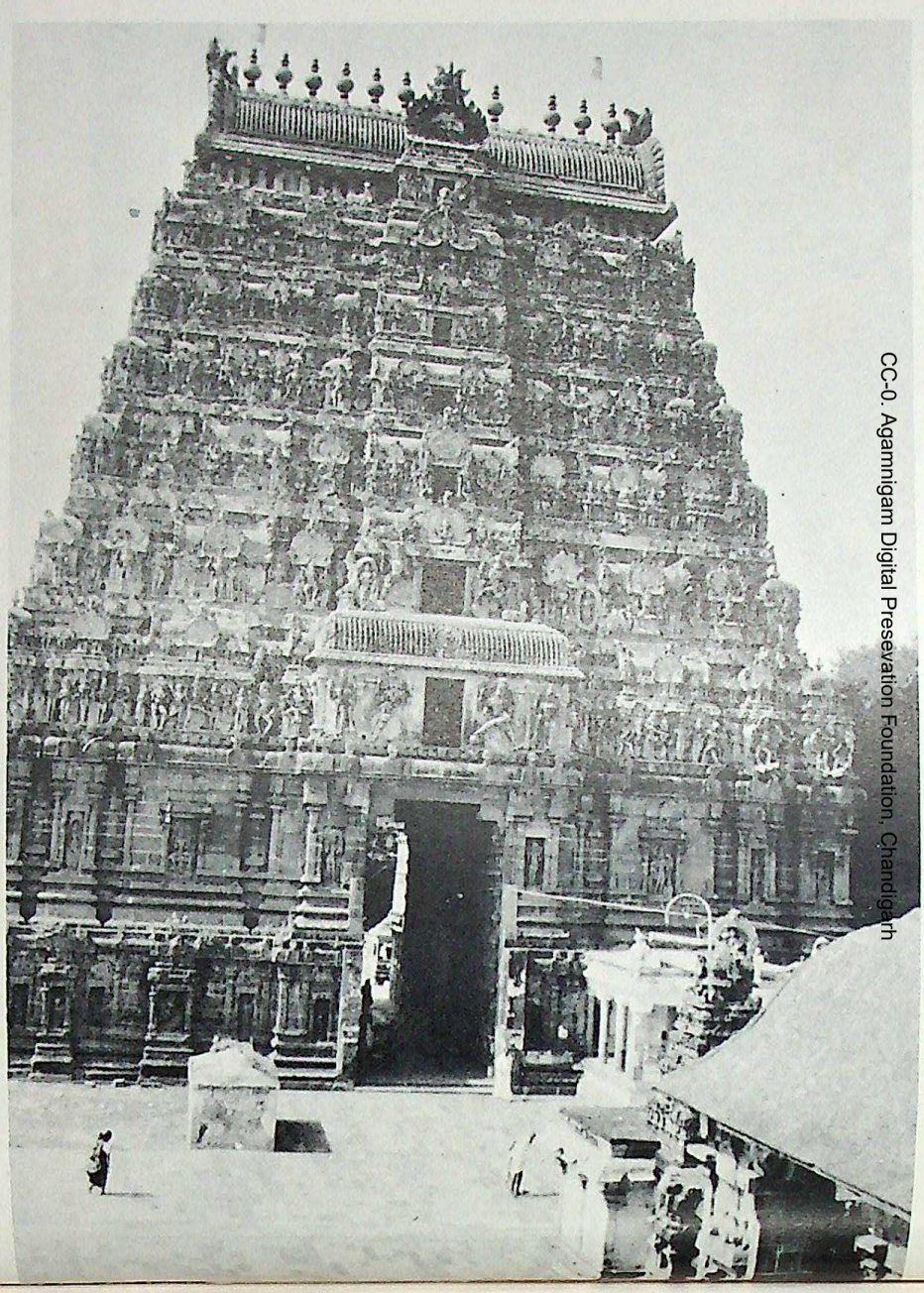


19. Durga dev



20. North *gopuram* (SE view)

CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple



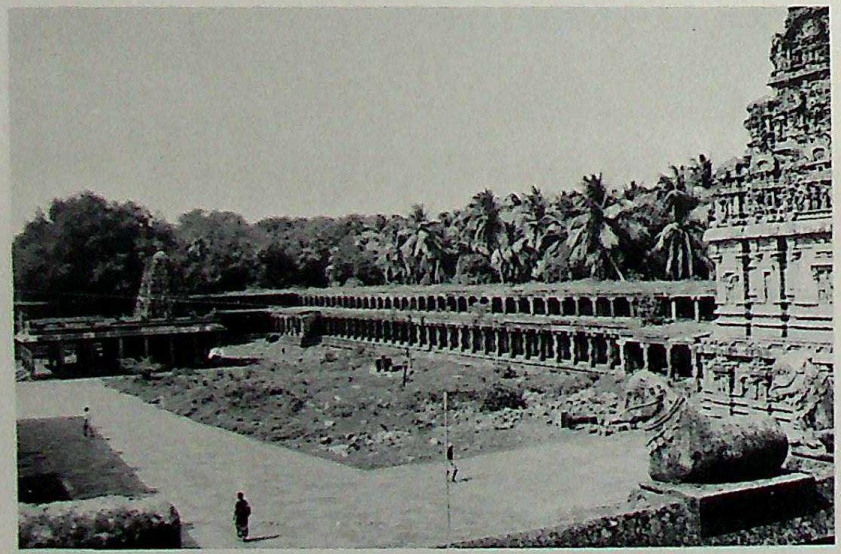
21. South *gopuram*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

22. 1,000-pillared hall

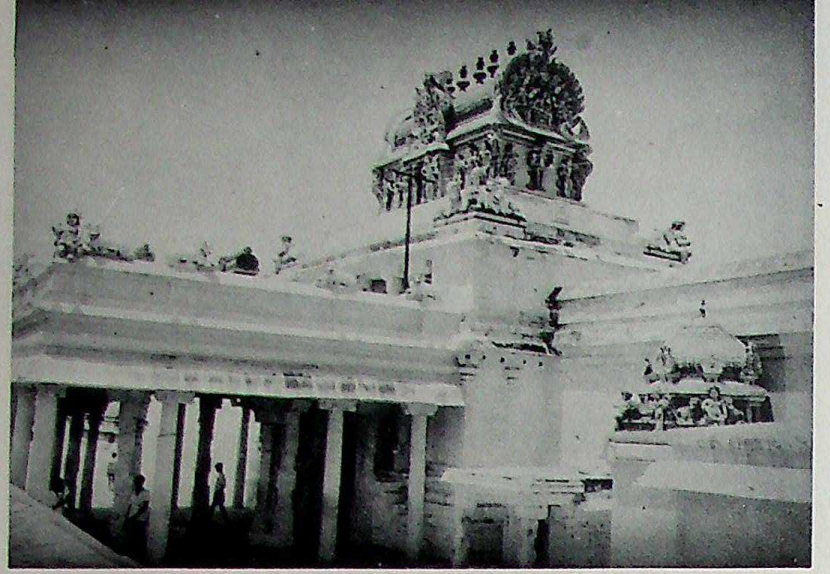
CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

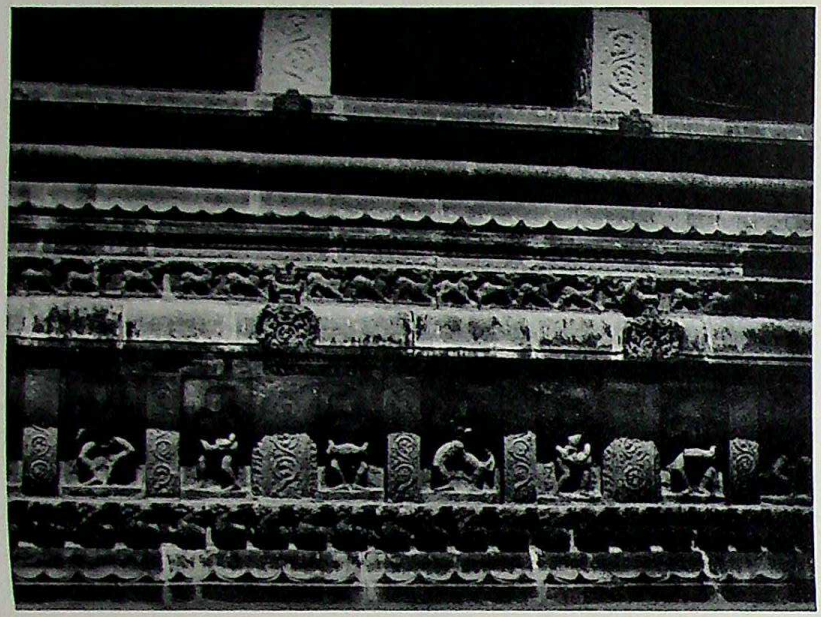
23. Rajakkal tambiran *tirumaligai*
(W-S corner)

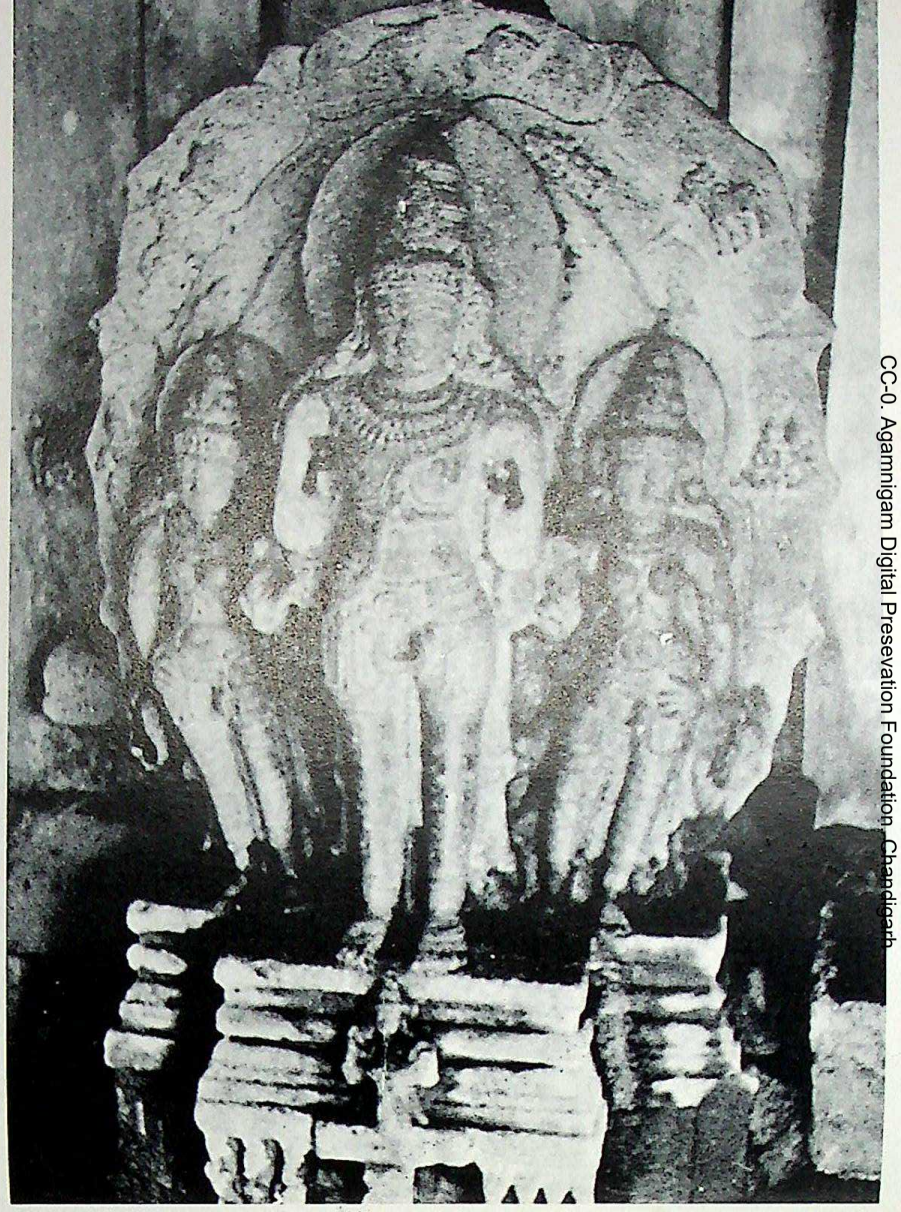


24. The Sivaganga tank

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh







25. Amman shrine *mandapa*, *gopuram*

26. Amman shrine, *natya karanas*

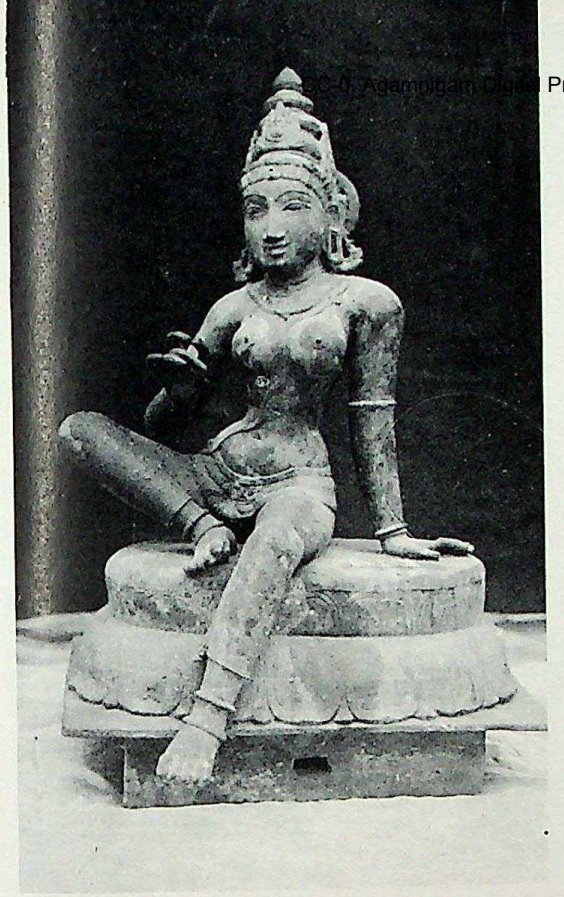
CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

27. Surya (*Later Chola*)

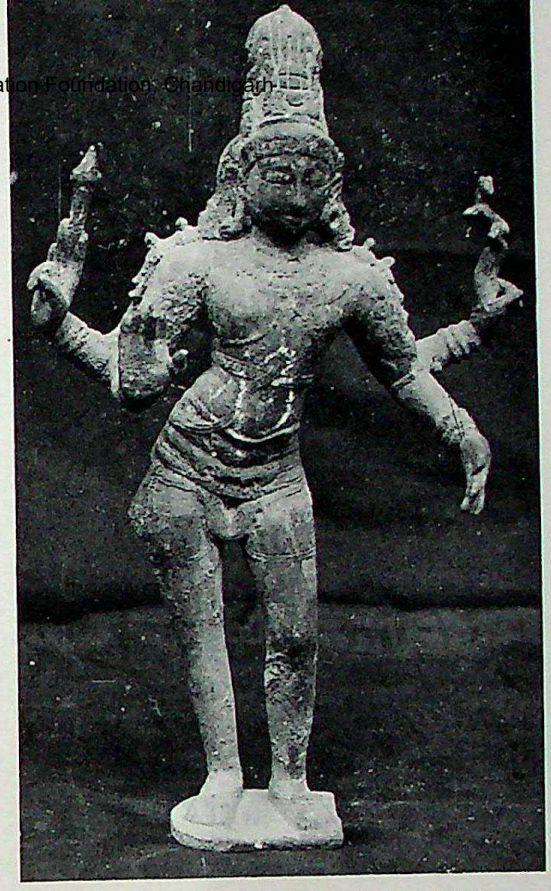
(Courtesy: Dept. of Arch., *Tamilnadu Govt.*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



28. Devi (bronze)
(Courtesy: Dept. Arch., TN Govt.)

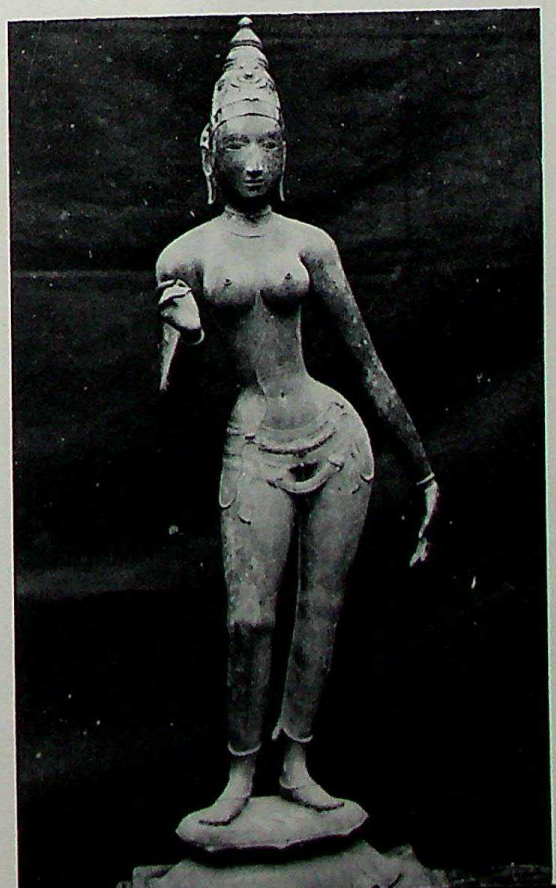


29. Pradoshamurti (bronze)
(Courtesy: Dept. Arch., TN Govt.)

CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple

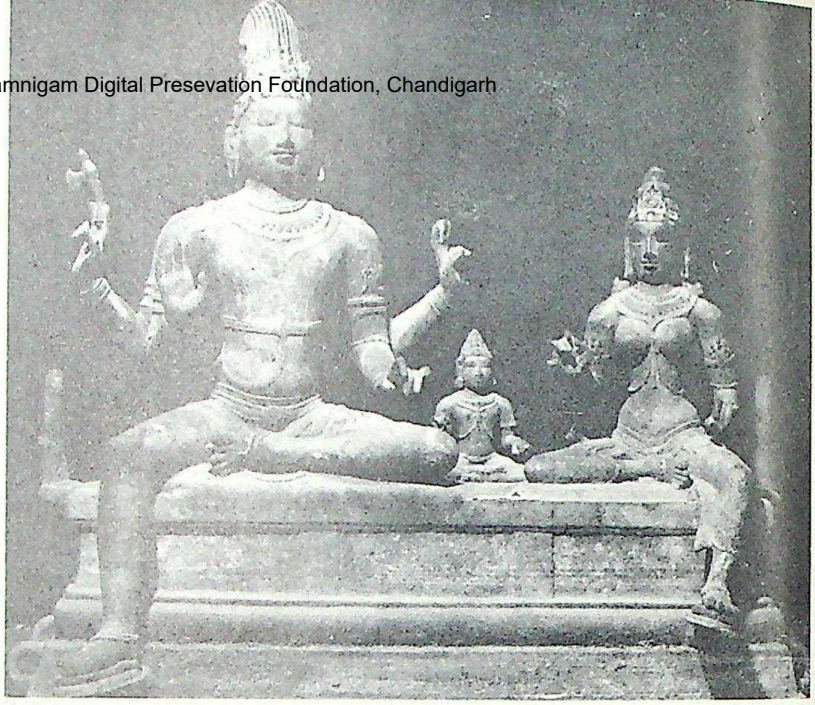
30. Patanjali (bronze)

31. Parvati (bronze)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

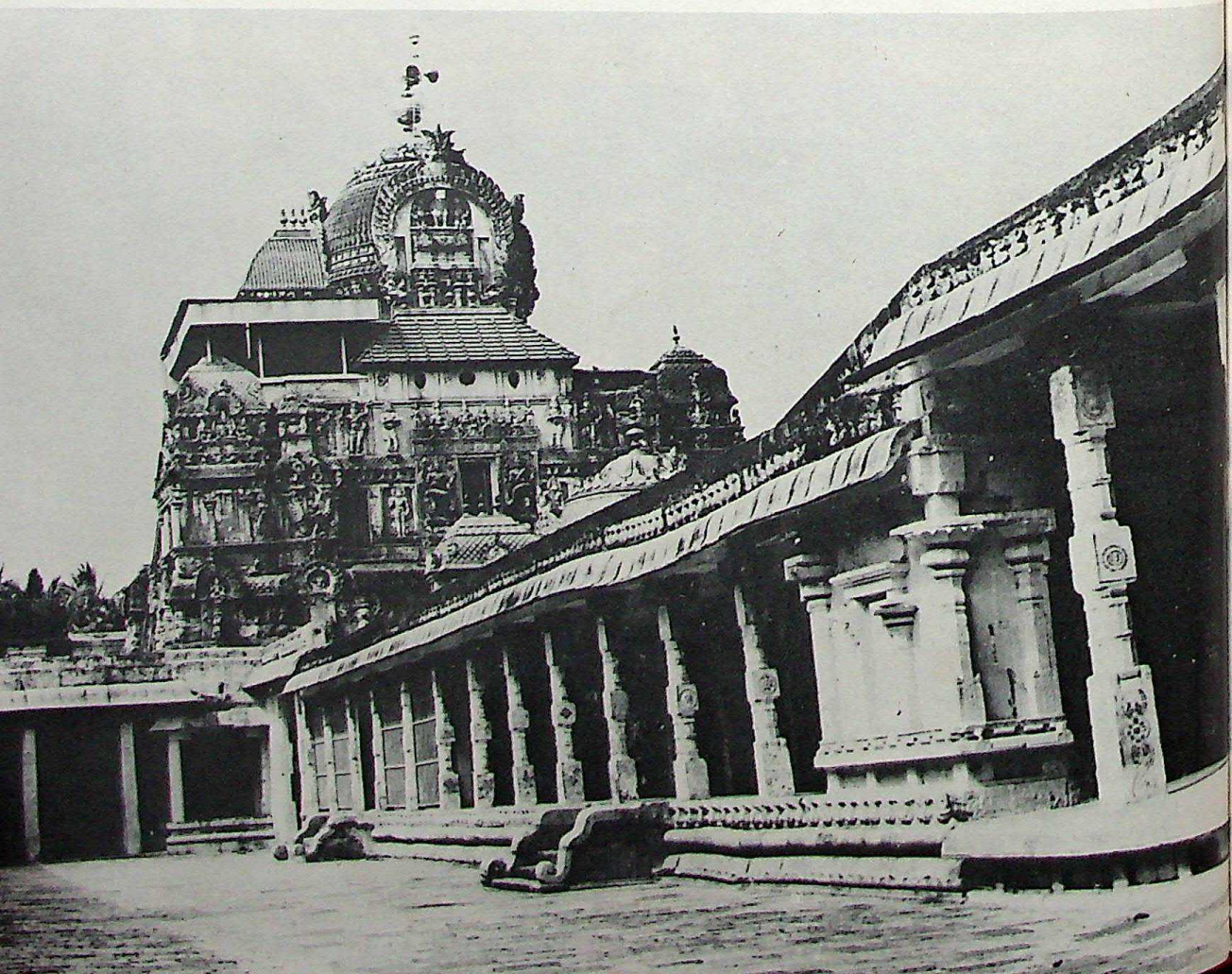
32. Adhikara Nandi (bronze)



33. Somaskandar (bronze)

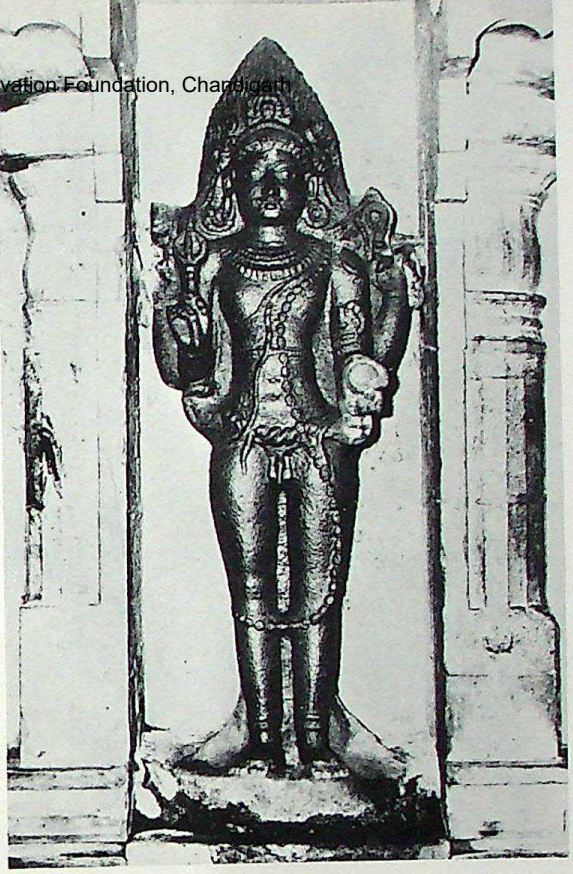
CHIDAMBARAM
Nataraja temple (Pls. 32 & 33)

SIRKALI, Brahmapurisvarar temple
34. General view of shrines
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

35. Bhikshatanar



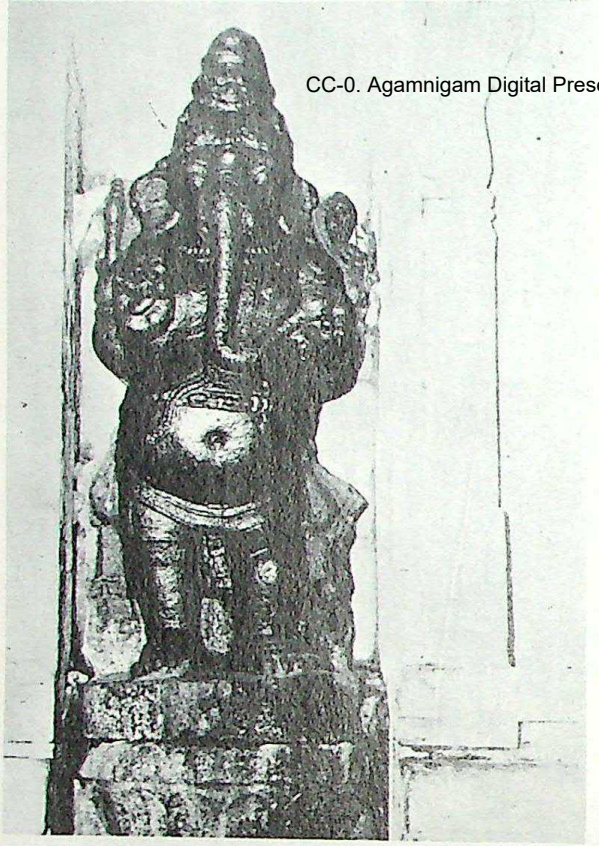
36. Bhairavar

SIRKALI, Brahmapurisvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

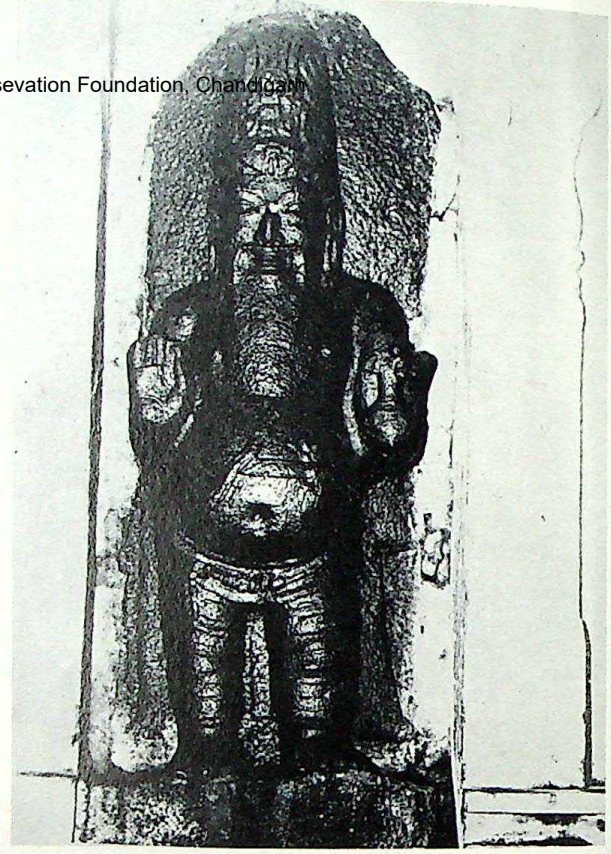
37. Brahma

38. Gangadharar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



39. Ganapati



40. Agastya

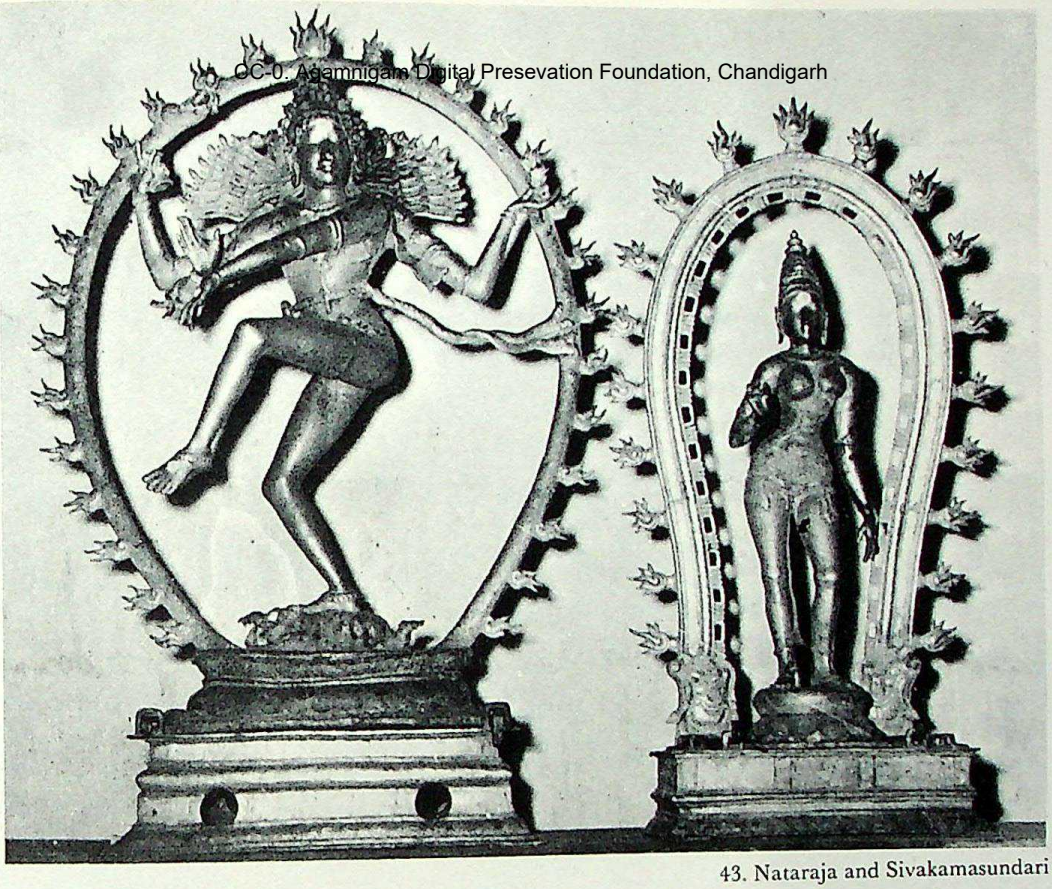
41. Sambandar (bronze)

SIRKALI, Brahmapurisvarar temple (Pls. 39-41)
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

UTTARA KOSAMANGAI (Pl. 42)
(Courtesy: Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

42. Dancing Sambandar, Chandikesvarar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



43. Nataraja and Sivakamasundari

ACHCHALPURAM
Sivaloka Tyagesvarar
temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

44. Tripura samharamurti
and Parvati

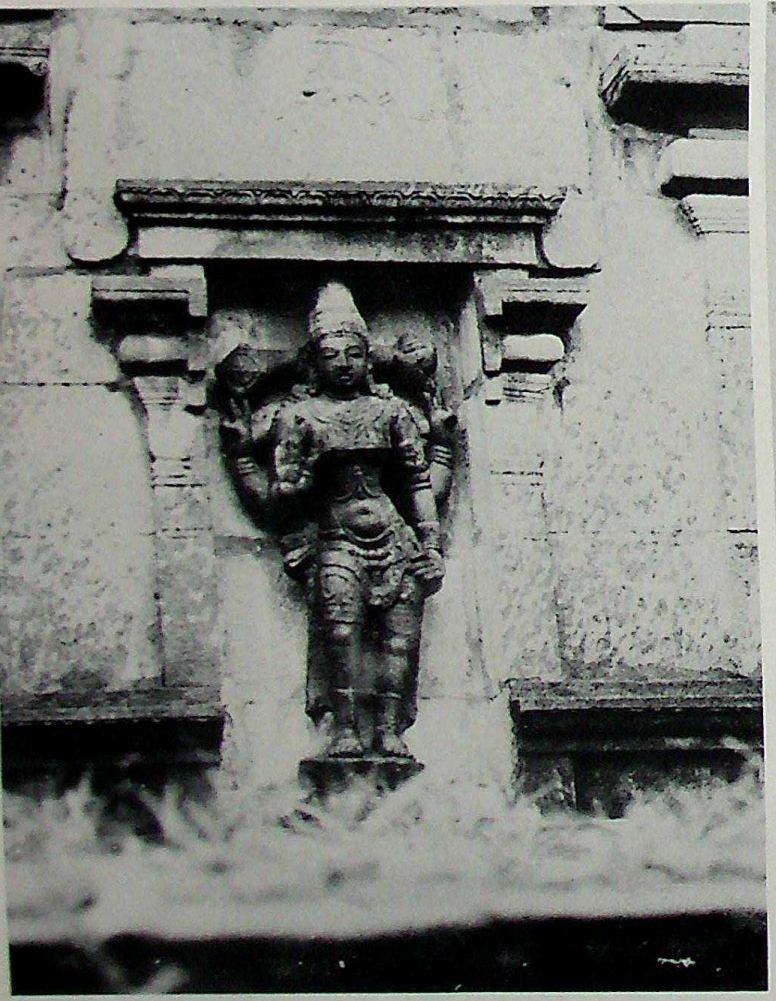
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

45. *Srivimana*

TIRUPPULIVANAM
Vyaghra purisvarar temple
(Courtesy: French. Inst. Indology)

46. Subrahmanya

47. Vishnu

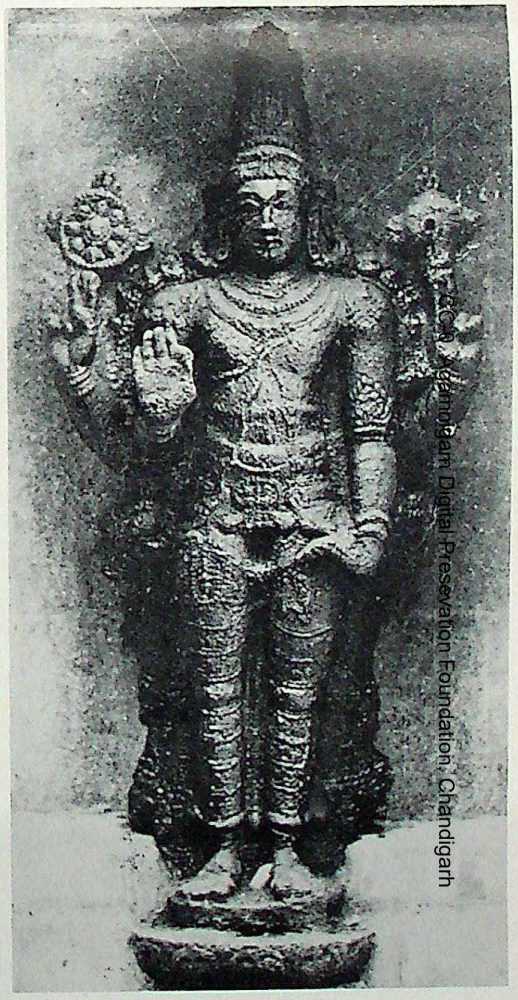


48. Durga

TIRUPPULIVANAM
Vyaghra purisvarar temple (Pl. 48)

49. Dakshinamurti

TIRUVOTTUR
Vedanathesvarar temple (Pls. 49-50)



50. Vishnu

(Courtesy: French Institute of Indology)

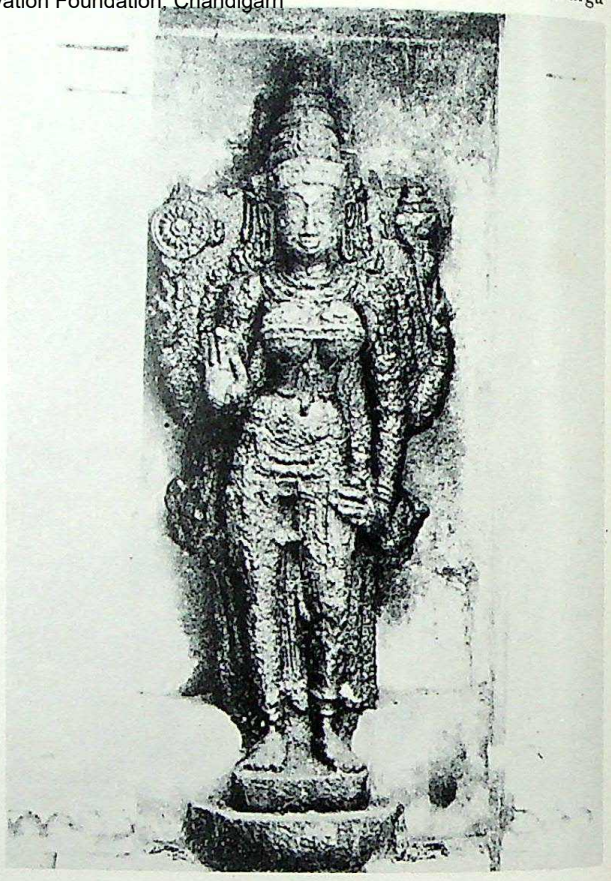
CC-0. Jawaharlal Nehru Centre for Heritage Art Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

51. Brahma

52. Durga



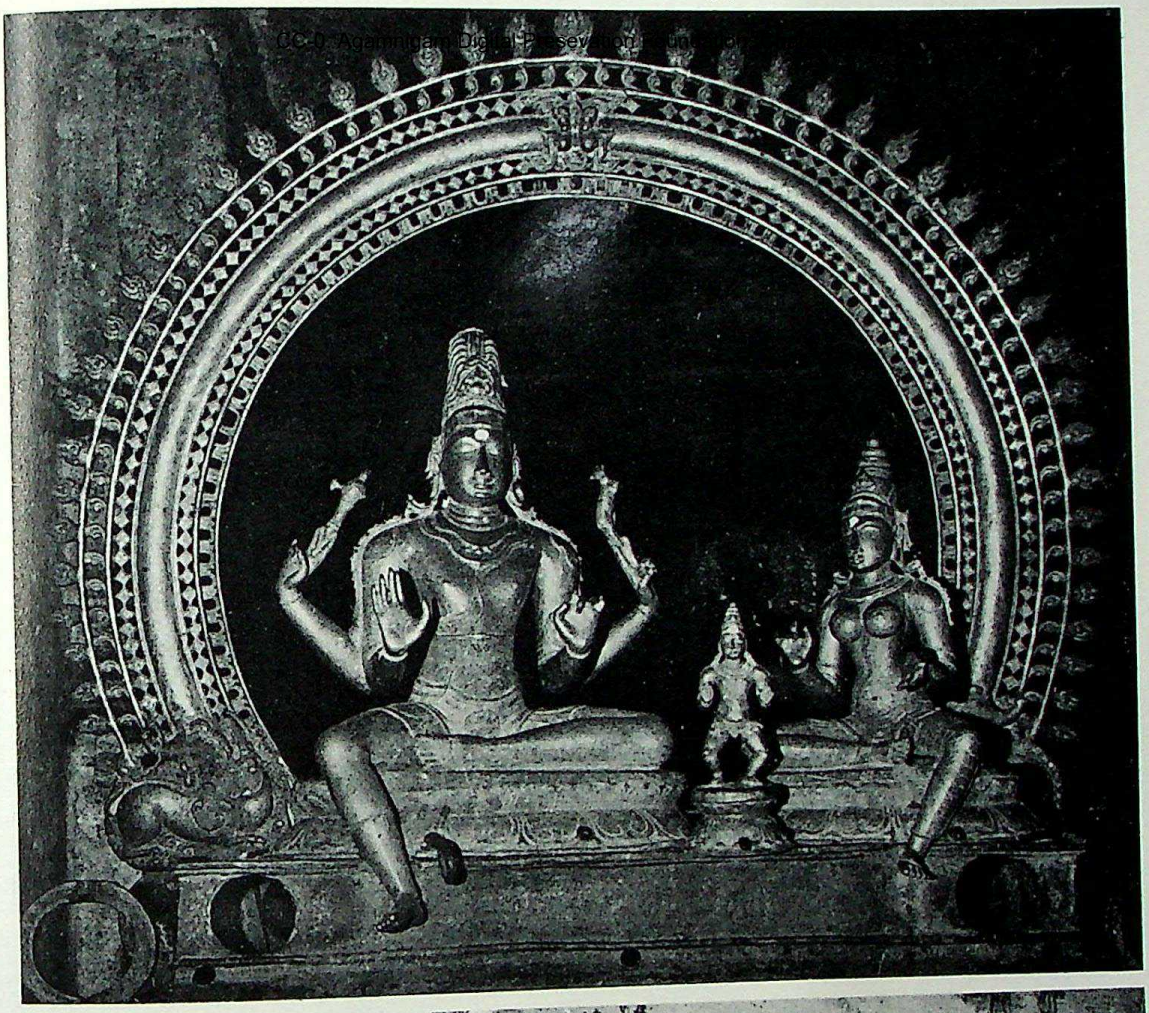
53. Virabhadramurti

54. Ganapati (*valampuri*)

TIRUVOTTUR
Vedanathesvarar temple

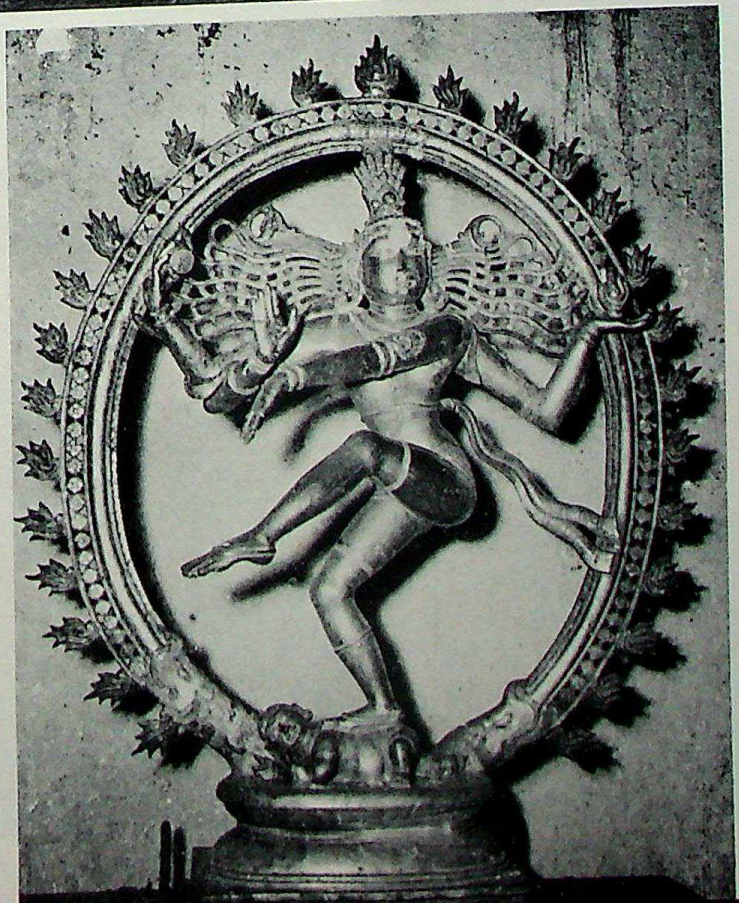
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation



55. Somaskanda

TIRUVOTTUR
Vedanathesvarar temple



56. Nataraja

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

57. *Srivimana*

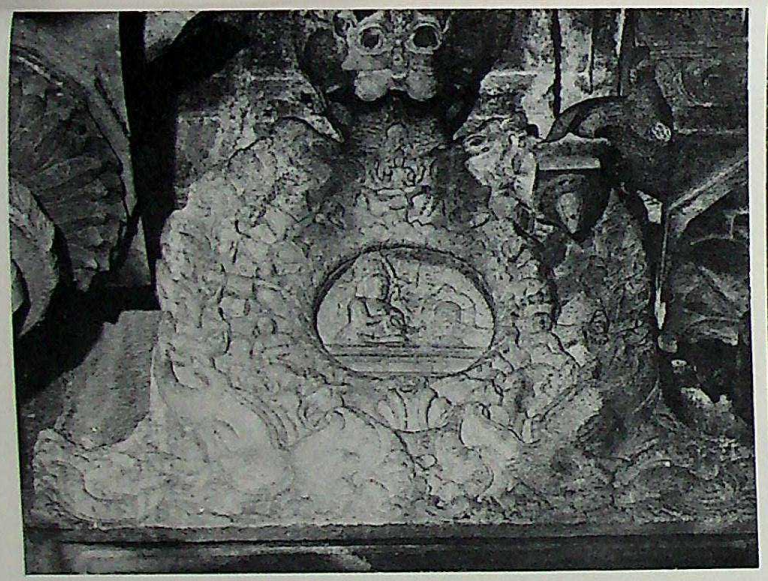
NANDALUR
Soumyanathasvamin
temple

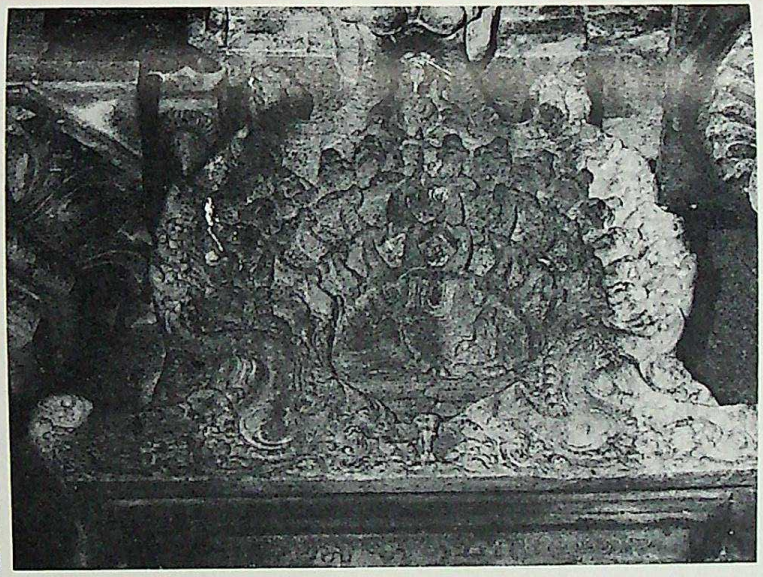
NANGUPATTI
Madattuk koyil

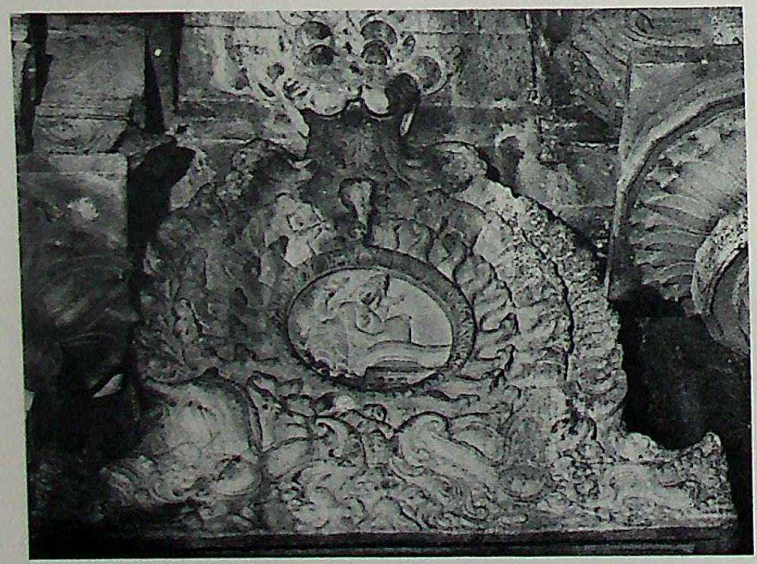
58. General view (SW)

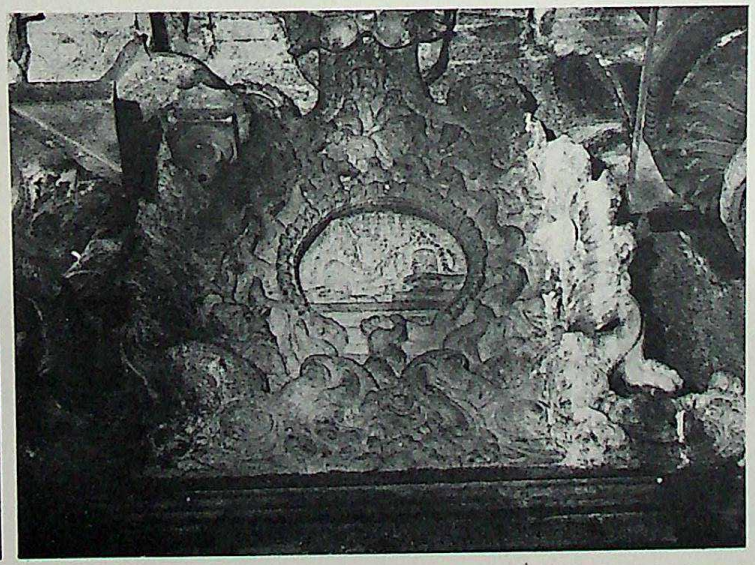
59. General view (SE)

(Pls. 58 & 59 Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)









NANGUPATTI, Madattuk koyil (Courtesy: French Inst. Indology) Pls. 60-63 Decorative *kudus* (with insets)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

64. *Srivimana*

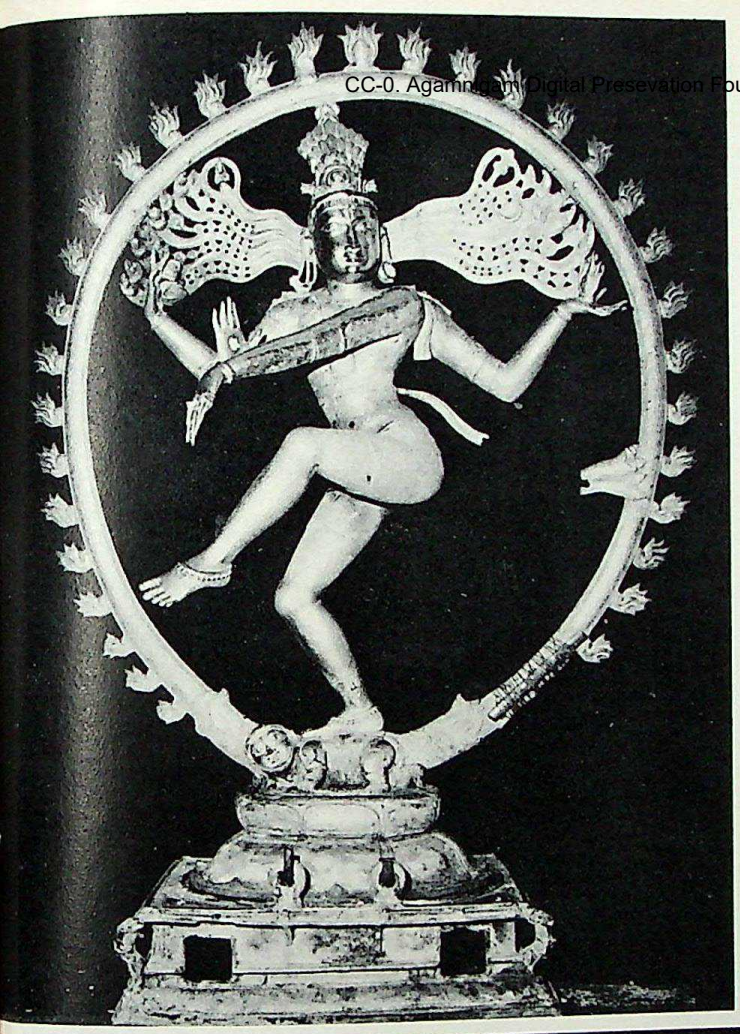
AMBAR MAKALAM
Makalanathar temple

65. Ganapati

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

66. Durga

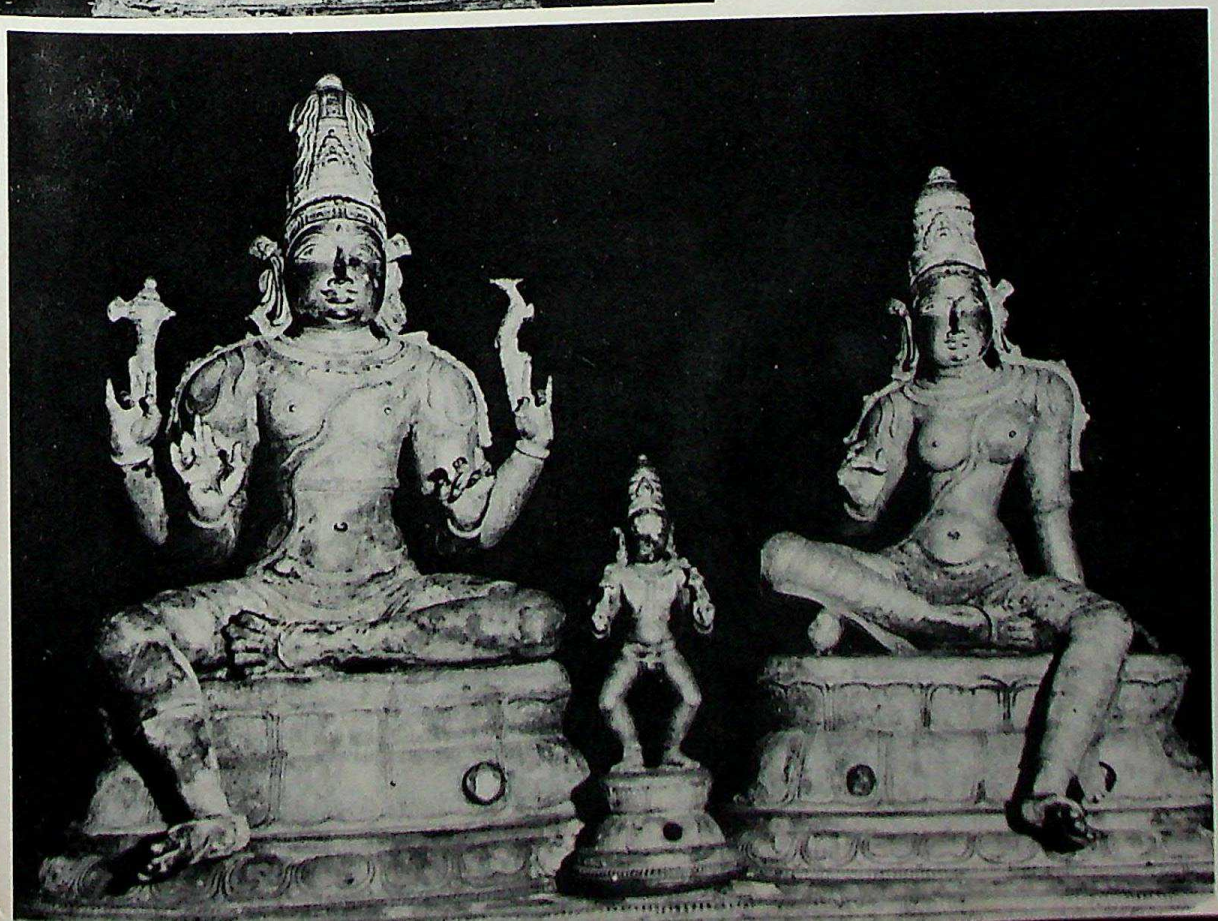
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



67. Nataraja

AMBAR MAKALAM
Makalanathar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

68. Somaskandar



(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

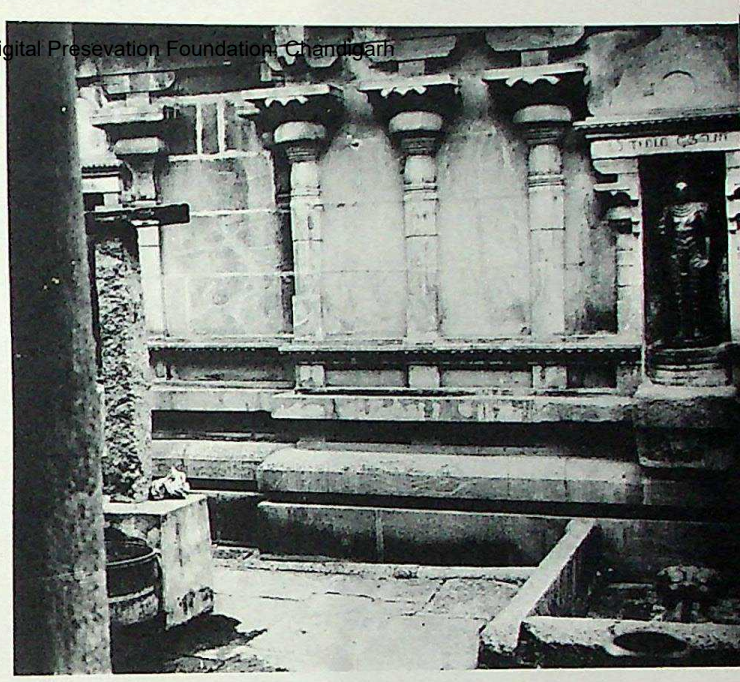
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

69. Vrishabhantikar and Consort

AMBAR MAKALAM
Makalanathar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

70. *Garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*



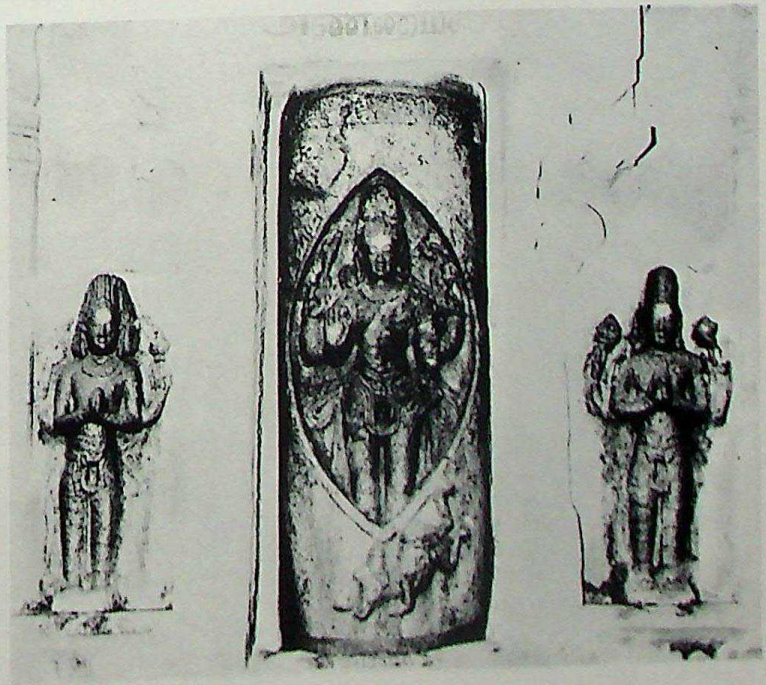
71. *Garbhagriha*

72. Durga

SIDDHALINGAMADAM
Vyaghrapurisvarar temple

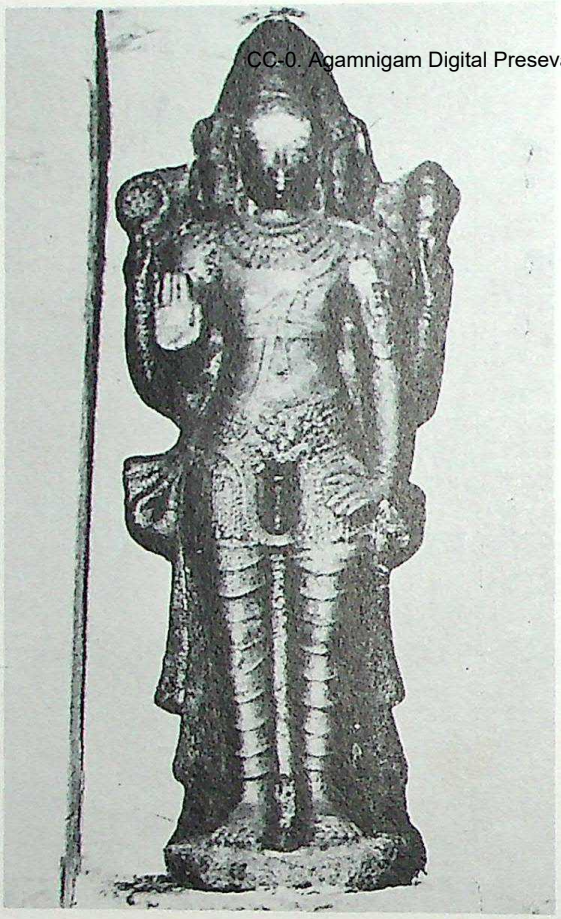
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

73. Lingodbhavar



(Courtesy: French Institute)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh.



74. Brahma

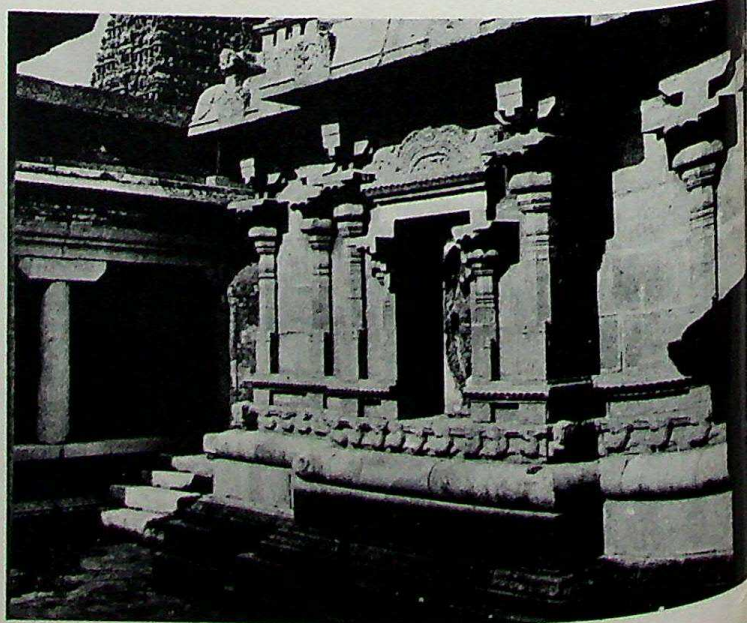
76. Dakshinamurti

75. Ganapati

SIDDHALINGAMADAM
Vyaghrapurisvarar temple
(Pls. 74-76)

ARAKANDANALLUR
Oppillamanisvarar temple
(Pl. 77)

77. *Garbhagriha* (rear view)

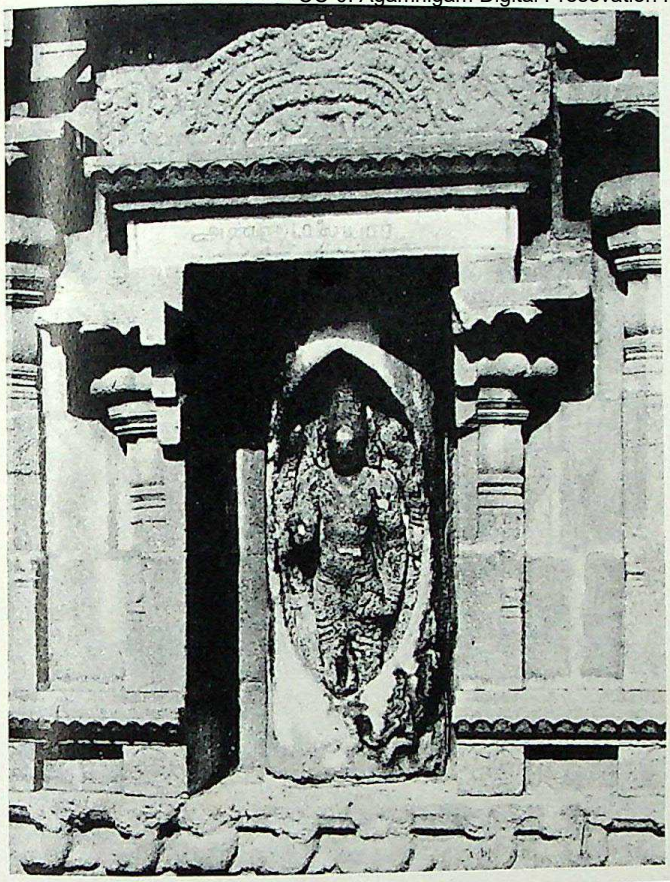


ARAKANDANALLUR

Oppillamanisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

78. Lingodbhavar



79. Hariharar

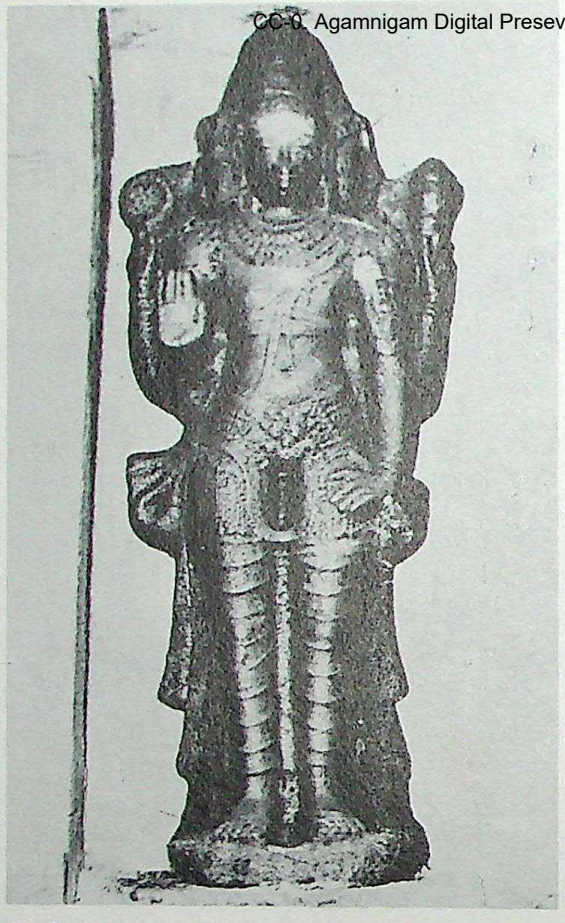
80. Chandikesvarar

81. Nataraja

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



74. Brahma

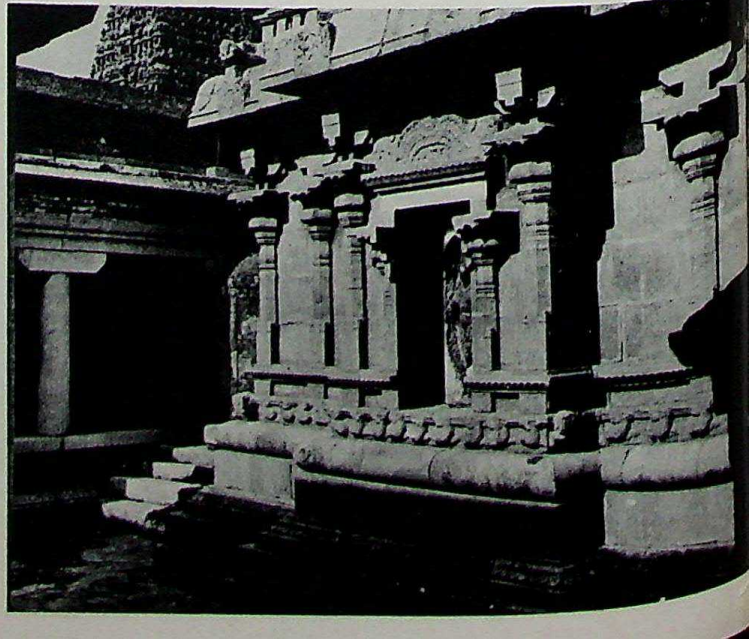
76. Dakshinamurti

75. Ganapati

SIDDHALINGAMADAM
Vyaghrapurisvarar temple
(Pls. 74-76)

ARAKANDANALLUR
Oppillamanisvarar temple
(Pl. 77)

77. *Garbhagriha* (rear view)



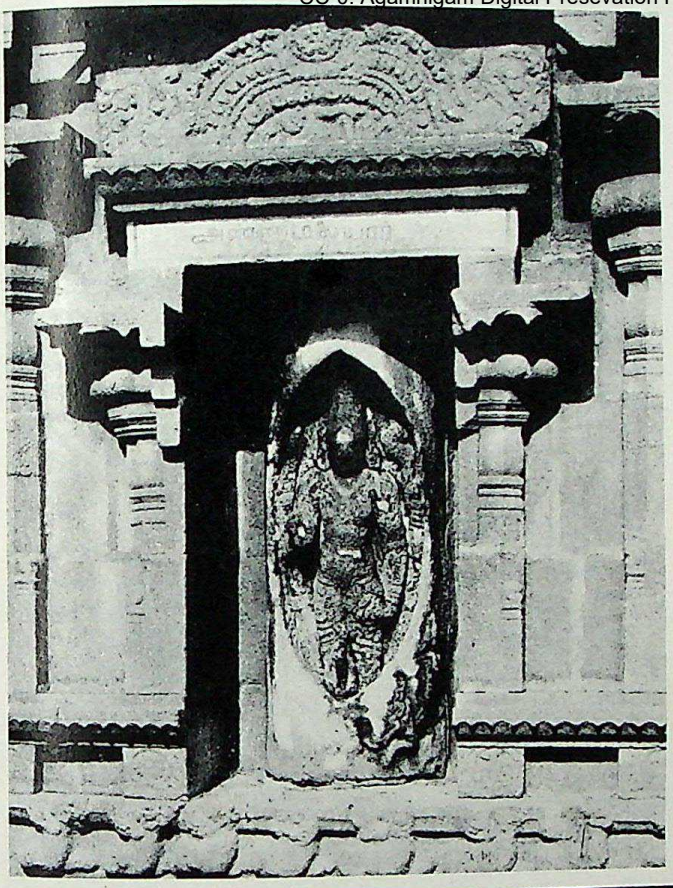
ARAKANDANALLUR

78. Lingodbhavar

Oppillamanisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

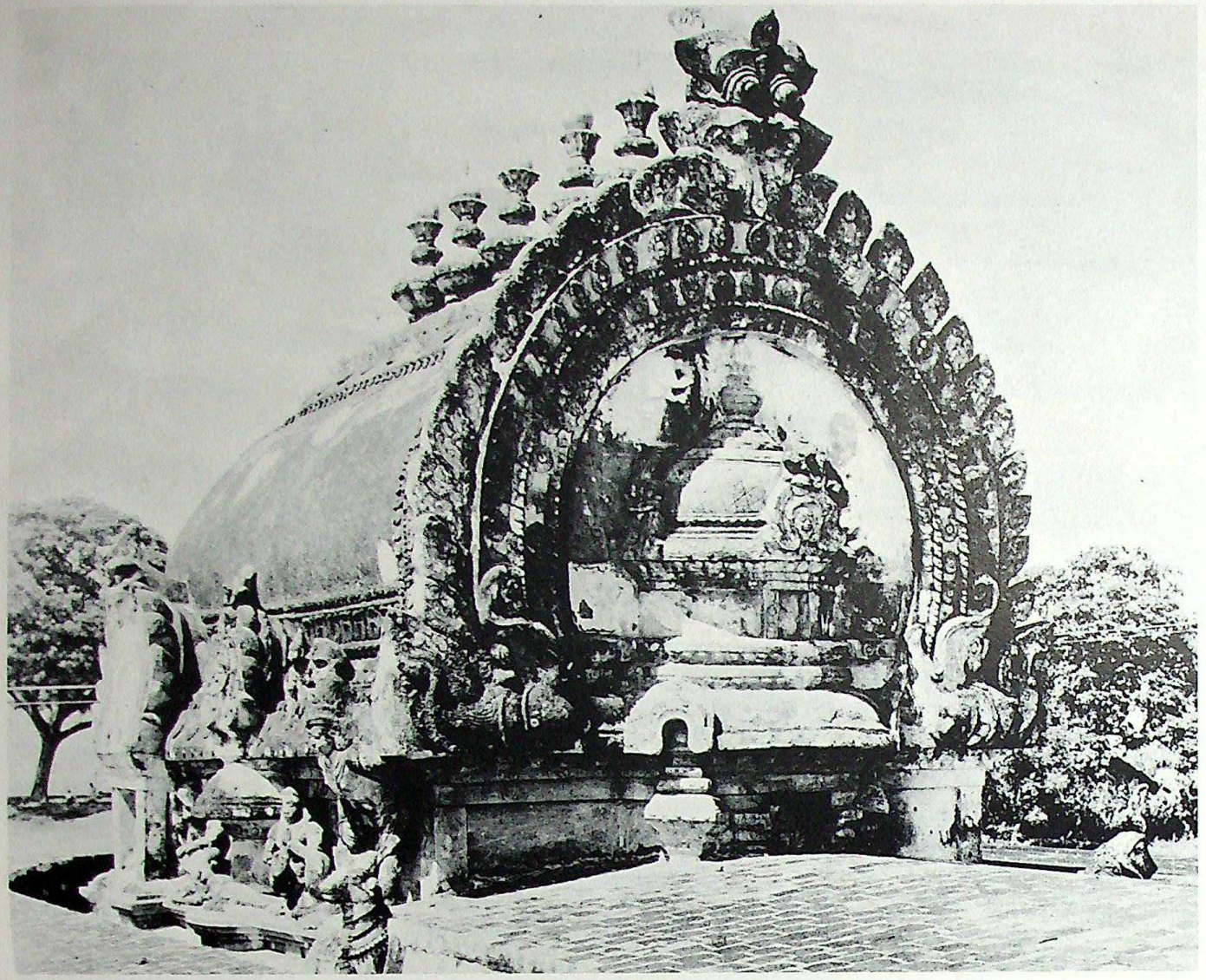
79. Hariharar



80. Chandikesvarar

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

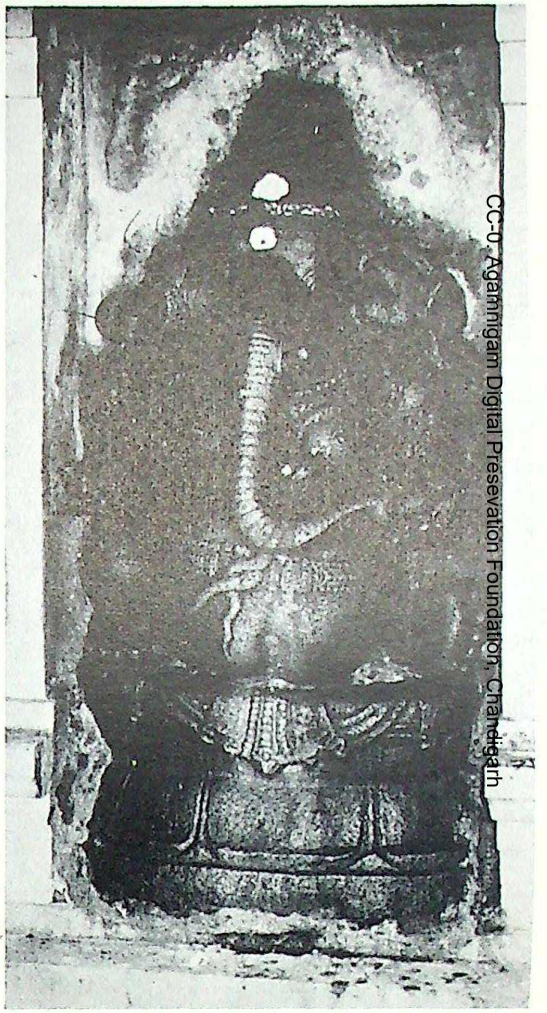
81. Nataraja



82. *Sikhara* (*maha nasika* type)

TRISULAM
Brahmapurisvarar temple

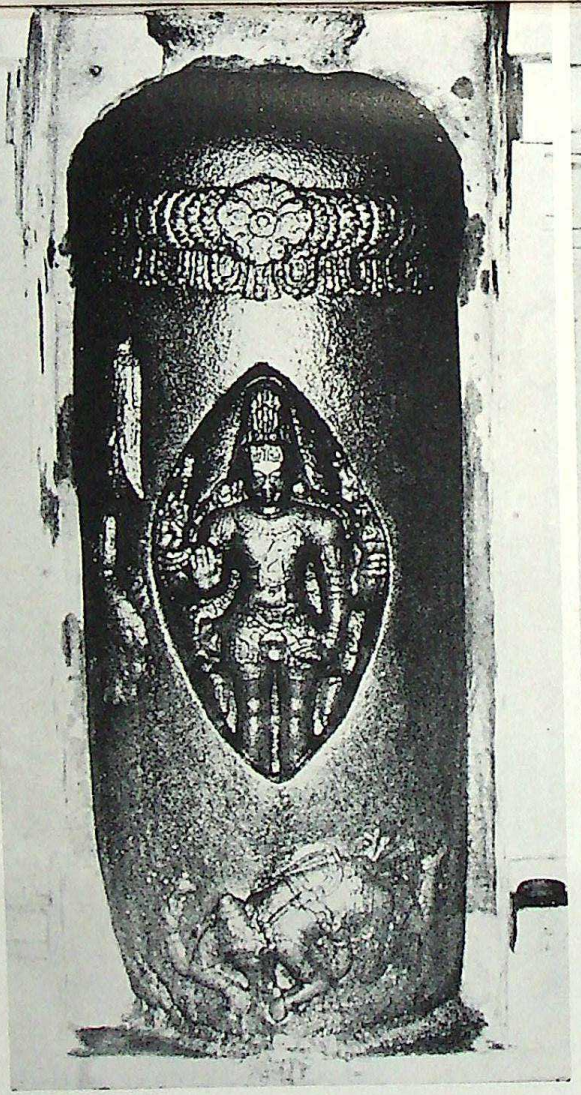
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)



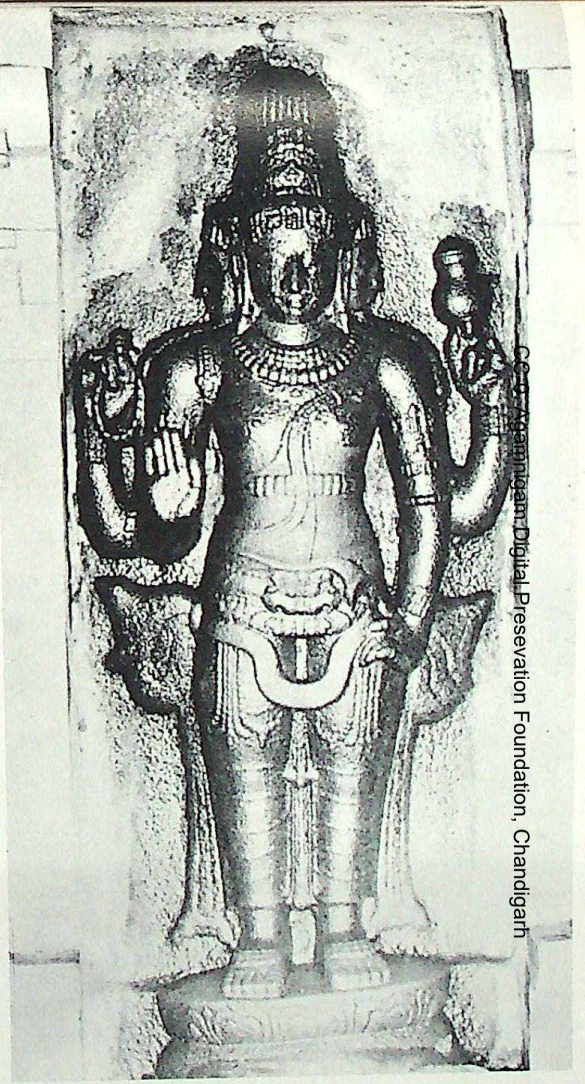
83. Ganapati

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

84. Dakshinamurti



85. Lingodbhavar



86. Brahma

TRISULAM
Brahmapurisvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

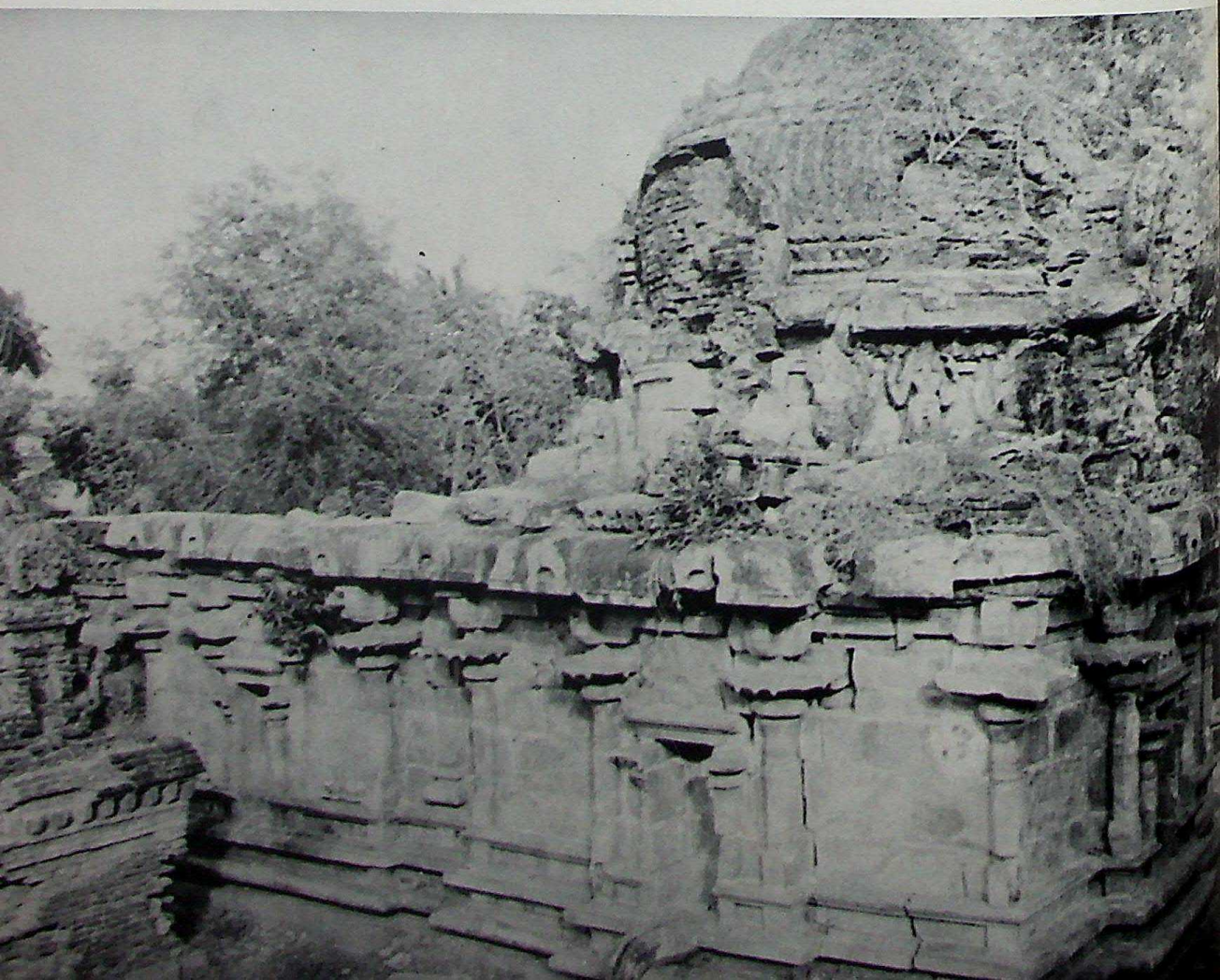
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

87. Durga
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

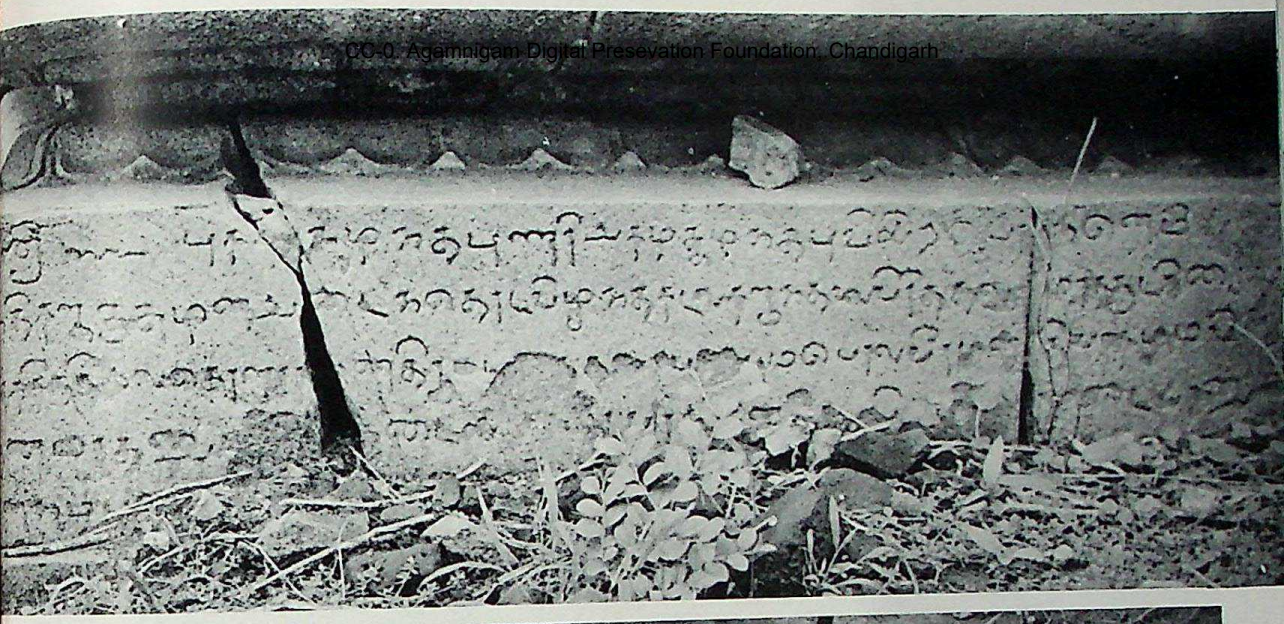
TRISULAM
Brahmapurisvarar temple

SOLAPURAM
Kasi Visvanathar temple

88. General view (NW)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

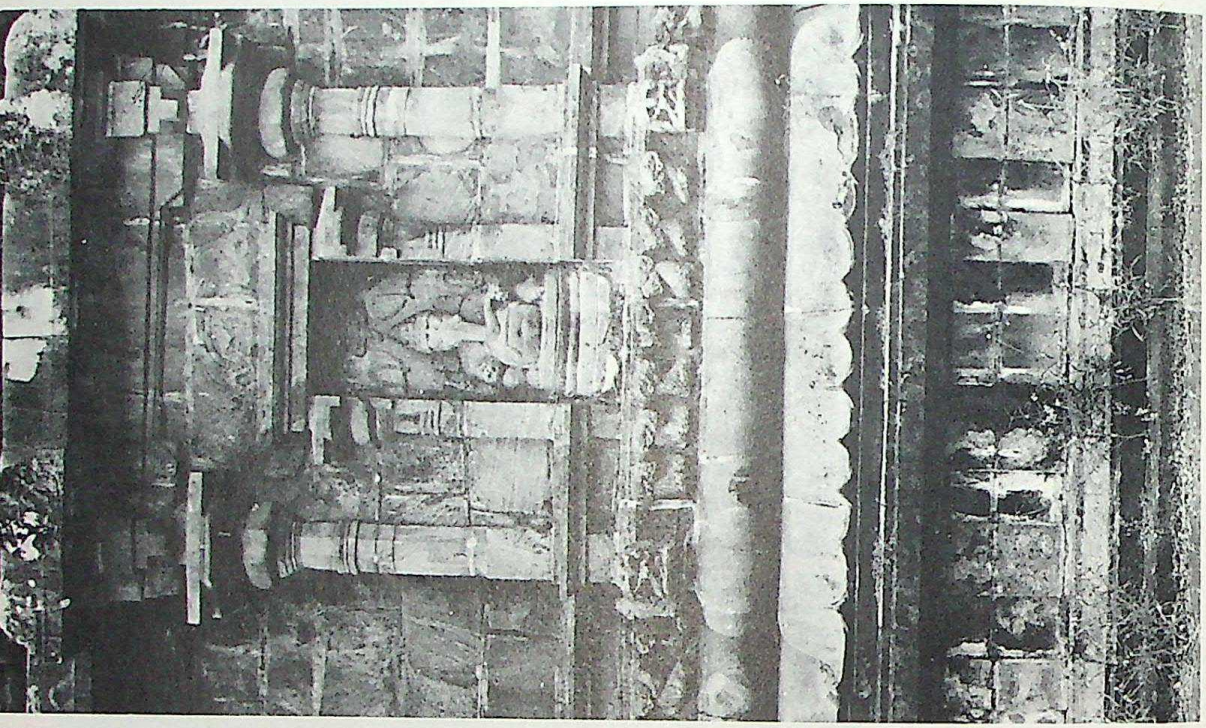


89. Kulottunga I inscription

SOLAPURAM
Kasi Visvanathar temple

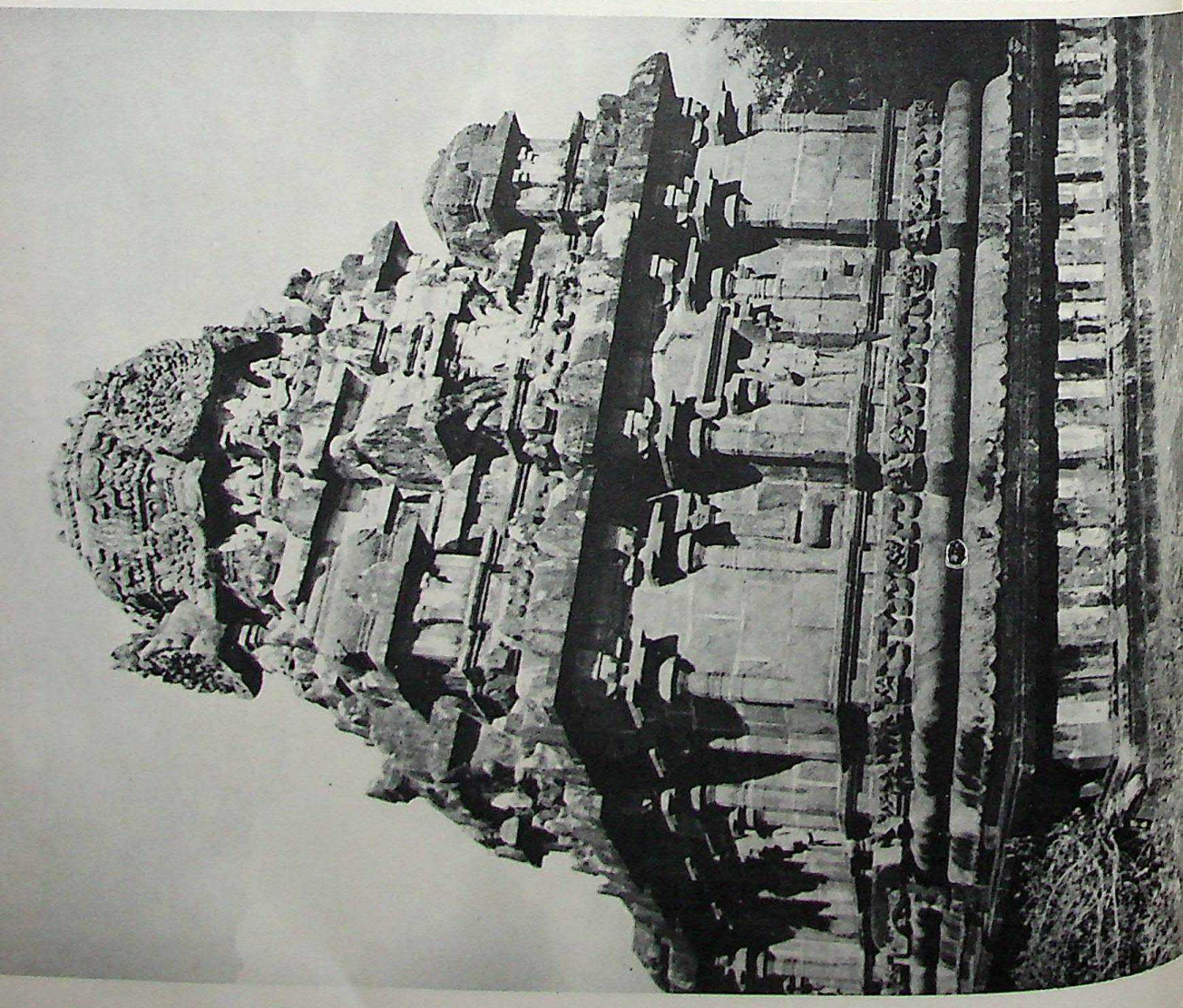
90. Brahma (loose)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



92. *Ganapati*

SOLAPURAM
Kailasanathar temple



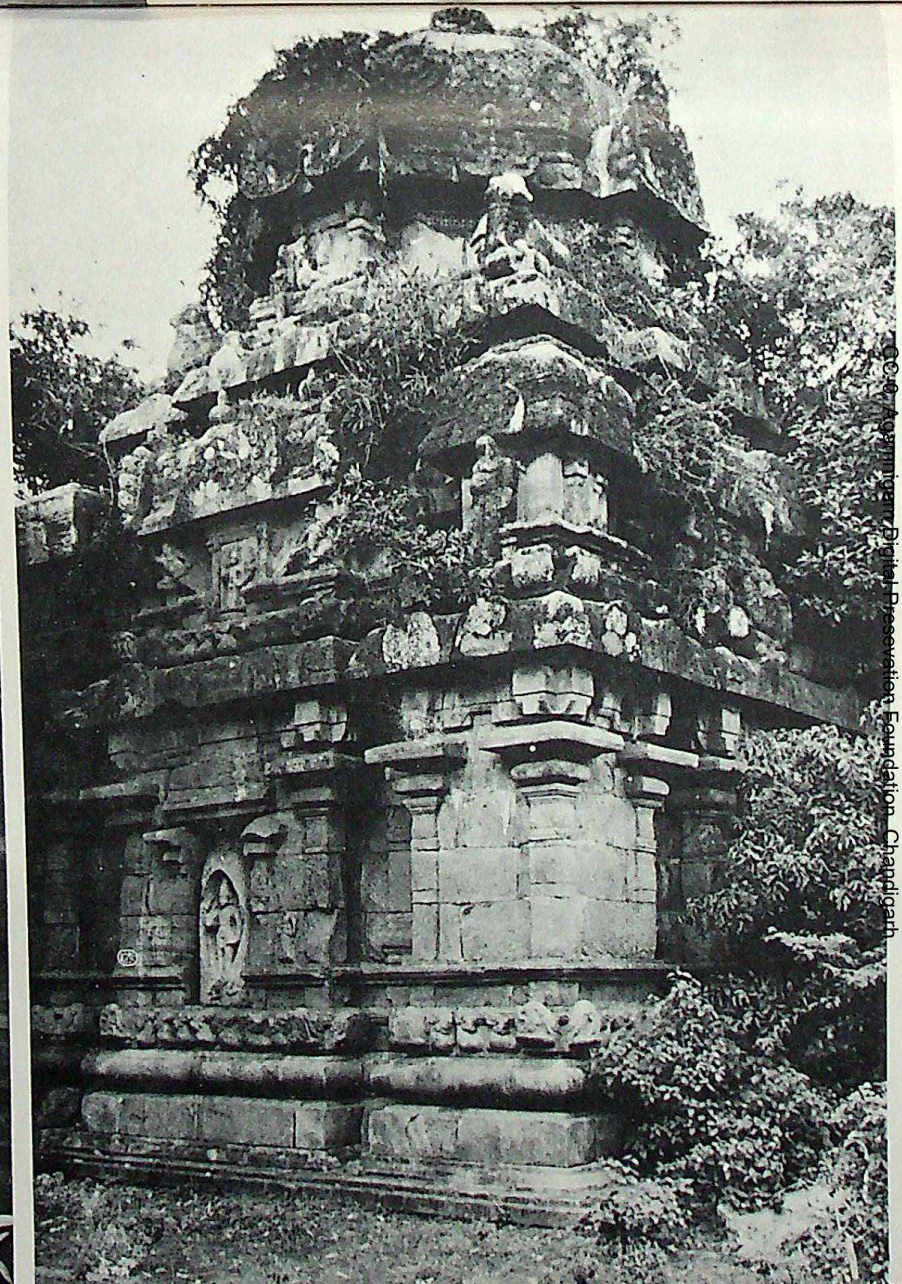
91. *Srivimana*

SOLAPURAM
Kailasanathar temple

93. Brahma

SOLAPURAM
Bhairavar temple

94. *Srivimana* (before renovation)

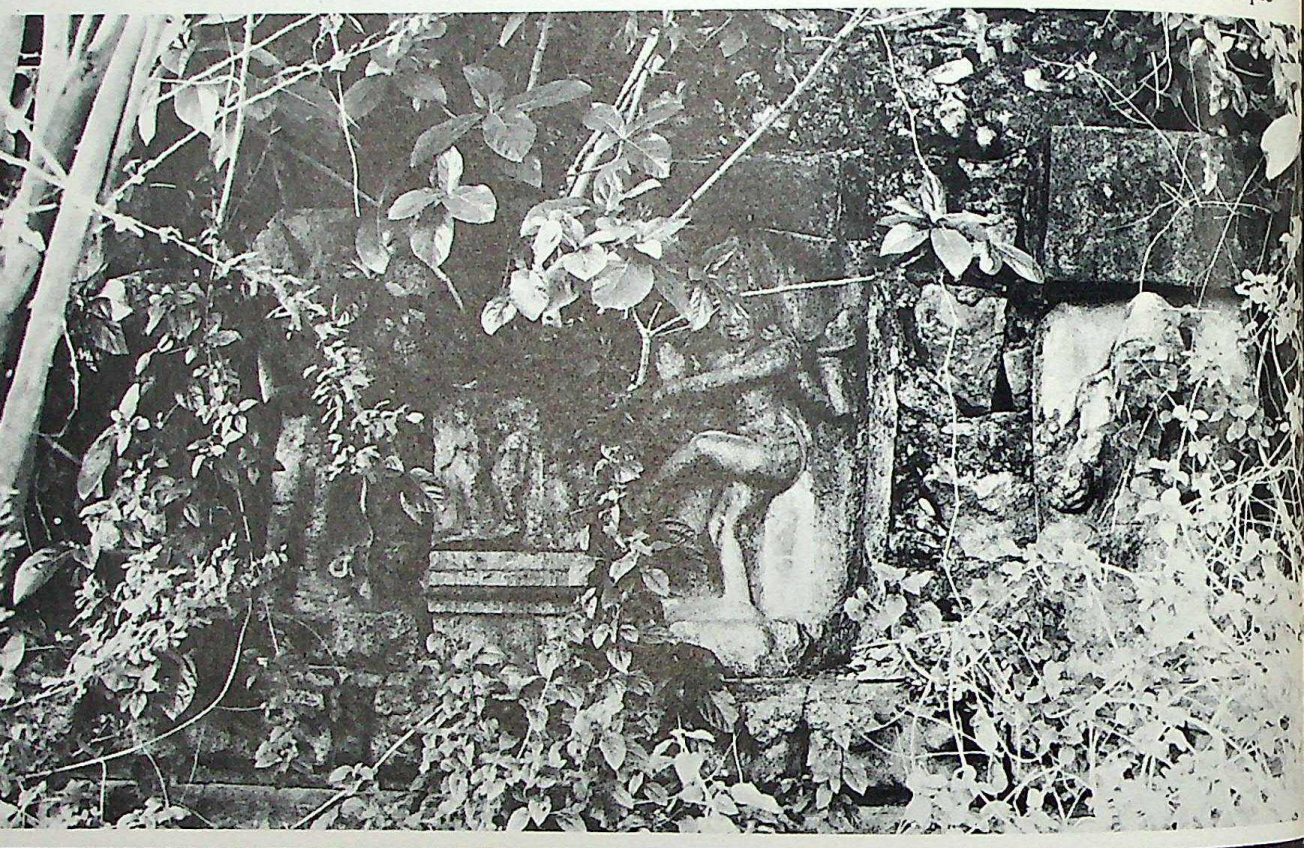


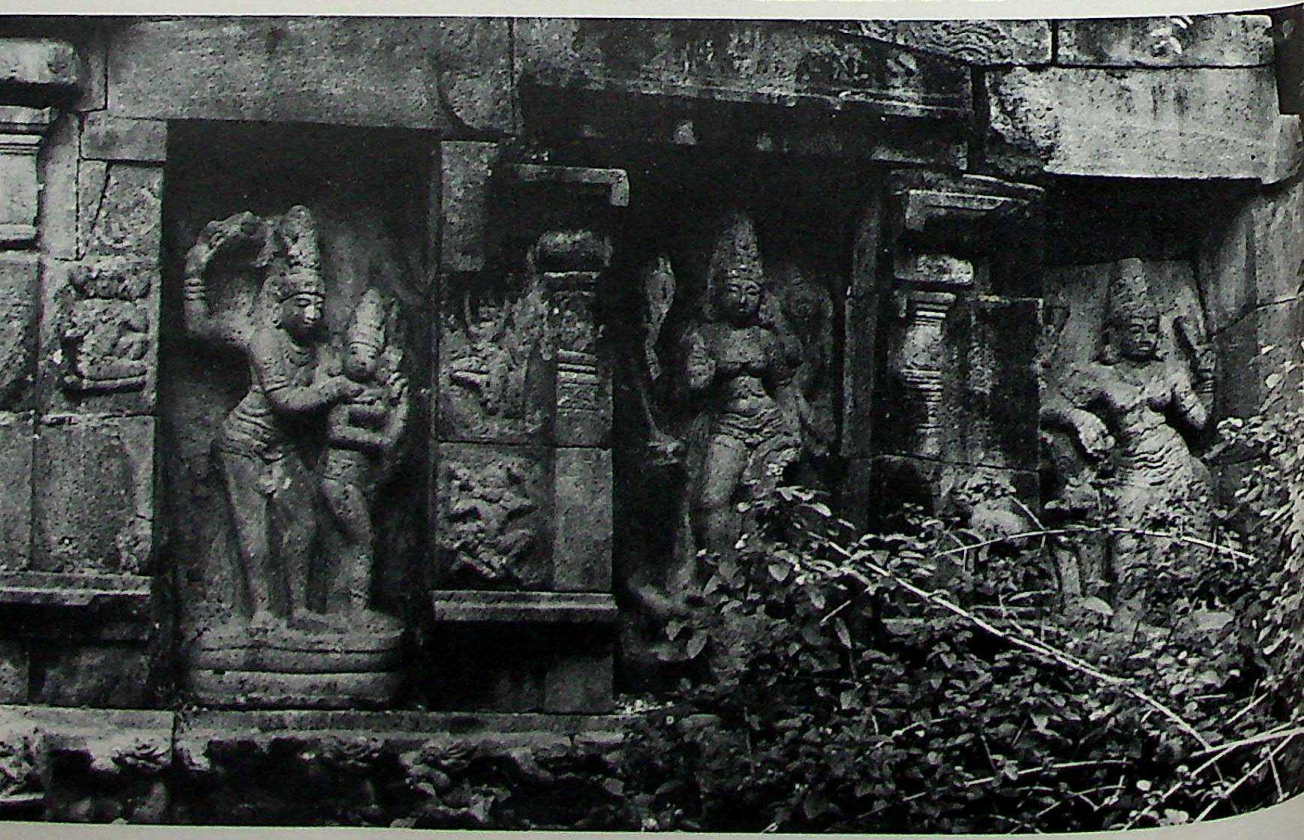
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

95. *Ardhamandapa* wall (S)
before renovation

SOLAPURAM
Bhairavar temple





96. *Ardhamandapa* wall (N)
before renovation

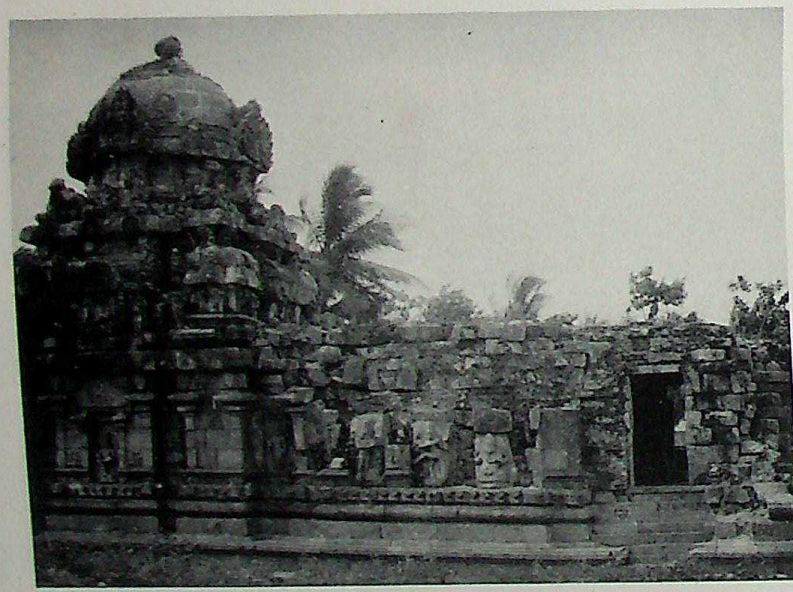
SOLAPURAM, *Bhairavar temple*

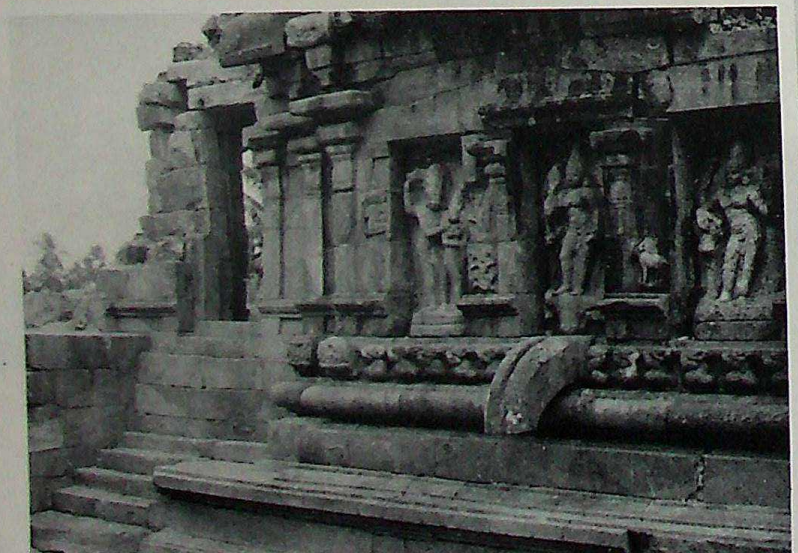
MELAKKADAMBUR, Amritaghatesvarar temple

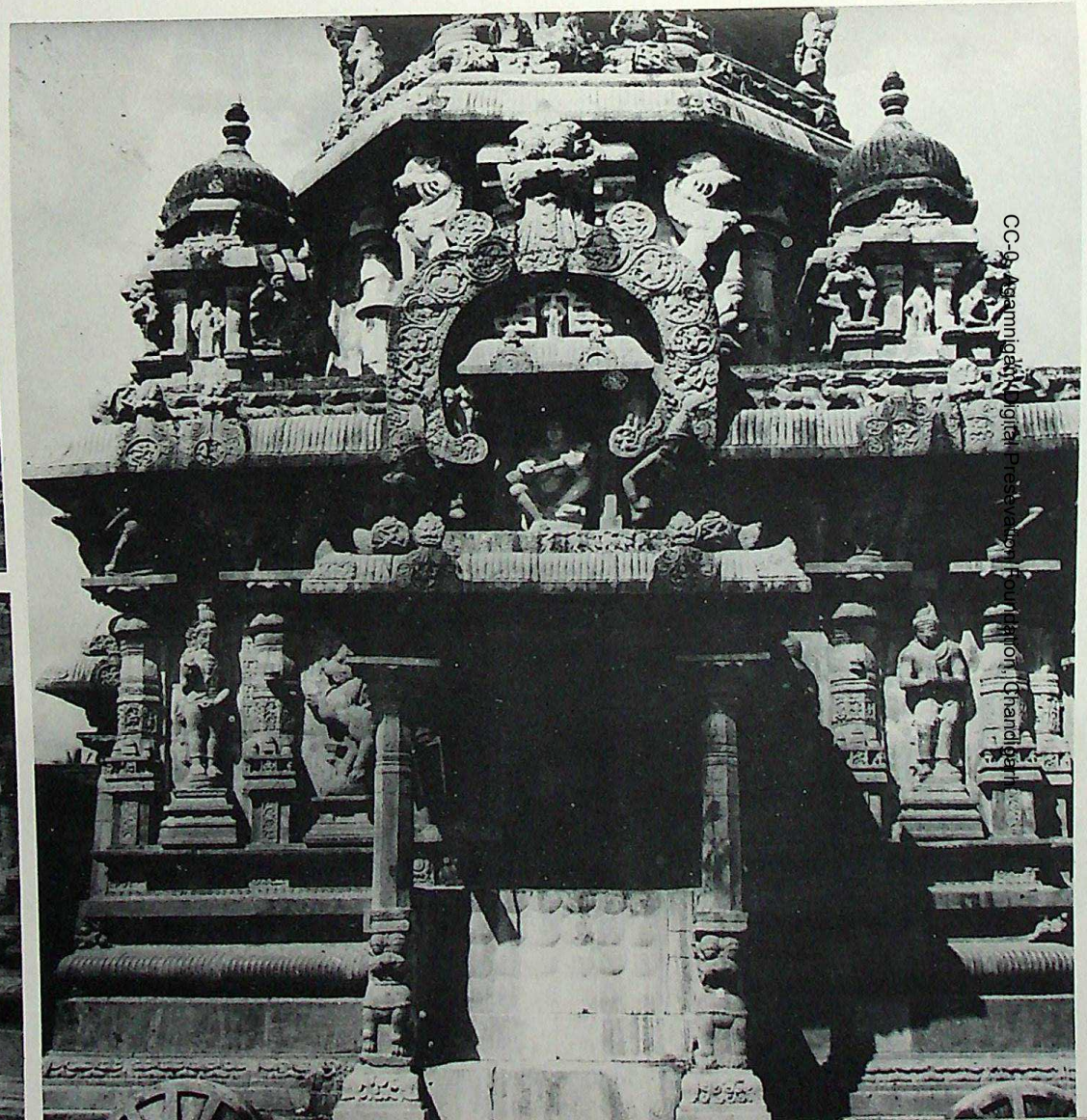
97. General view (S) after renovation
98. *Ardhamandapa* wall (N) after renovation

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

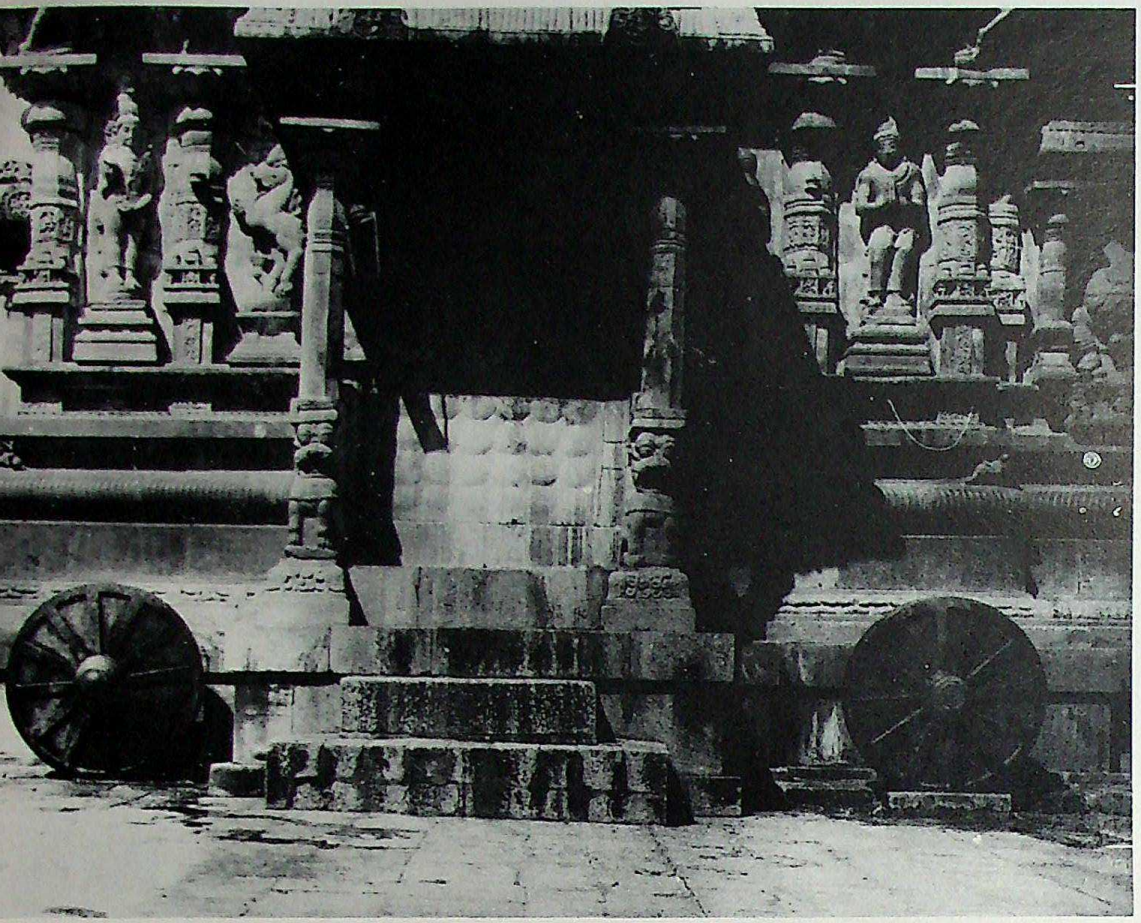
99. *Srivimana* (S face)







CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



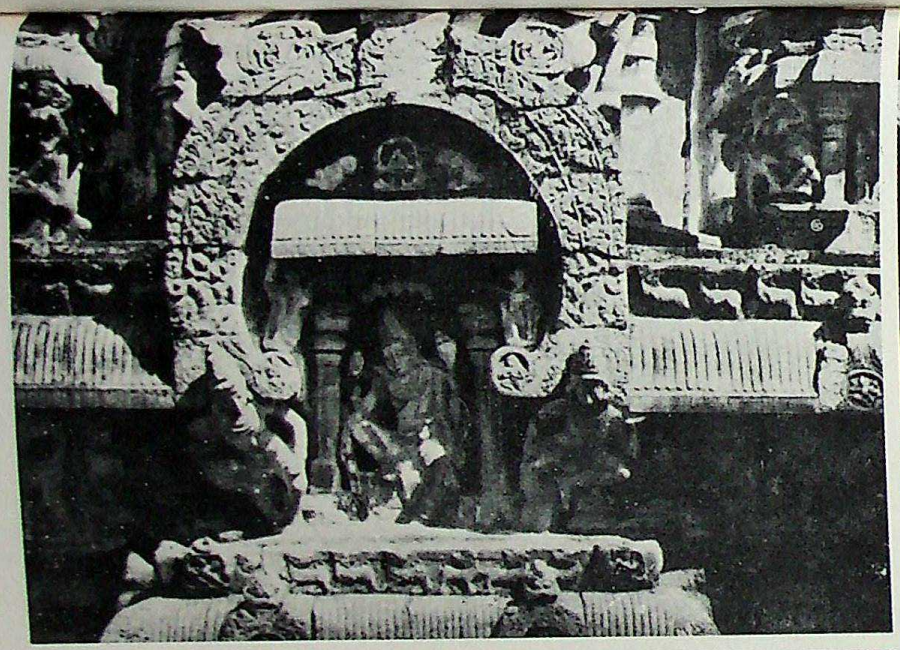
100. *Garbhagriha* (S face)

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

MELAKKADAMBUR
Amritaghatesvarar temple

101. *Srivimana* (another view)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



104. Horse of the *ratha vimana*

102. *Kudu* with inset

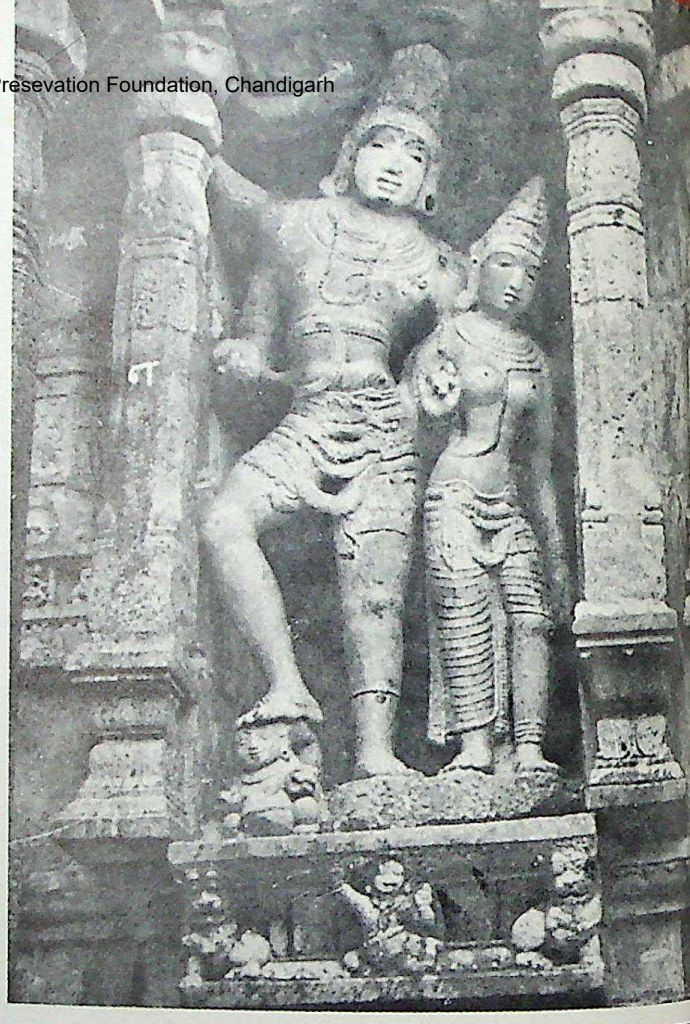
103. *Panchara* in second tier

MELAKKADAMBUR
Amritaghatesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

105. Surya



106. Gangadharar

107. Durga

MELAKKADAMBUR
Amritaghatesvarar temple

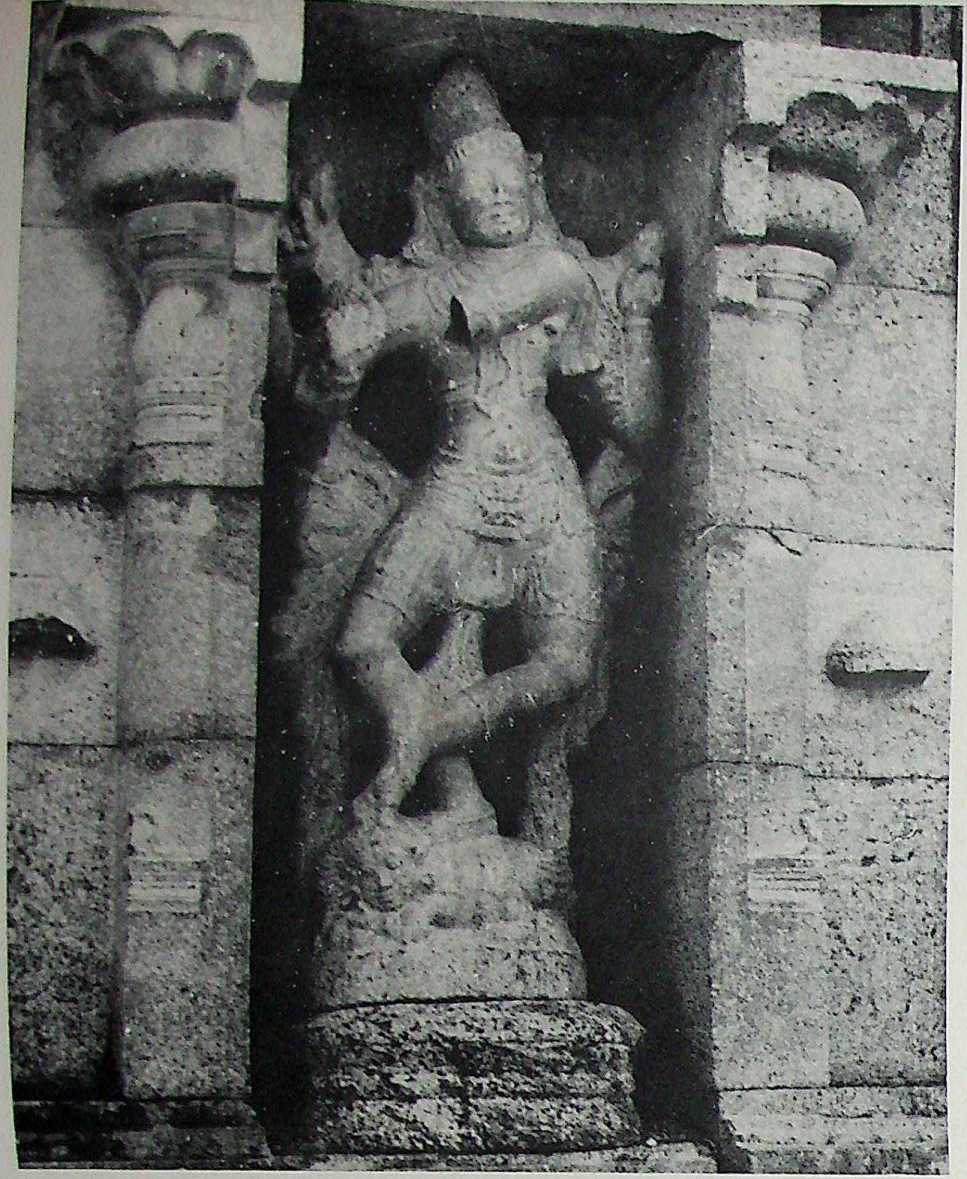
108. Dakshinamurti

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

109. Pilaster carvings,
Nataraja

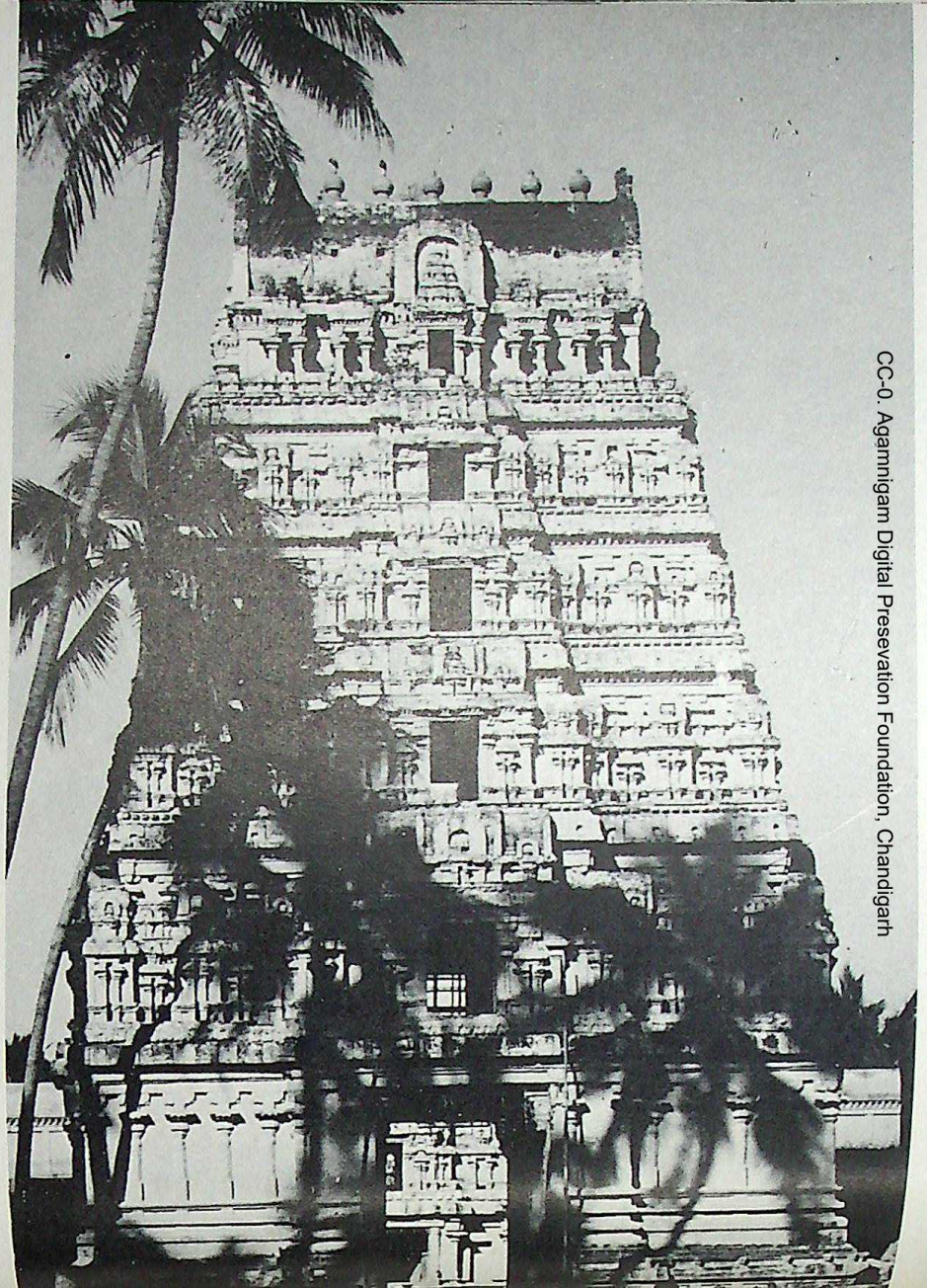
MELAKKADAMBUR
Amritaghatesvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

110. Vrishabhantikar (left, below)
111. Bhairavar (right, below)



112. Sadyojata

KILKKADAMBUR
Ruined Siva temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Ind.)



TIRUPPALAITTURAI
Palaivananathar temple

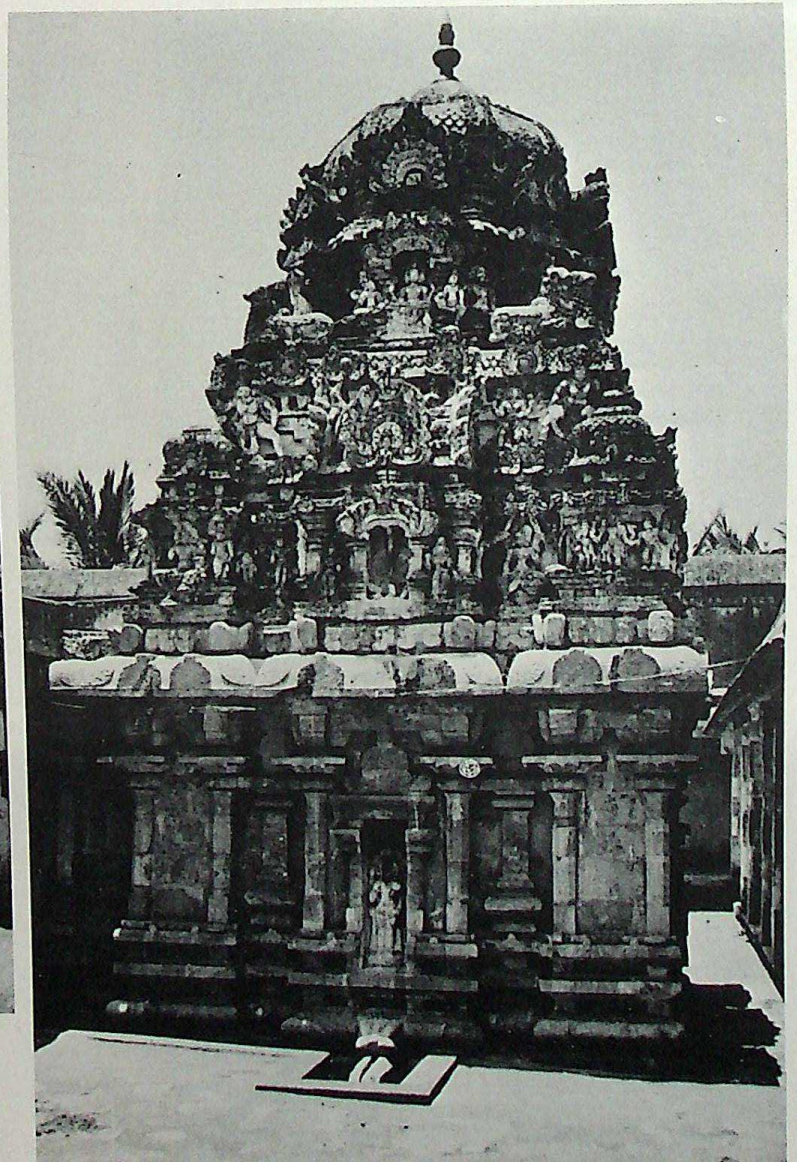
113. Outer *gopuram*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

114. Inner *gopuram*

TIRUPPALAITTURAI, Palaivananathar temple

115. *Srivimana*



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

116. General view (SE) from first *prakara*

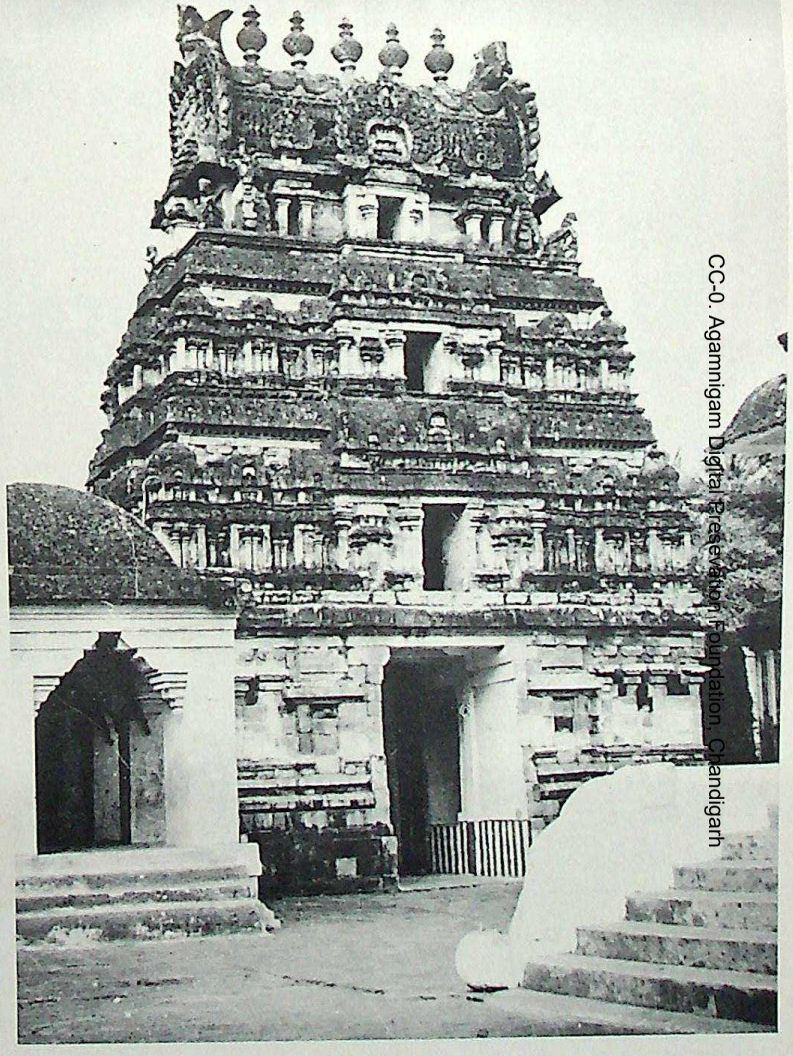
TIRUPPALAITTURAI
Palaivananathar temple

117. Ganapati (Pls. 117 & 118 Courtesy: French Inst. Indology) 118. Urdhva tandava murti

TIRUPPALAITTURAI, Palaivananathar temple

119. Lingodbhavar (loose)

120. Ardhanari

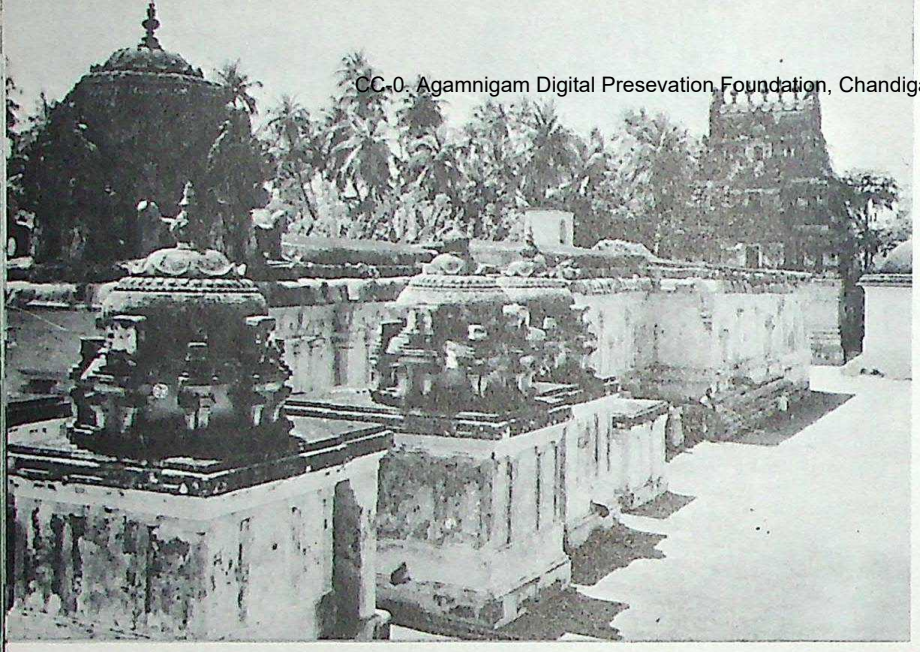


121. *Gopuram*

SURYANARKOYIL, Surya temple
(Courtesy: Sri N. Ramakrishna)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

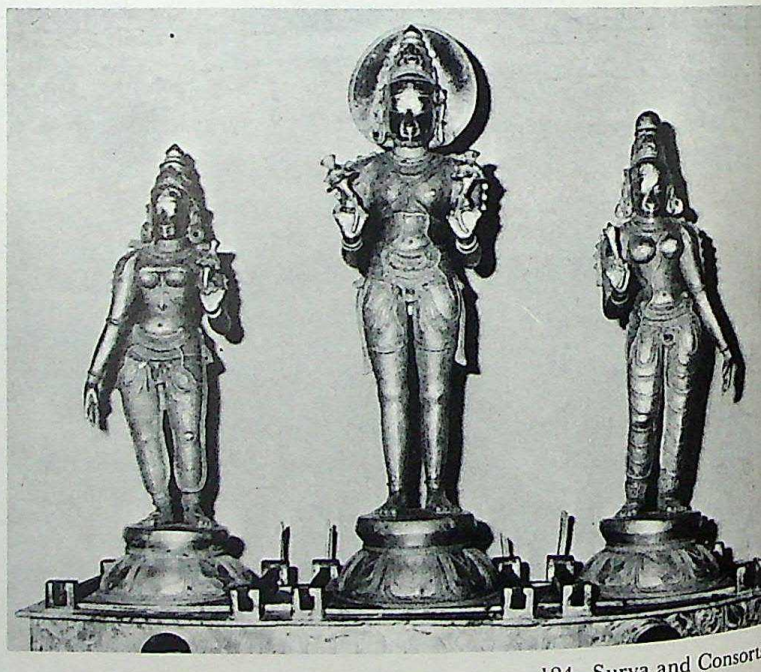
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



122. General view

SURYANARKOYIL
Surya temple
(Courtesy: Sri N. Ramakrishna)

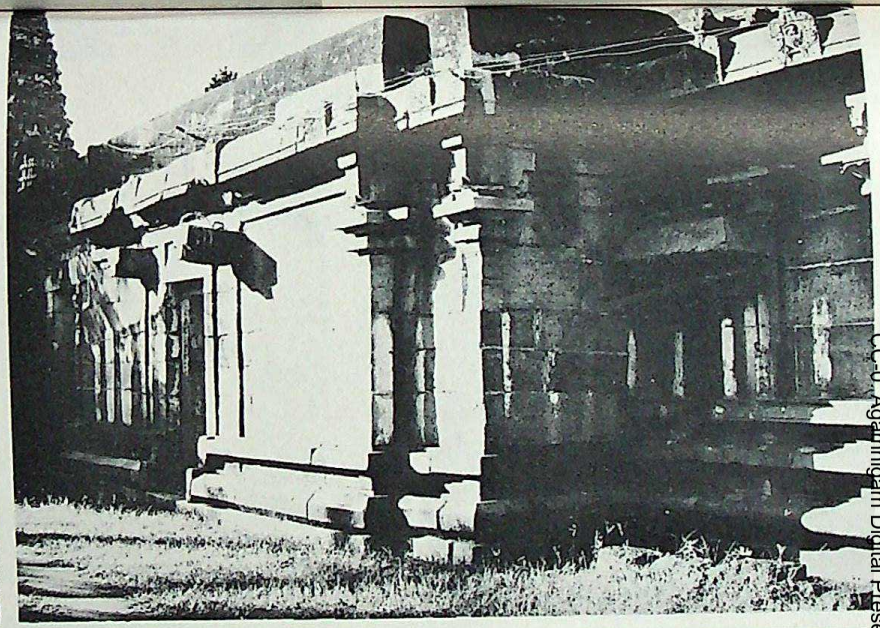
123. *Sapta asvam*



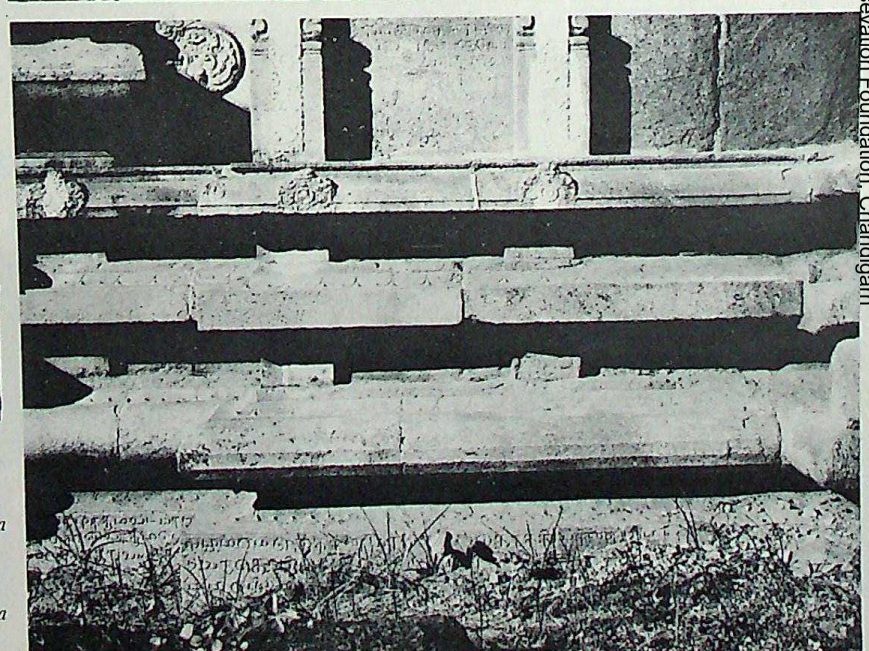
124. Surya and Consort

125. *Ashta graha*

126. General view



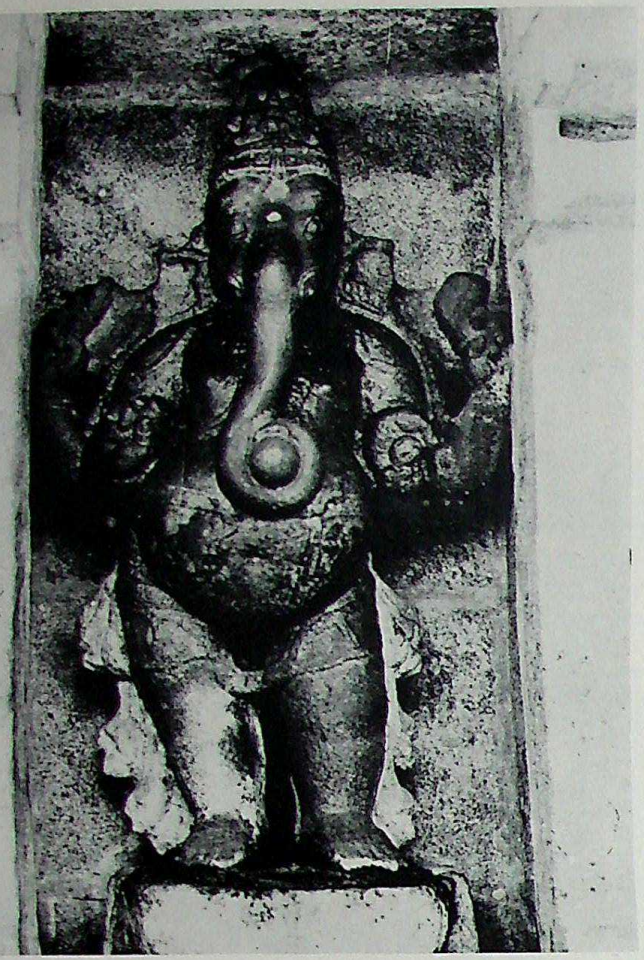
127. *Ardhamandapa* and *mahamandapa*



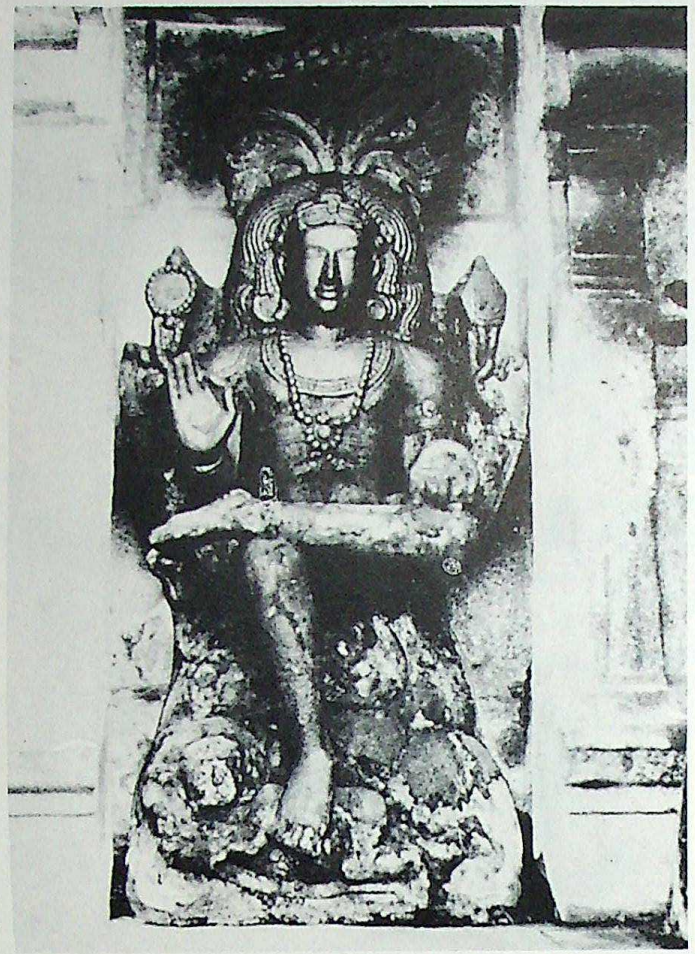
128. *Adhishthanam* of *garbhagriha*

PERUNGALUR
Vamsoddharaka natha
svamin temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

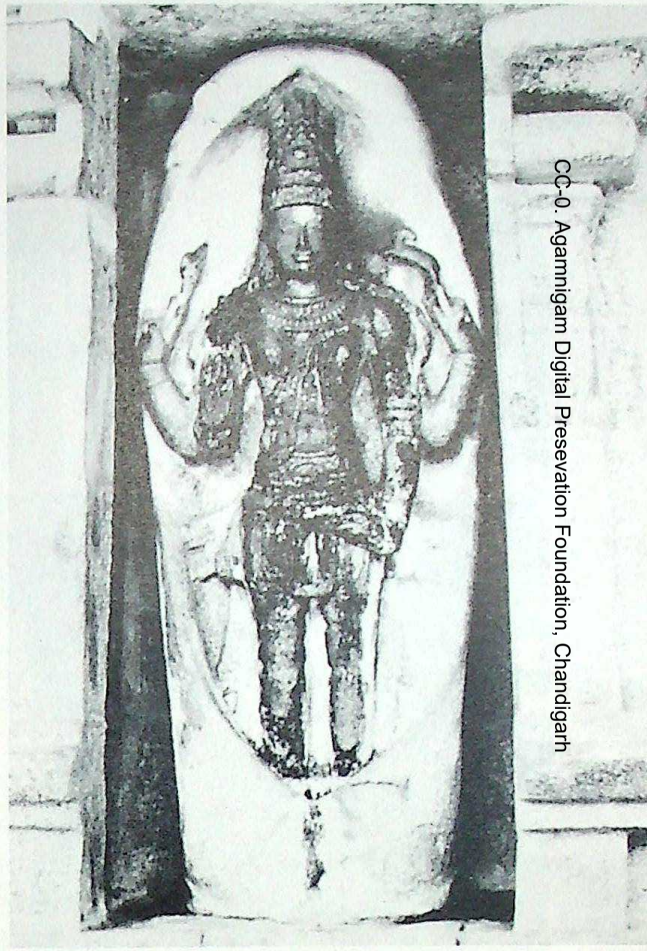
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



129. Ganapati



130. Dakshinamurti

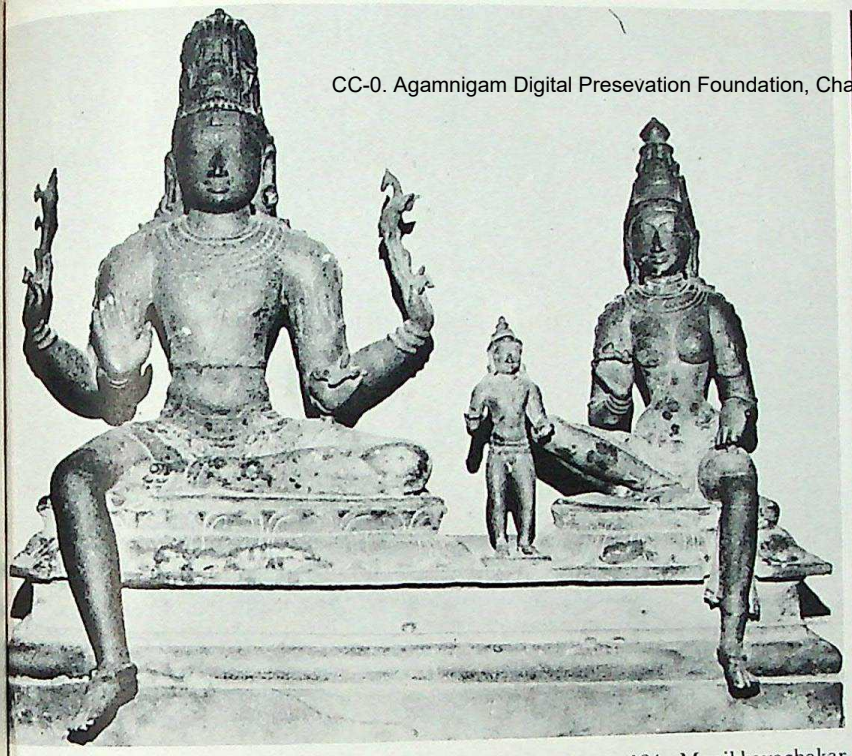


131. Lingodbhavar

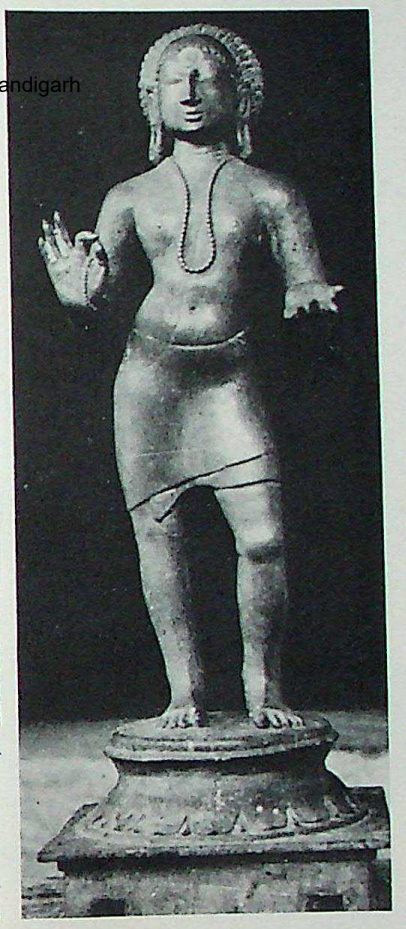
NIDUR
Somanathasvamin temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



132. Somaskanda

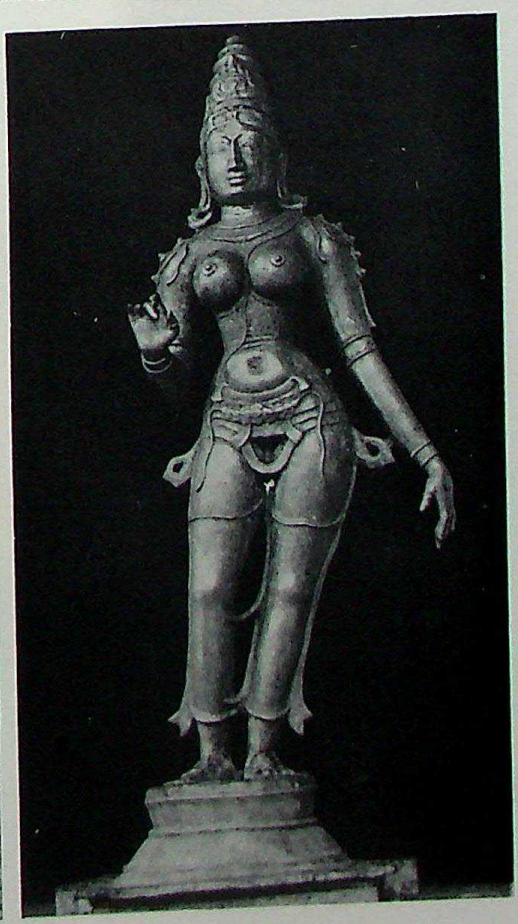


134. Manikkavachakar

NIDUR
Somanathasvamin temple

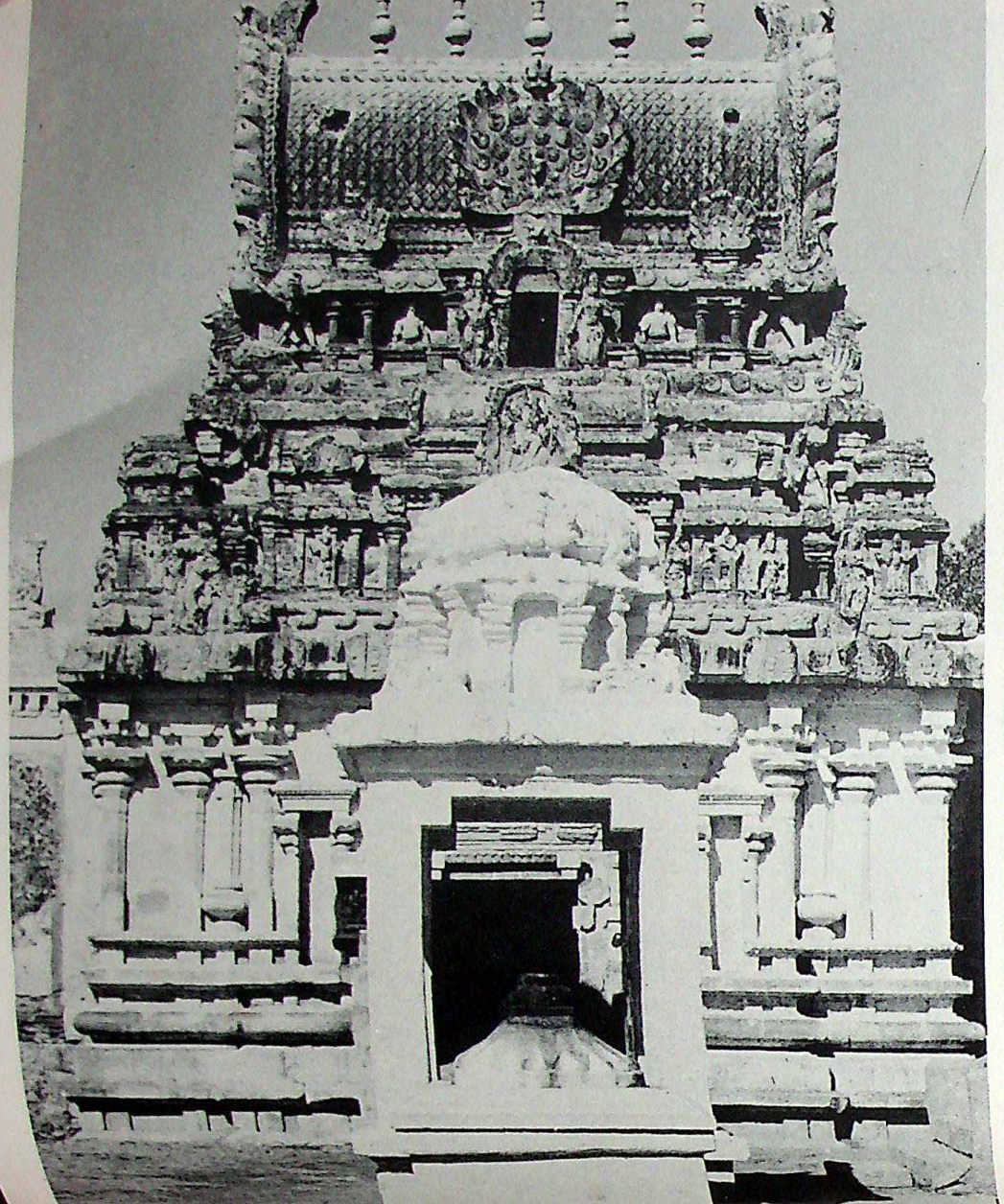
133. Bhogasakti

135. *Tani* Amman



(Pls. 133-135. Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

(Courtesy: French Institute of Indology)

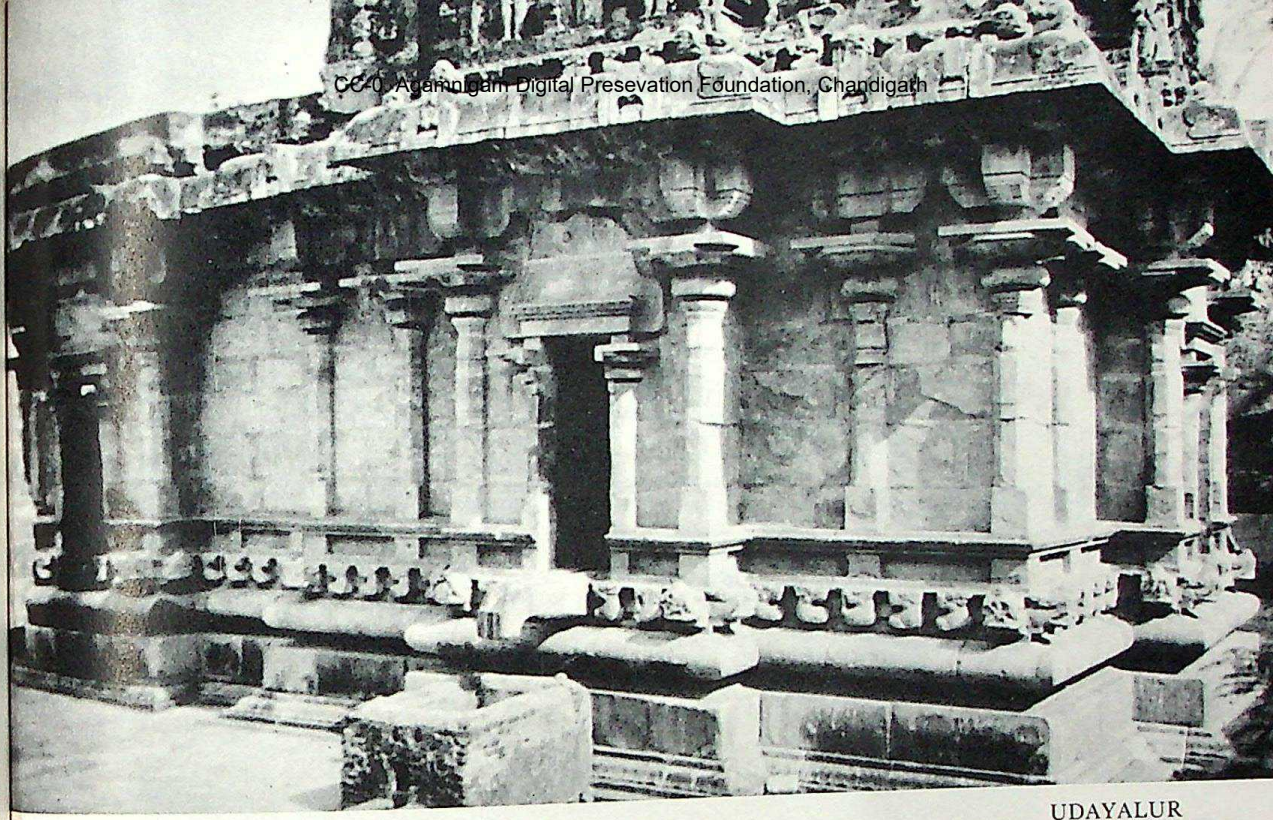


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

137. *Srivimana*

KALLAPERUMBUR
Kailasanathar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



138. *Garbhagriha* (NW view)

UDAYALUR
Kailasanathar temple

139. Ardhanarisvarar

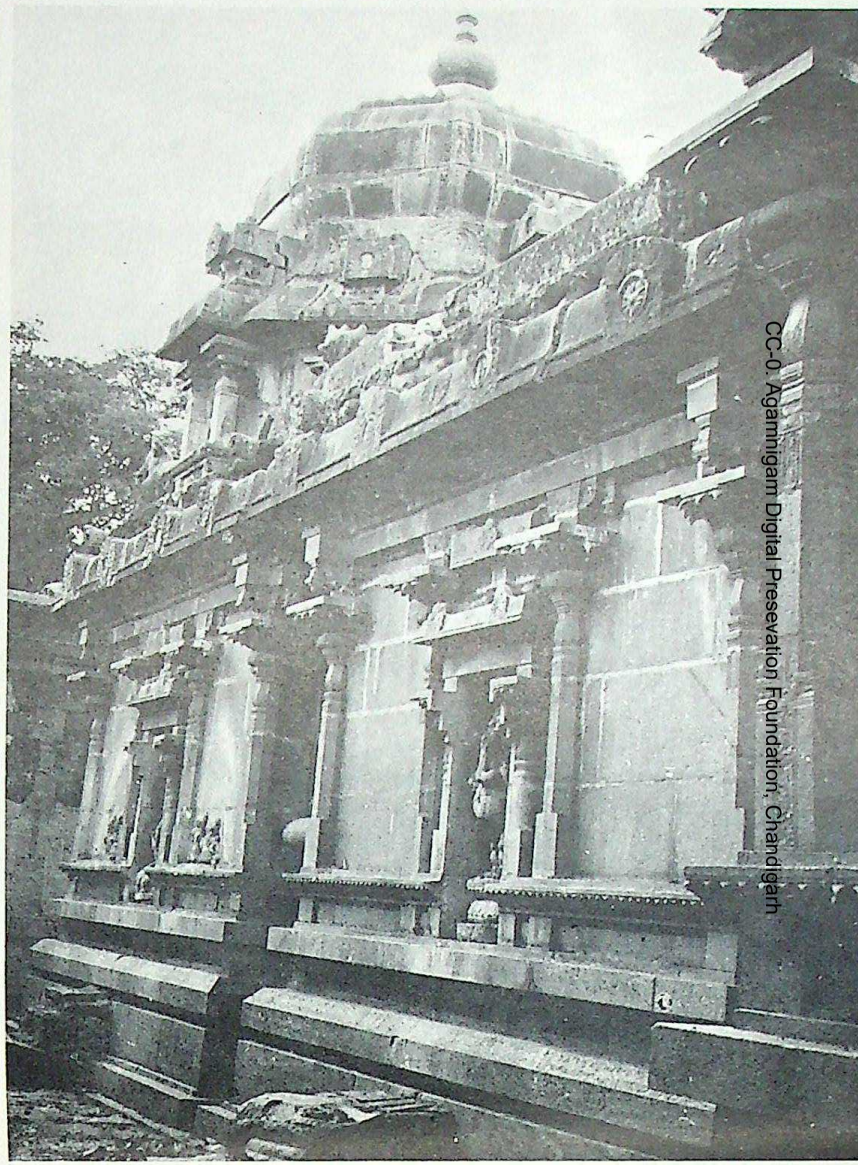
140. Bhikshatanar

141. Vrishabhantikar

142. Brahmi

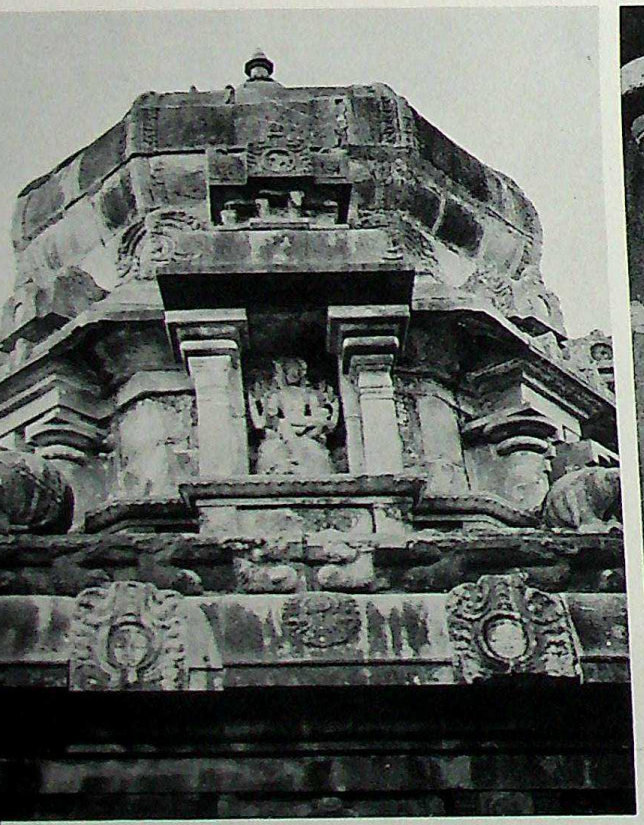
UDAYALUR
Kailasanathar temple

KANIYAMUR
Kanakasolisvarar temple
(Pl. 143)
(Courtesy: French Institute of Indology)



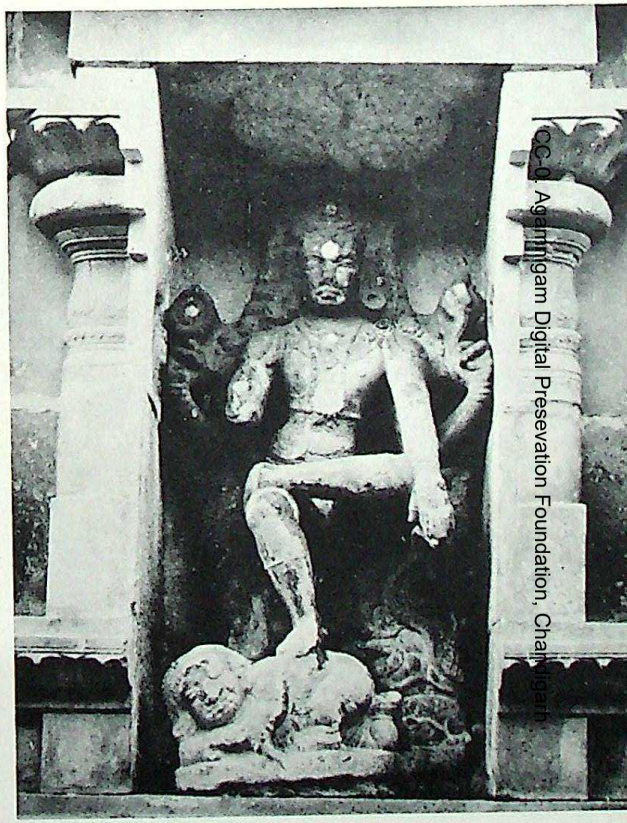
143. General view: *srivimana* and *ardhamandapa*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



144. *Griva* and *sikhara* of *srivimana* (S face)

145. Ganapati



146. Dakshinamurti

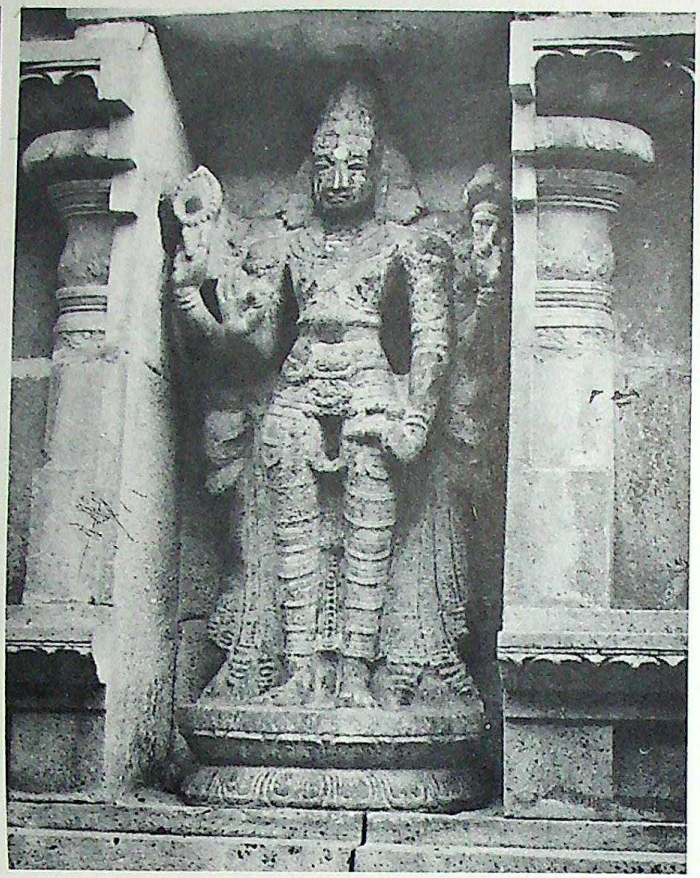
KANIYAMUR
Kanakasolisvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Institute of Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

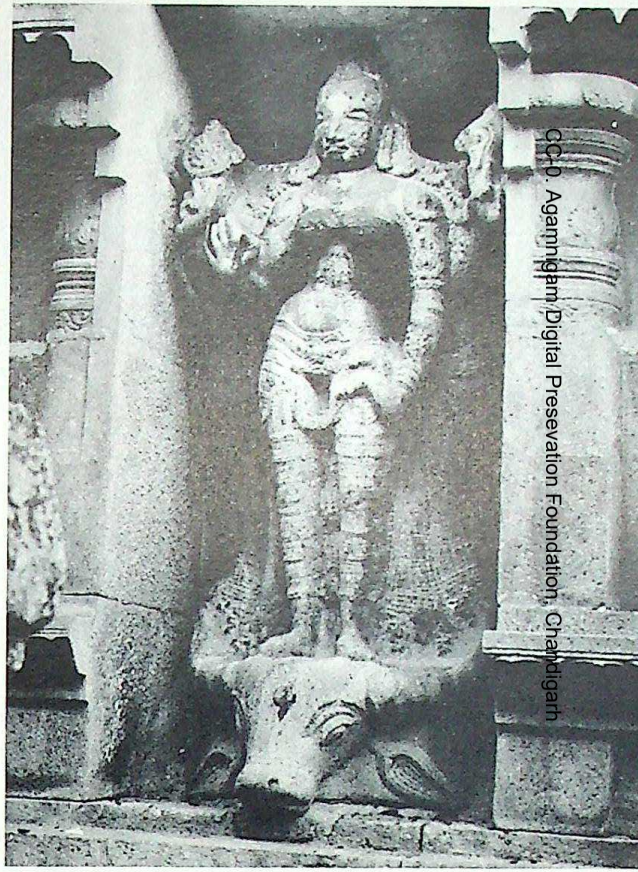
KANIYAMUR
Kanakasolisvarar temple

147. Vishnu

148. Brahma



149. Durga

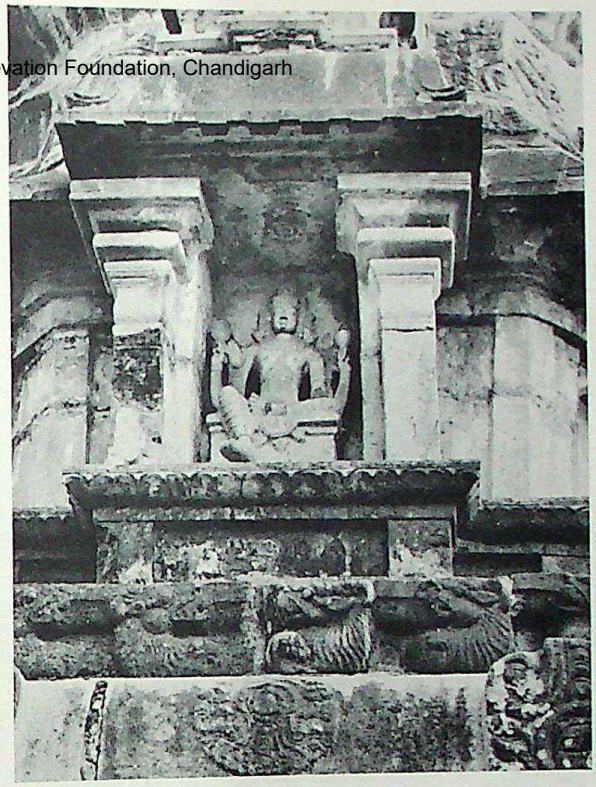


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Courtesy: French Institute of Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

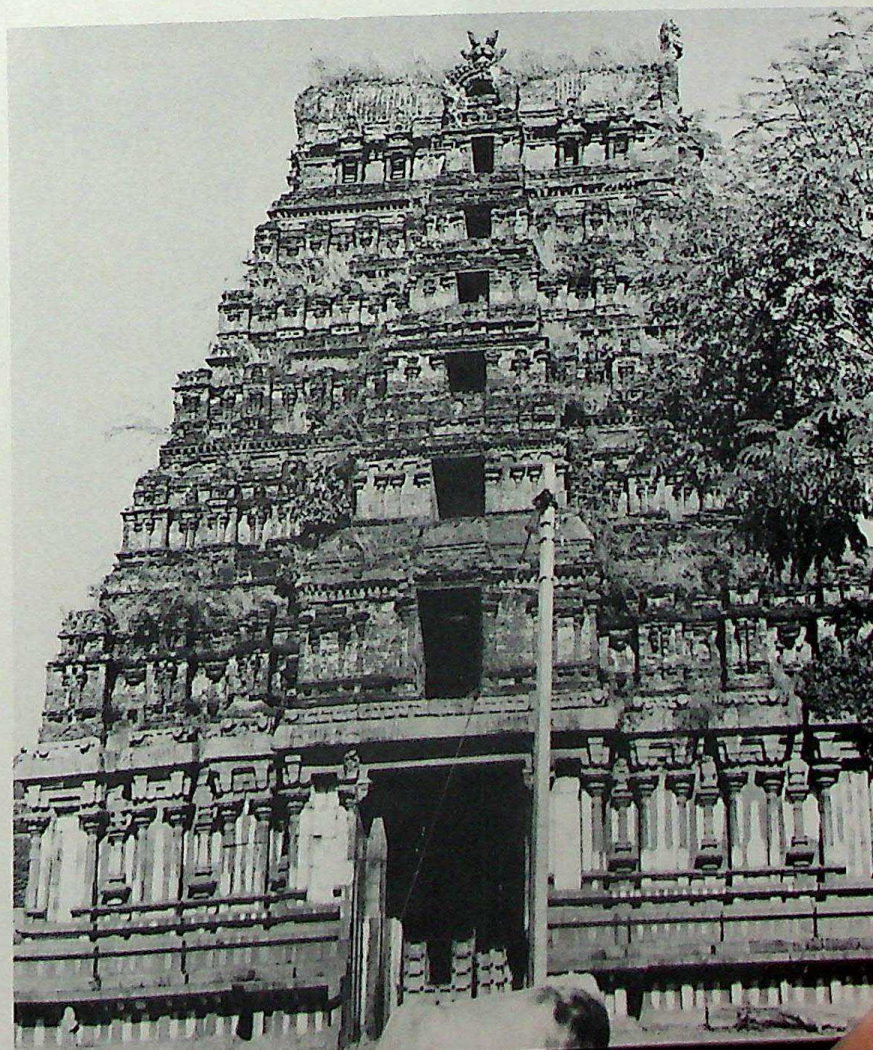
150. Yoga Narasimha



151. Brahma

KANIYAMUR
Kanakasolisvarar
temple

(Pls. 150-152.
Courtesy: French
Inst. Indology)



ELAVANASUR
Ardhanarisvarar
temple

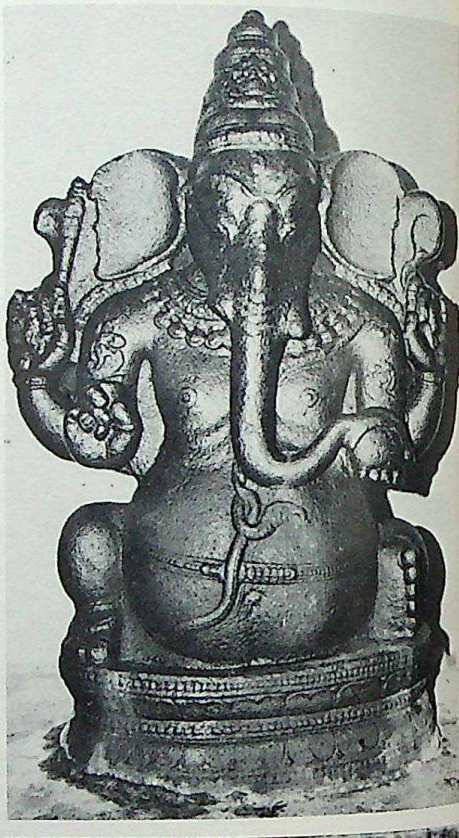
152. The outer *gopuram*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ELAVANASUR
Ardhanarisvarar temple

153. General view

154. Ganapati



155. Vallabha Ganapati

156. Uchchhishtha Ganapati

(Courtesy: French Institute of Indology)

157. *Dvarapala*

158. Dakshinamurti

159. Vishnu Durga

ELAVANASUR
Ardhanarisvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

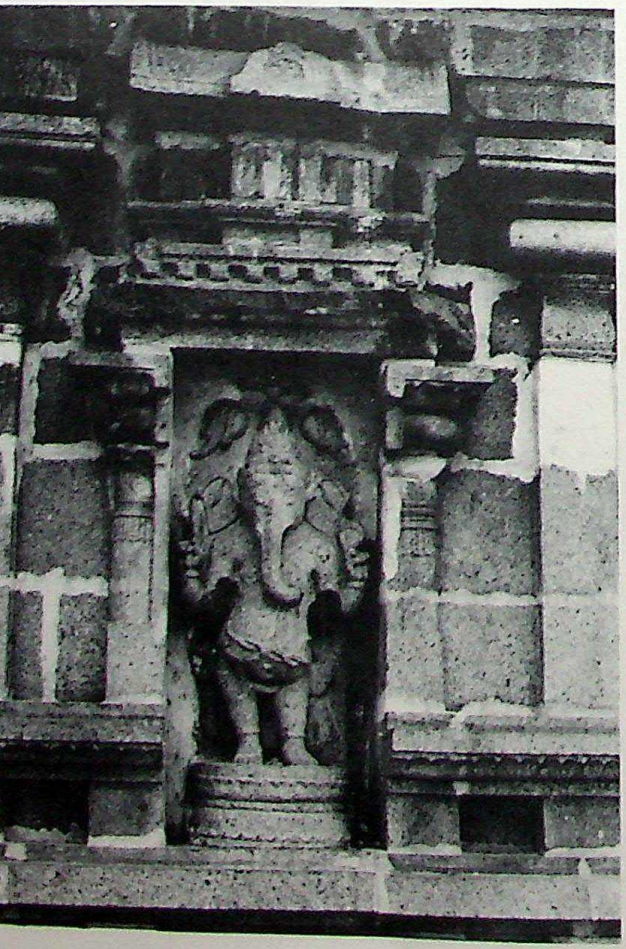
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

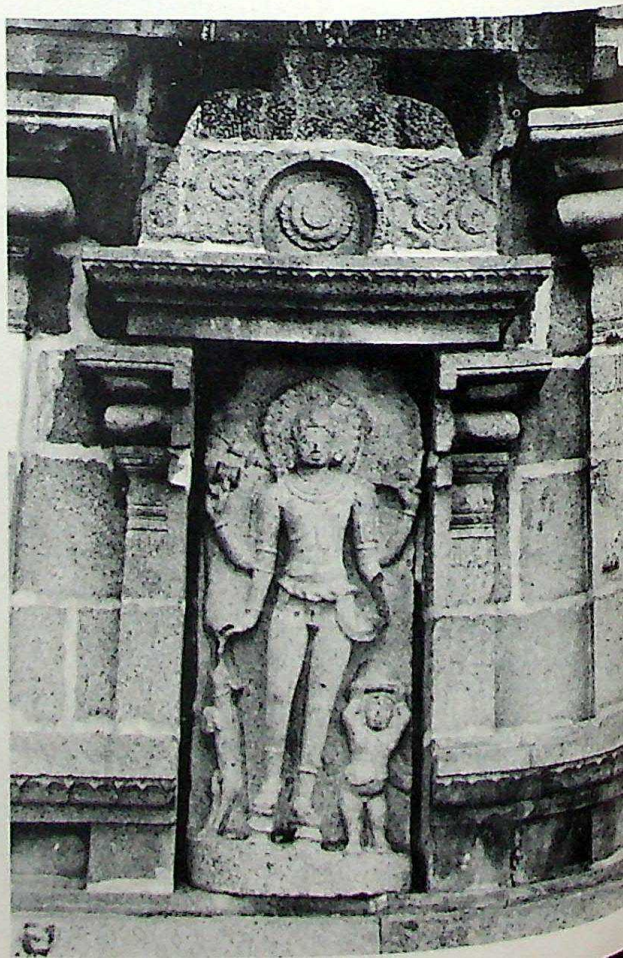
160. *Adhishthanam* of *garbhagriha* (S face) with displaced niche-icon of Dakshinamurti

CHINTAMANI AGARAM
Isvarar temple

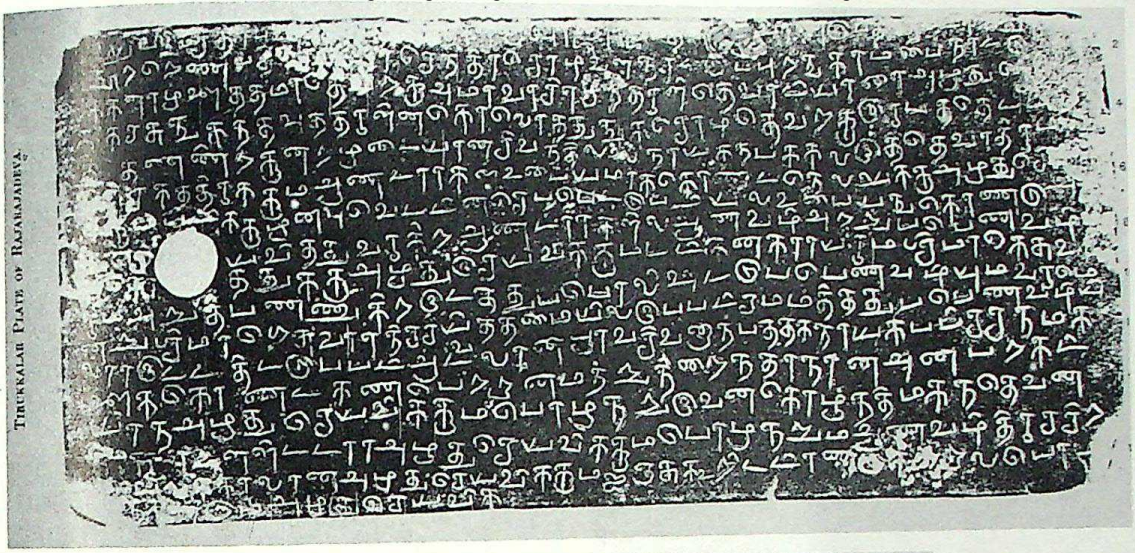
161. Ganapati

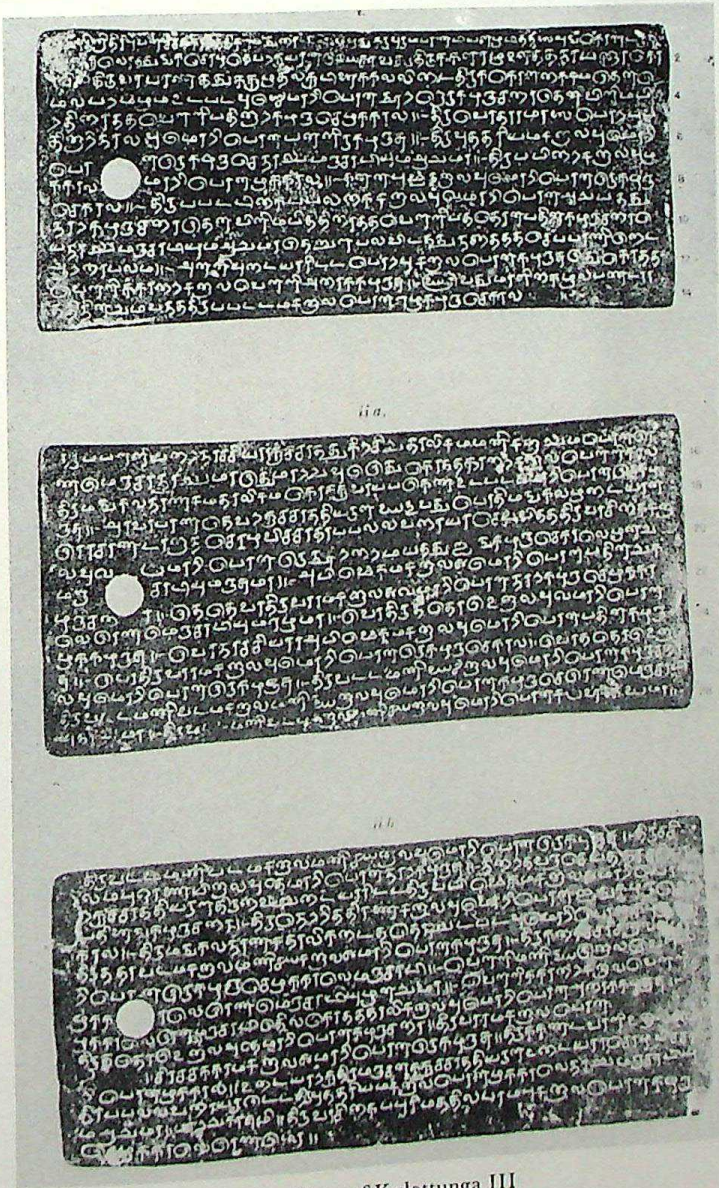


162. Bhikshatanar



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh





164. Plates of Kulottunga III

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

165. Tripurantaka
(dated bronze: A.D. 1074)

166. Tripurantaka (rear vie

TIRU MIYACHCHUR
Muyarchinathesvarar temple

167. Pedestal inscription of Kulottunga I

(Pls. 163-167. Courtesy: Dept. Arch., Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUVIDAIMARUDUR
Mahalingasvamin temple

168. Portrait of
Kulottunga I (?)

(Courtesy: Dept. Arch.,
Govt. of Tamilnadu)

TIRUVILI MILALAI
Netrarpanesvarar temple

170. Manikkavachakar
(Courtesy: F.I.I.)

169. 100-pillared hall

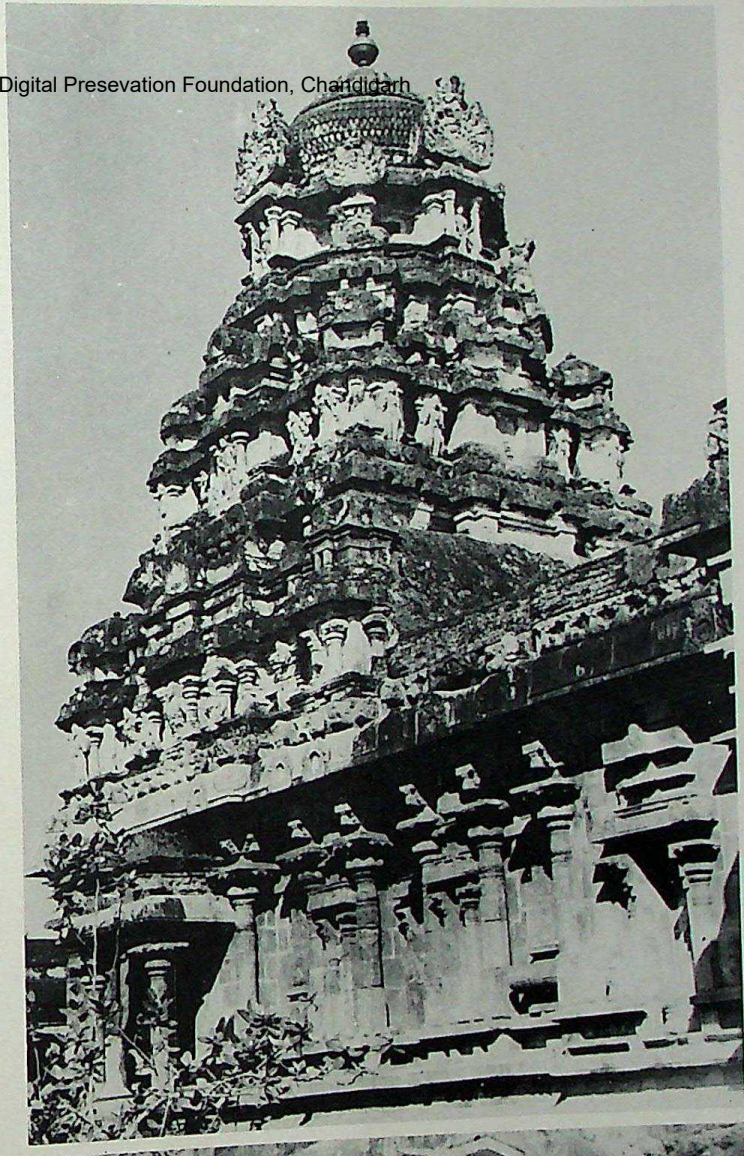
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

171. Inner *gopuram*

TUKKACHCHI
Vikrama solisvaram Udaiyar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

172. *Srivimana*
(Courtesy: French
Inst. Indology)



TUKKACHCHI
Vikrama solisvaram
Udaiyar temple

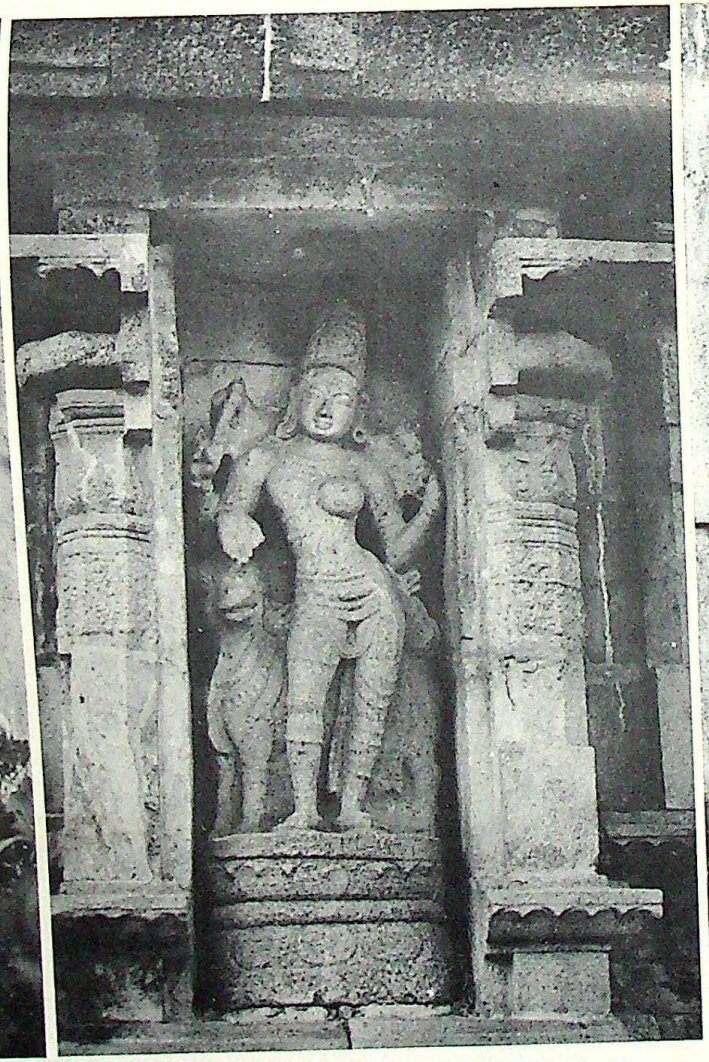
173. *Maha*- and *ratha-mandapas* (N face)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

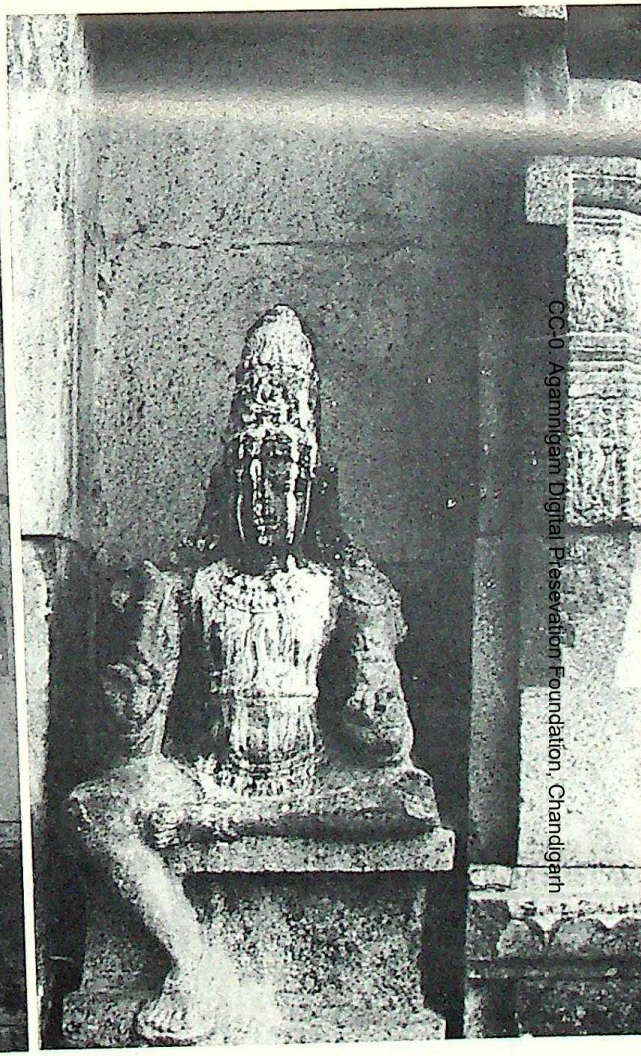
174. *Ratha-mandapa*

TUKKACHCHI
Vikrama solisvaram Udaiyar temple

175. Brahma



176. Ardhanari



177. Chandesvarar (*ratha-vimana*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

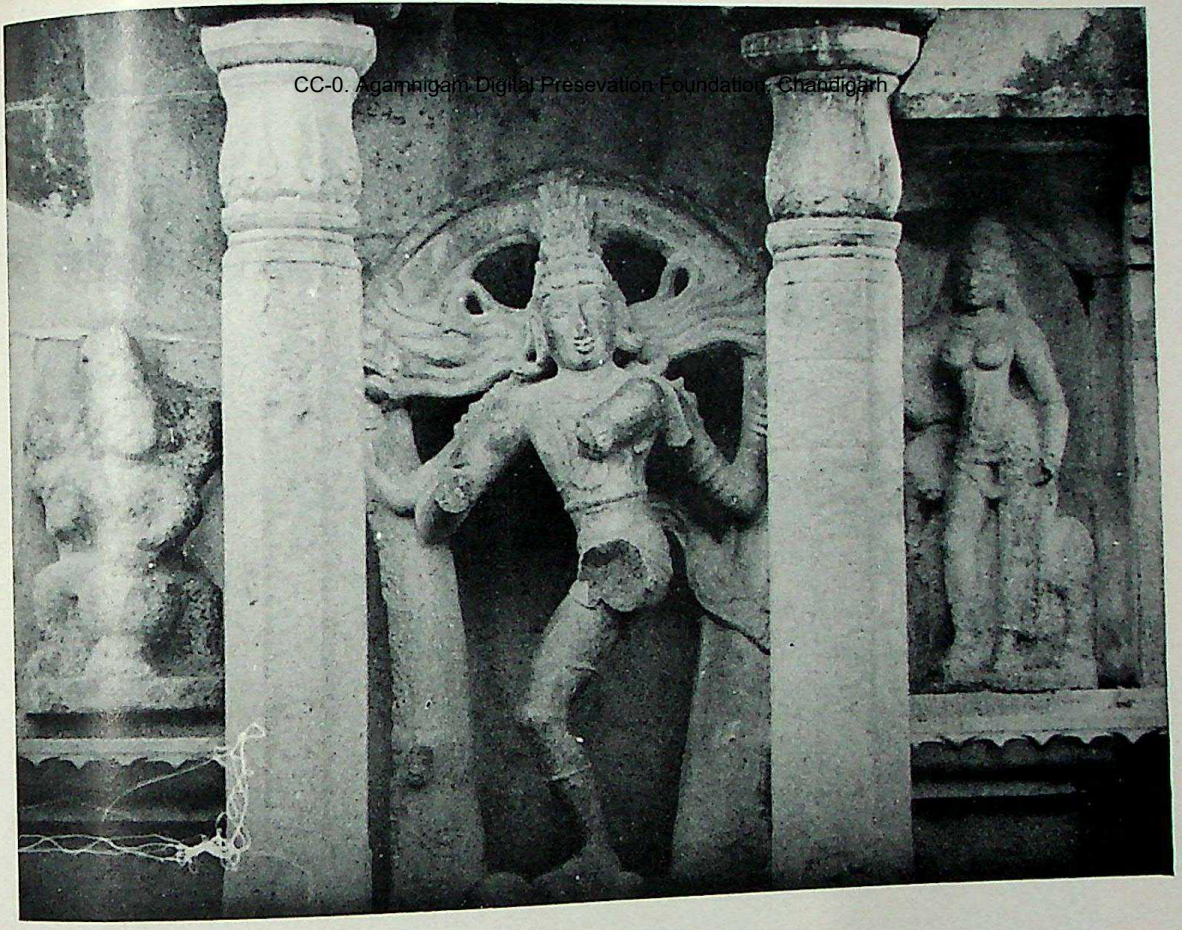
TUKKACHCHI
Vikrama solisvaram Udaiyar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

178. Sarabhamurti

TUKKACHCHI
Vikrama solisvaram
Udaiyar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

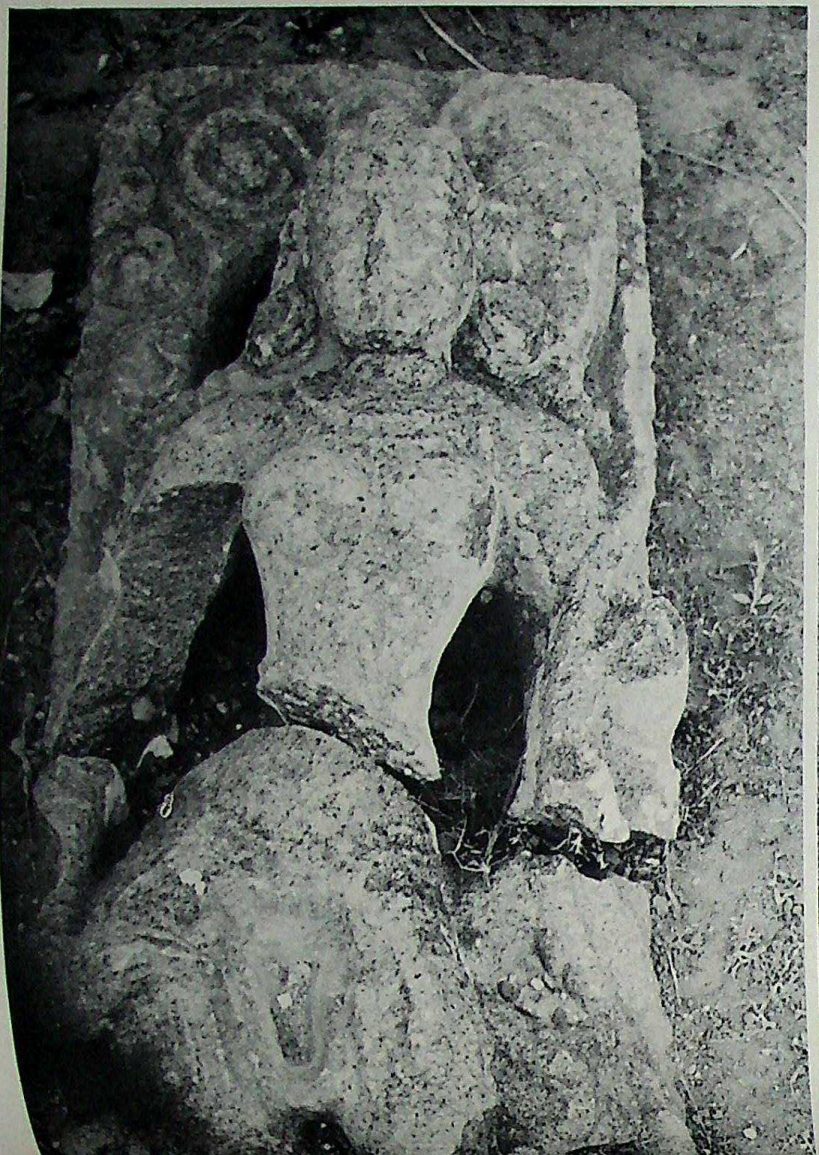


179. Nataraja

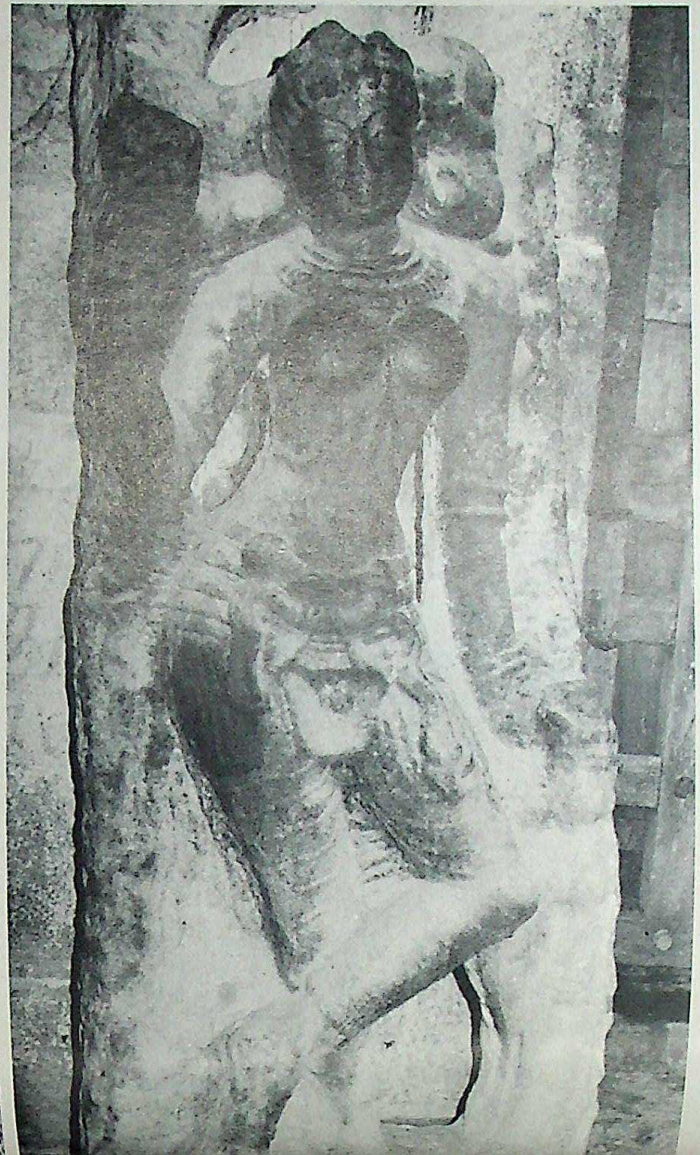
TUKKACHCHI
Vikrama solisvaram Udaiyar temple

180. Amman temple

181. *Dvarapalika* (displaced, broken)



182. *Dvarapalika*



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

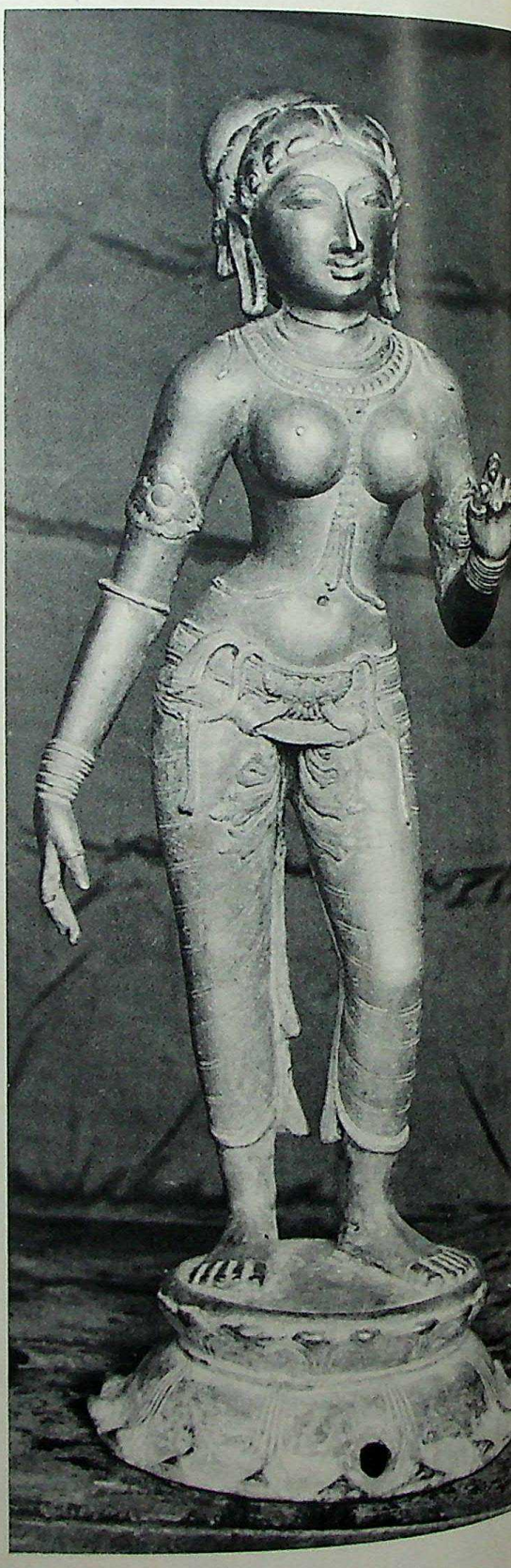
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

183. *Tani* Amman, Somaskanda bronzes

TUKKACHCHI, Vikrama solisvaram Udaiyar temple

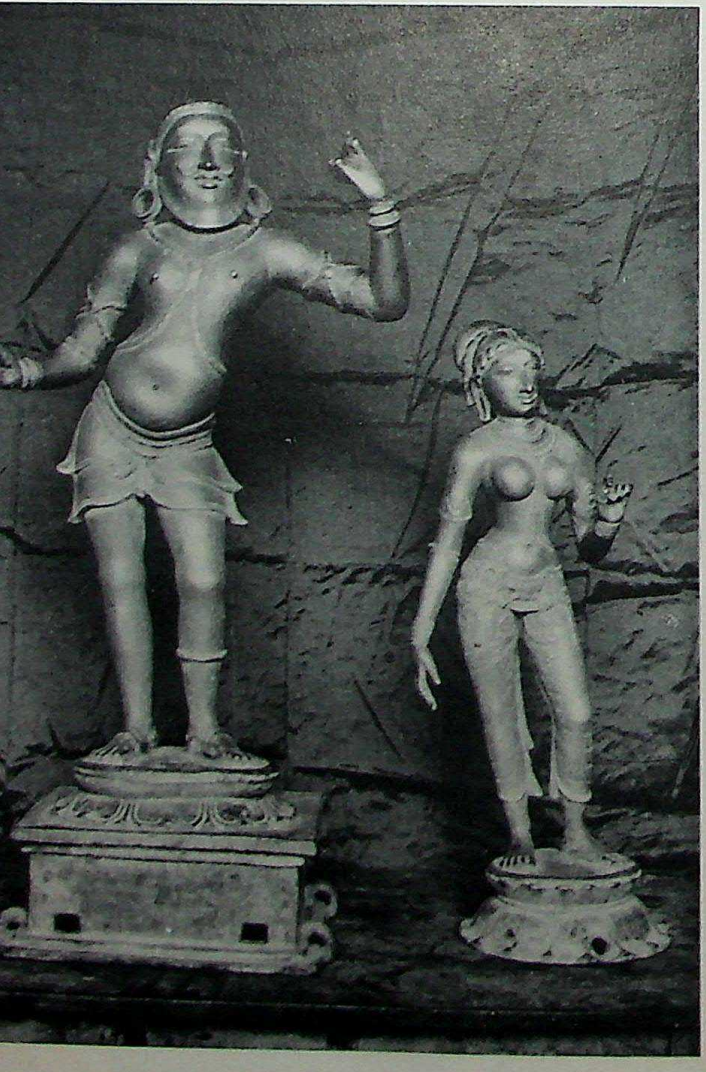
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

185. Parvati



MELAPERUMBALLAM
Valamburanathar temple
(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology,
Govt. of Tamilnadu)

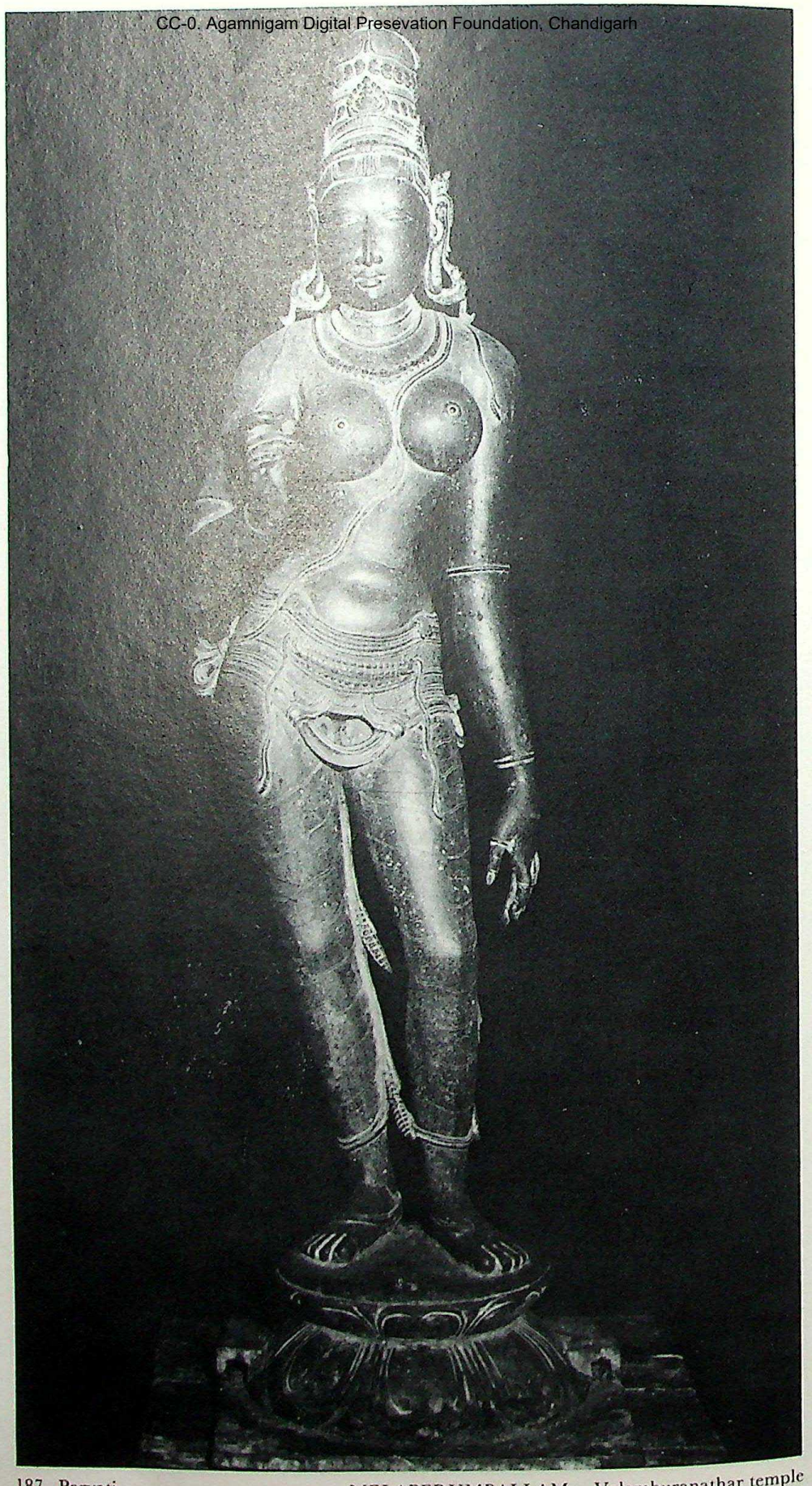
84. Kiratamurti and Parvati



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

186. Nataraja MELAPERUMBALLAM, Valamburanathar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



187. Parvati MELAPERUMBALLAM, Valamburanathar temple

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MELAPERUMBALLAM, Valamburanathar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

188. Bhikshatanar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

189. Vrishabhantikar

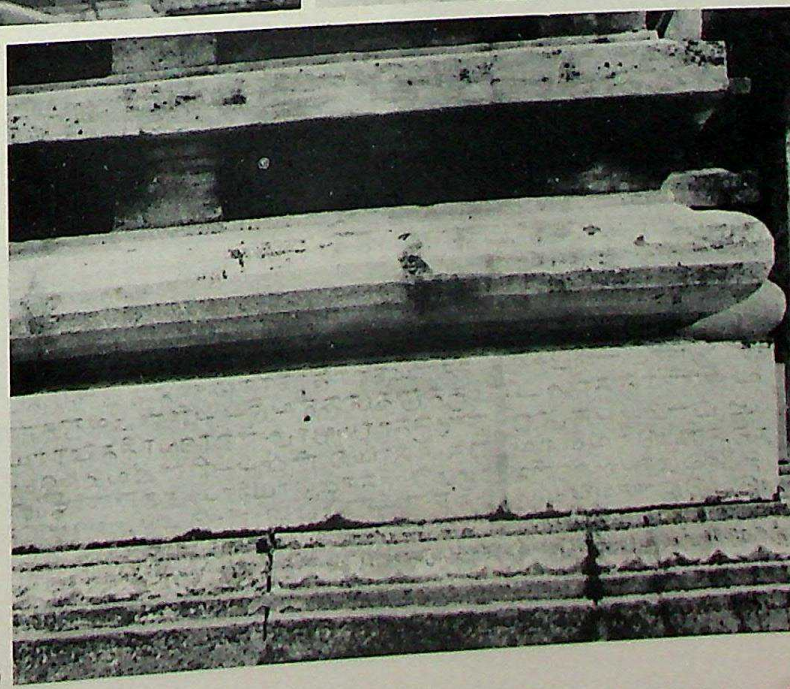
MELAPERUMBALLAM, Valamburanathar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

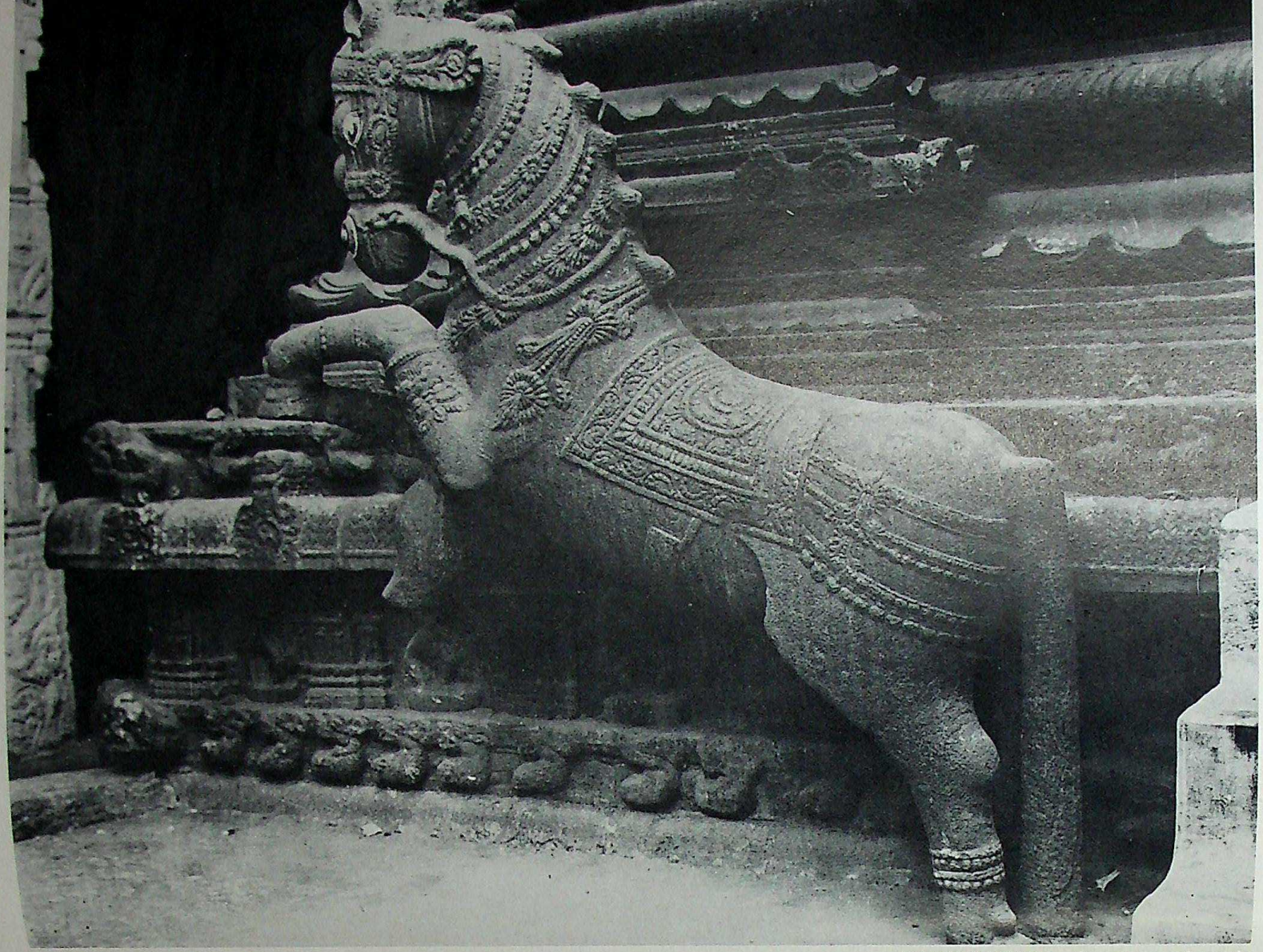
190. *Srivimana*
(general view)

191. Ganapati

MADARVELUR
Madalisvarar temple



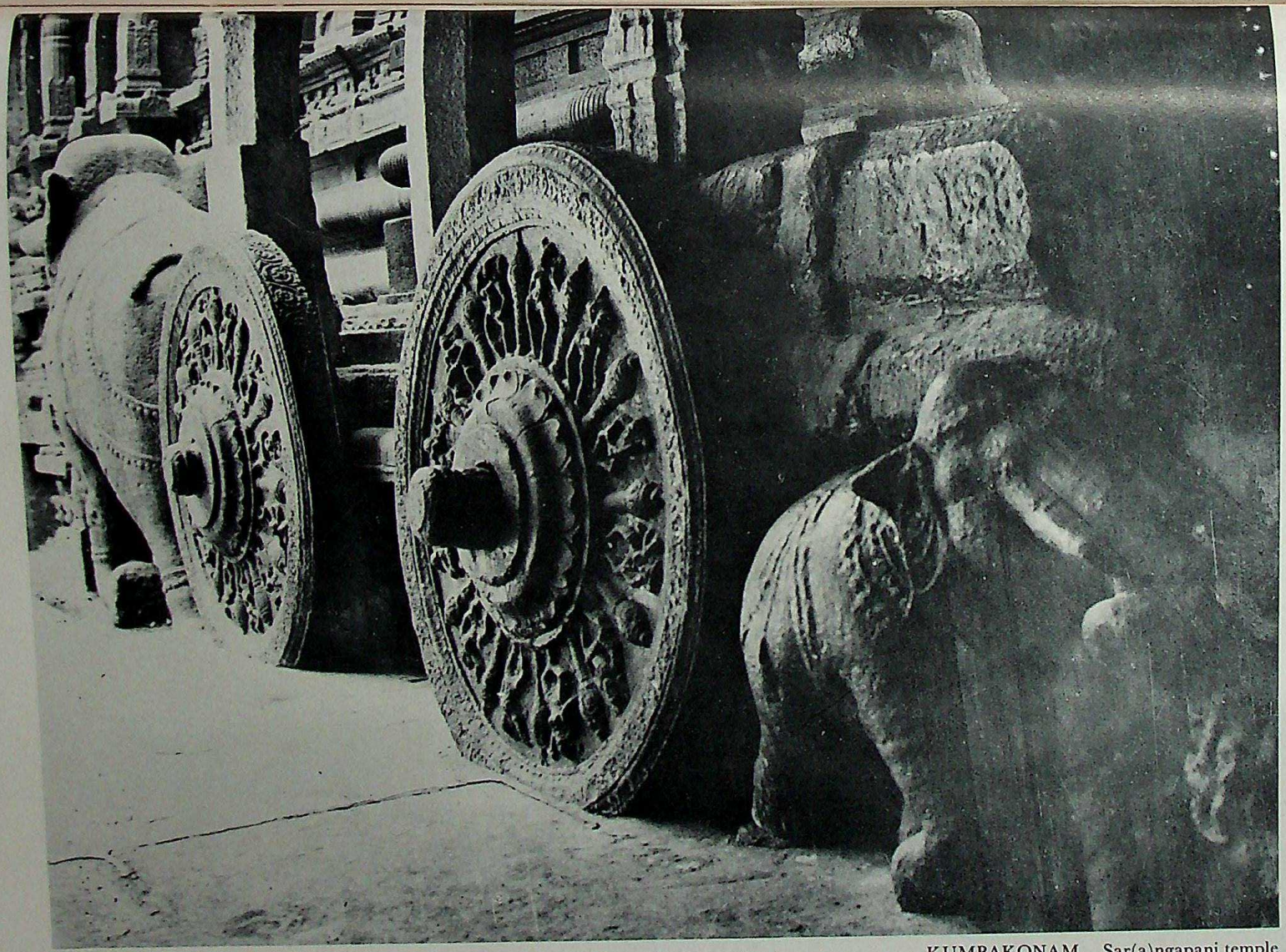
192. *Adhishthanam* of *garbhagriha* (W face)



193. Horse in the *ratha-mandapa*

KUMBAKONAM, Sar(a)ngapani *temple*
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



194. Elephants and wheels

KUMBAKONAM, Sar(a)ngapani temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KUMBAKONAM, Sar(a)ngapani temple

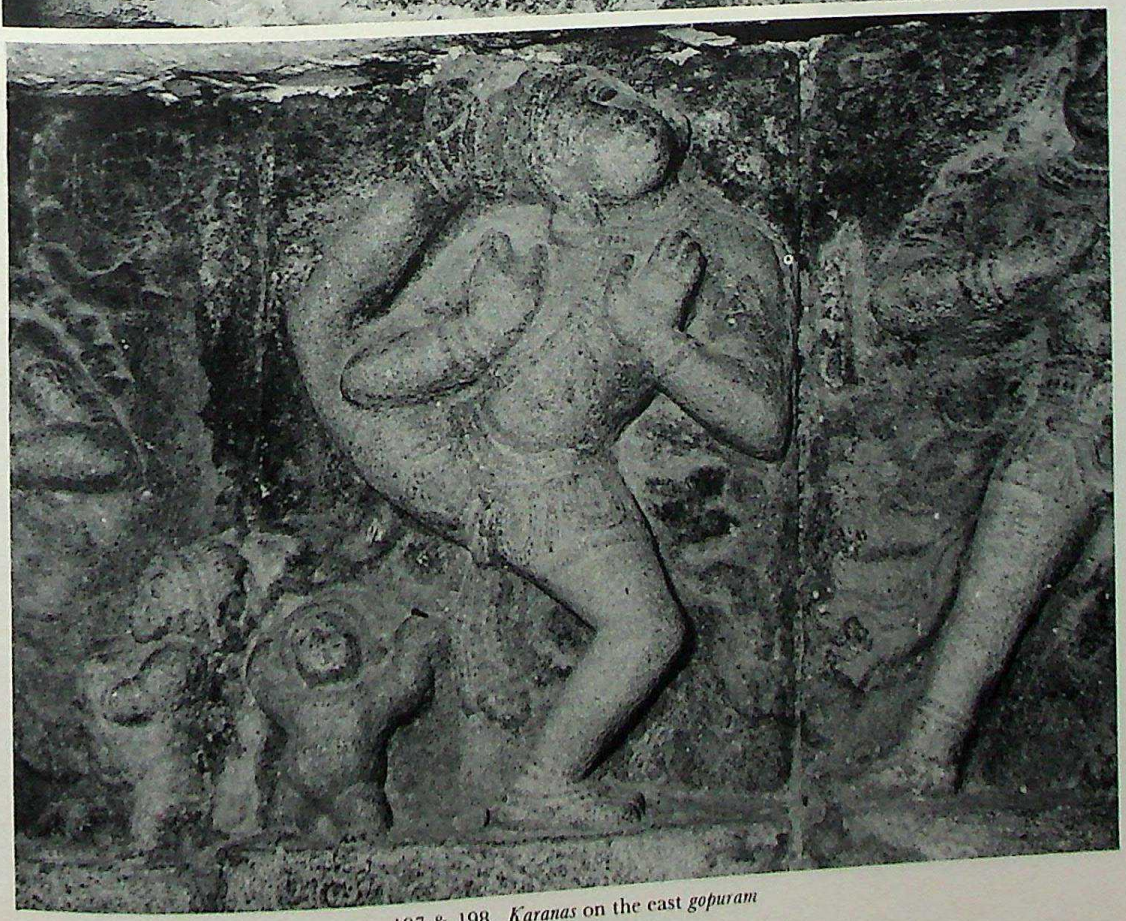
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

195 & 196. *Karanas* on the east *gopuram*

(Courtesy: Sri N. Sethuraman)

(Courtesy: Sri N. Sethuraman)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



197 & 198. *Karanas* on the east *gopuram*

KUMBAKONAM, Sar(a)ngapani temple

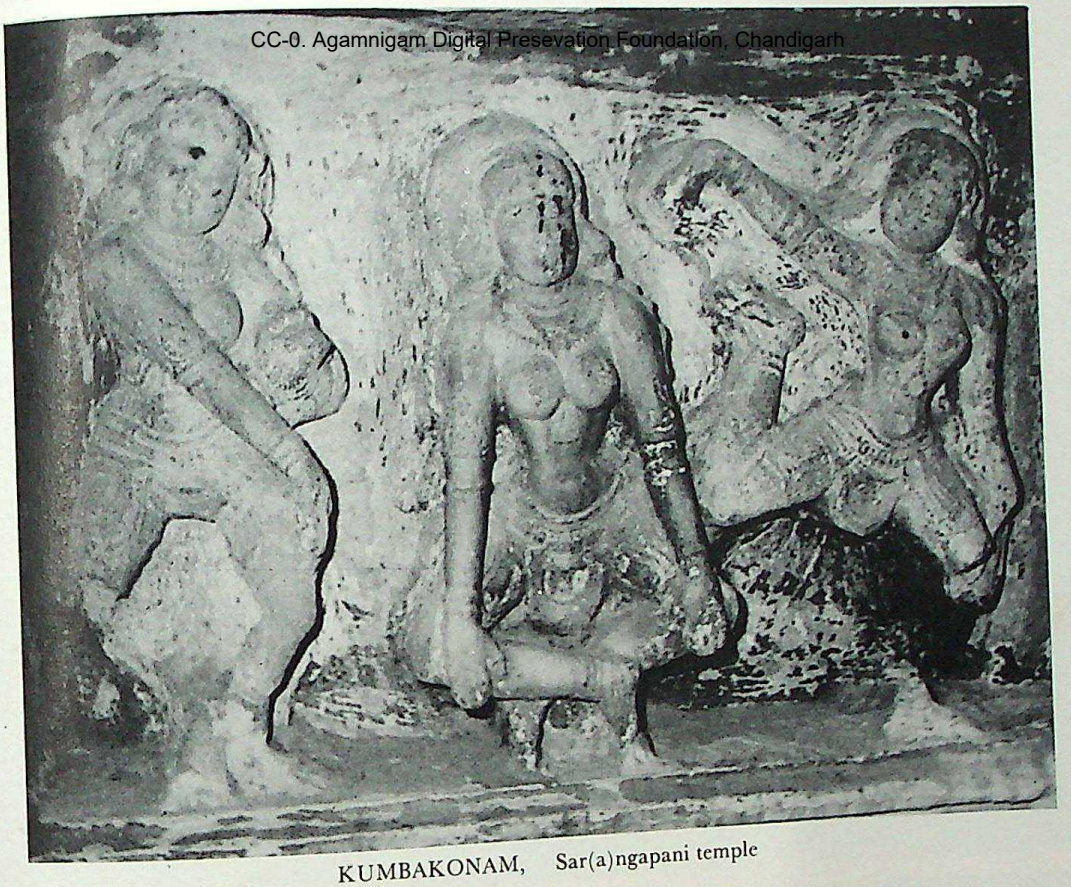
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KUMBAKONAM, Sar(a)ngapani temple

199 & 200. *Karanas* on the east *gopuram*

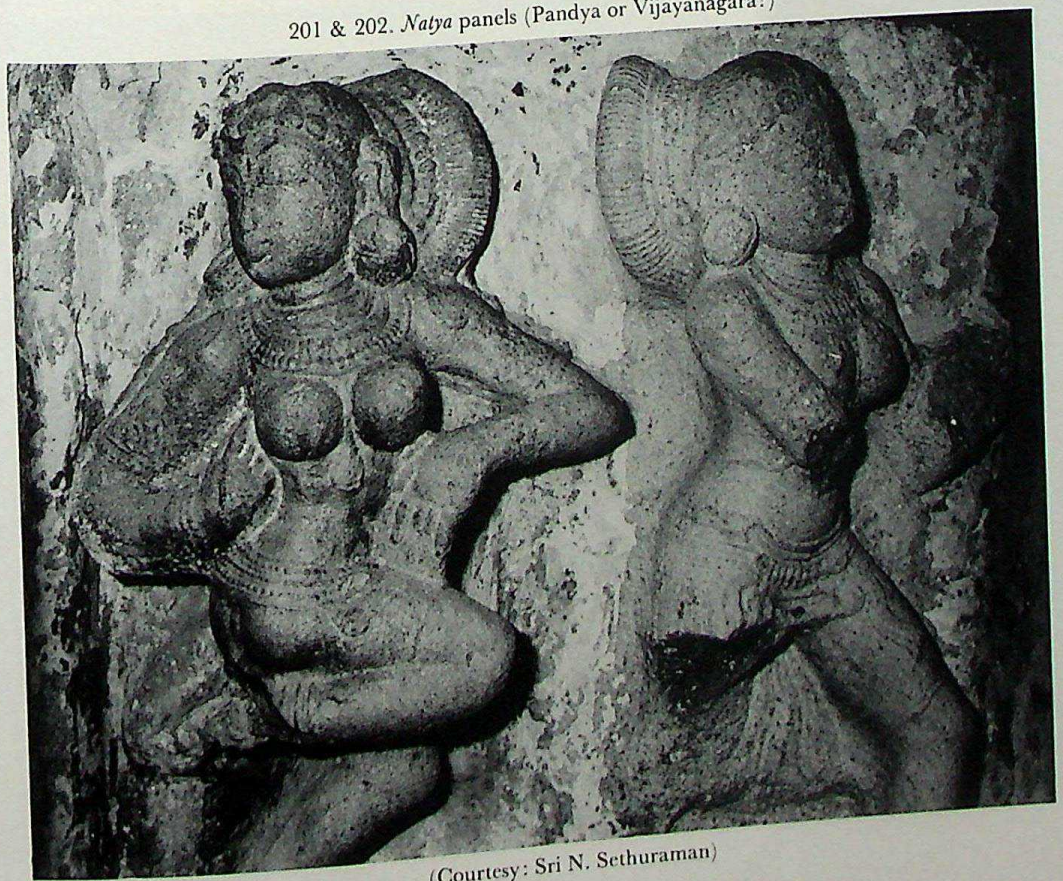
(Courtesy: Sri N. Sethuraman)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



KUMBAKONAM, Sar(a)ngapani temple

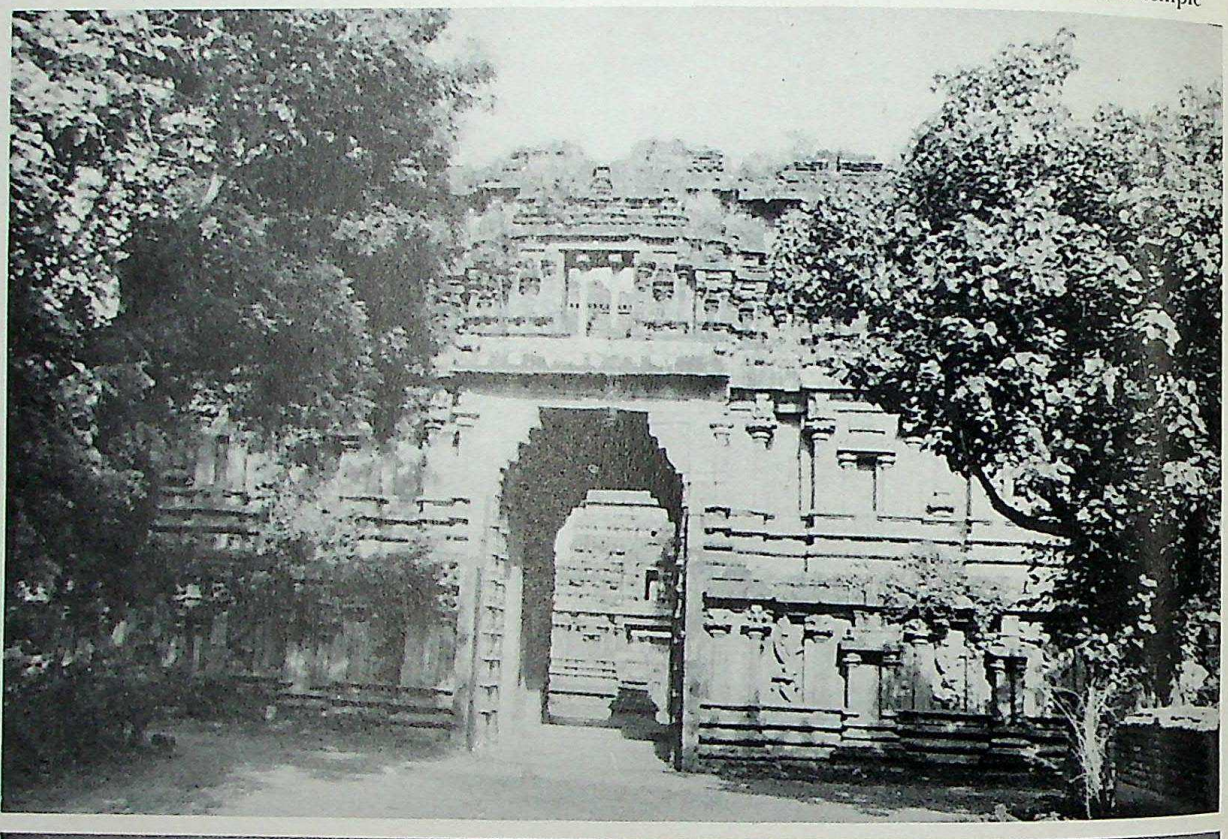
201 & 202. *Natya* panels (Pandya or Vijayanagara?)



(Courtesy: Sri N. Sethuraman)

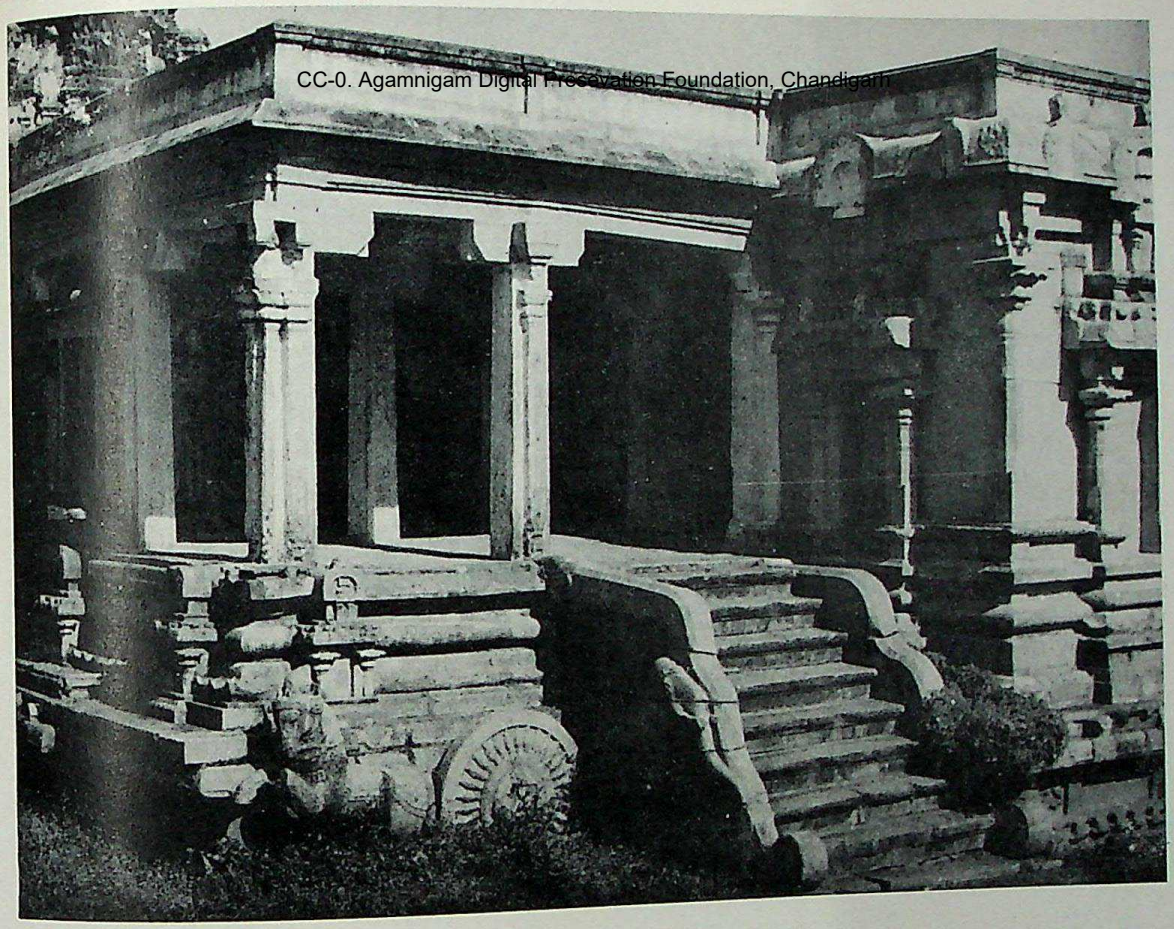
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

203. Outer *gopuram* (E face)



204. *Srivimana* and general view

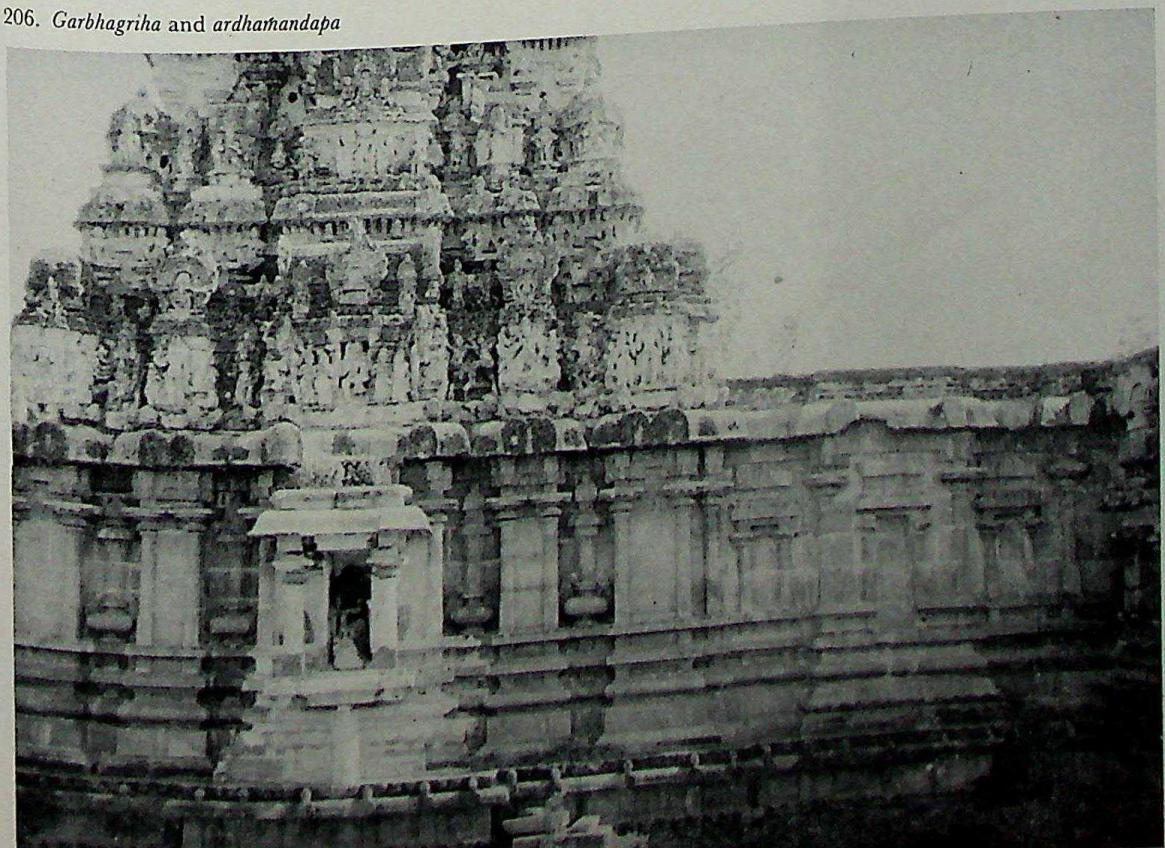
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



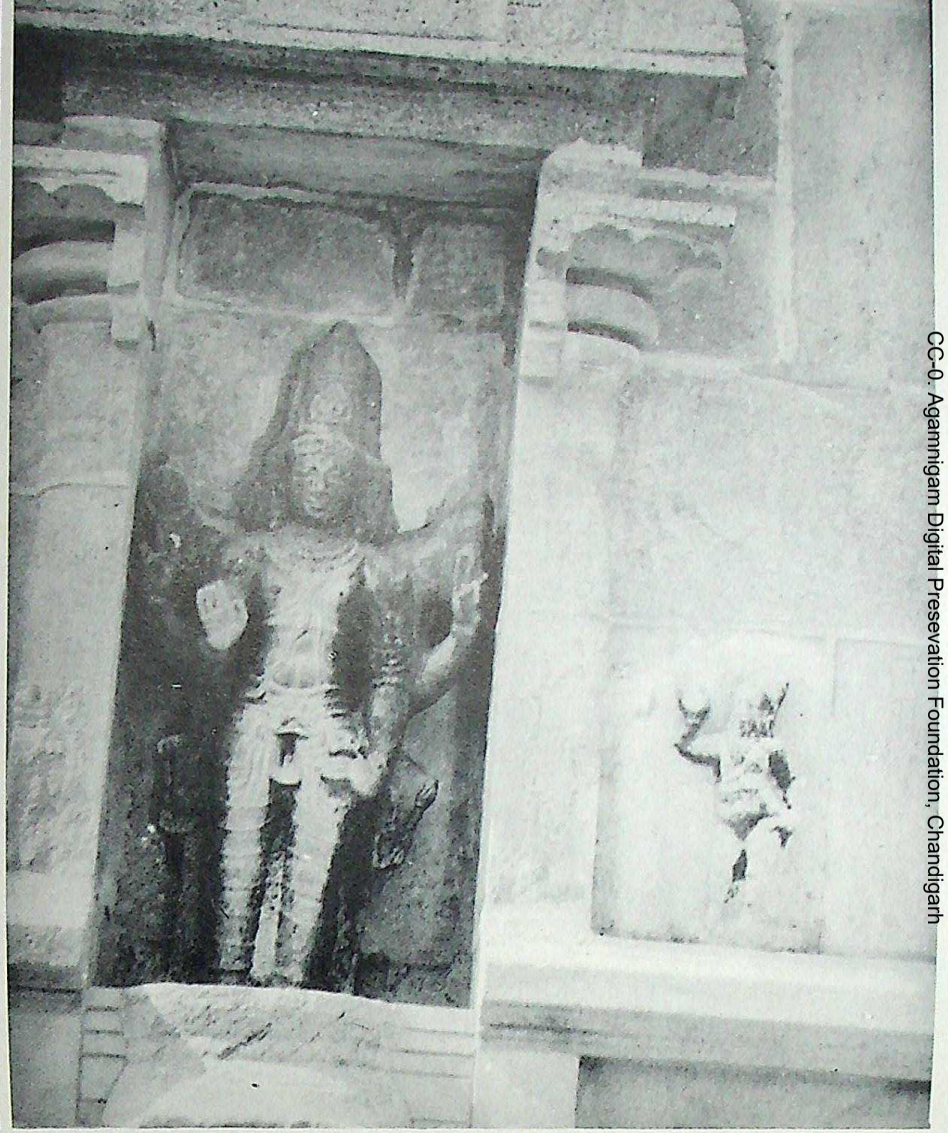
205. *Ratha-mandapa*

PALAYARAI (-YARU)
Somanathar temple

206. *Garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*



207. Ardhanari



208. Brahma

PALAYARAI (-YARU)
Somanathar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

209. Durga

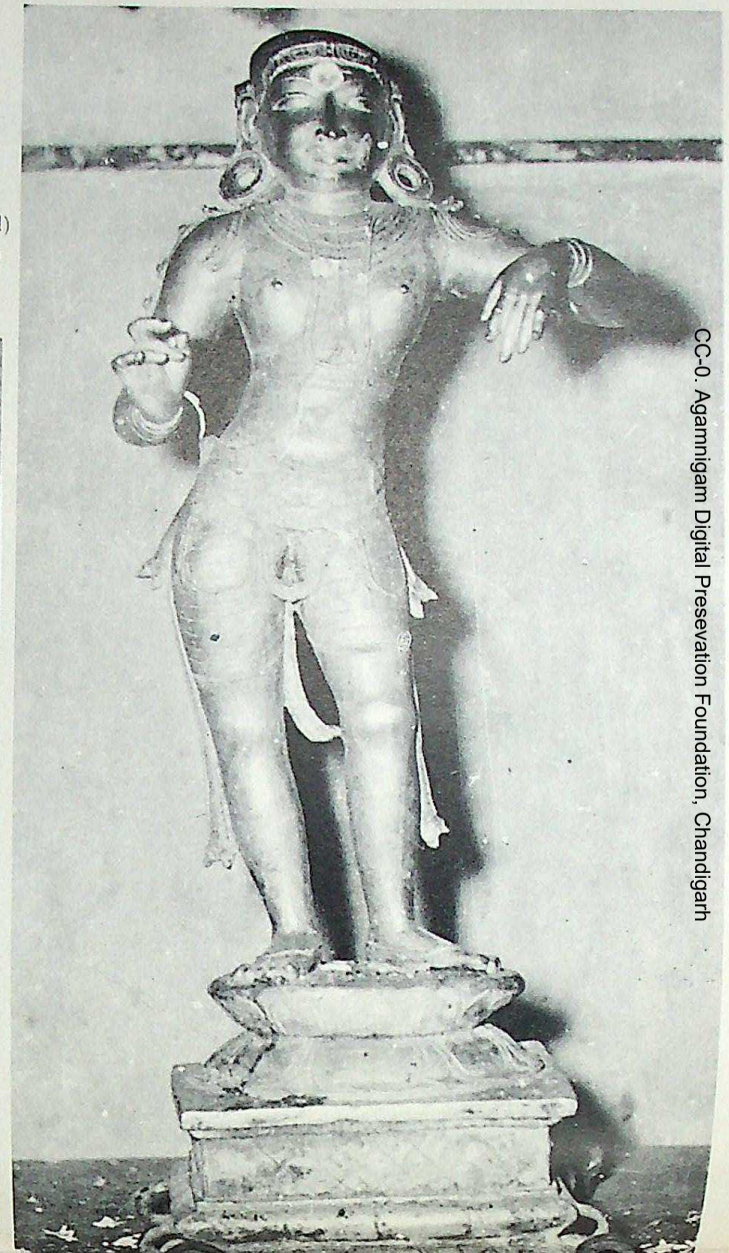
210. Nataraja (bronze)

PALAYARAI (-YARU)
Somanathar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

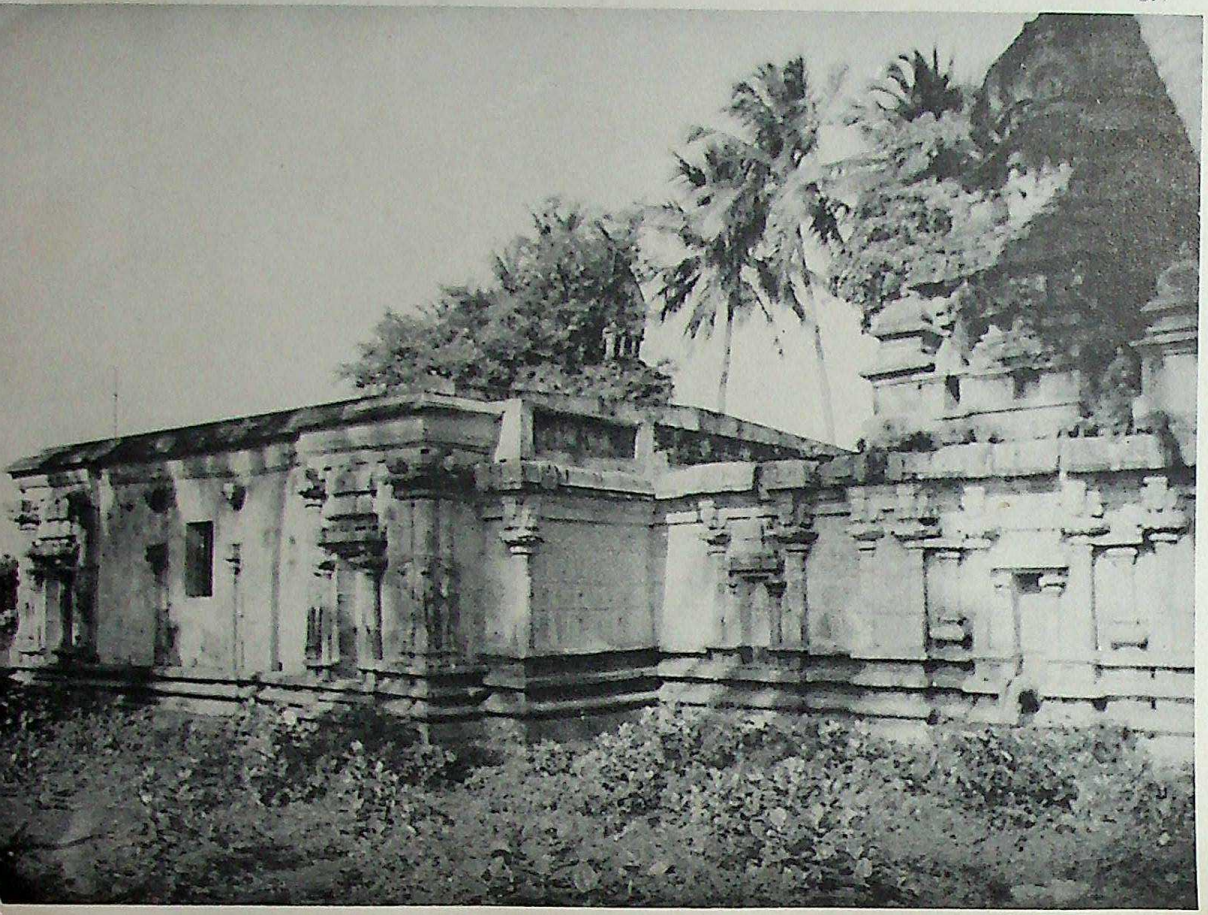
TIRUVARUR
Tyagarajasvamin
temple

212. Sundarar (metal)
(Kulottunga II days)
(Courtesy: French
Inst. Indology)



PALAYARAI (-YARU)
Somanathar temple

211. Amman temple (E view)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MULAIYUR
Parasunathasvamin
temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

213. Ardhanari

UTTATTUR
Siddharatnesvarar temple
Amman shrine

214. Ichchha sakti

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

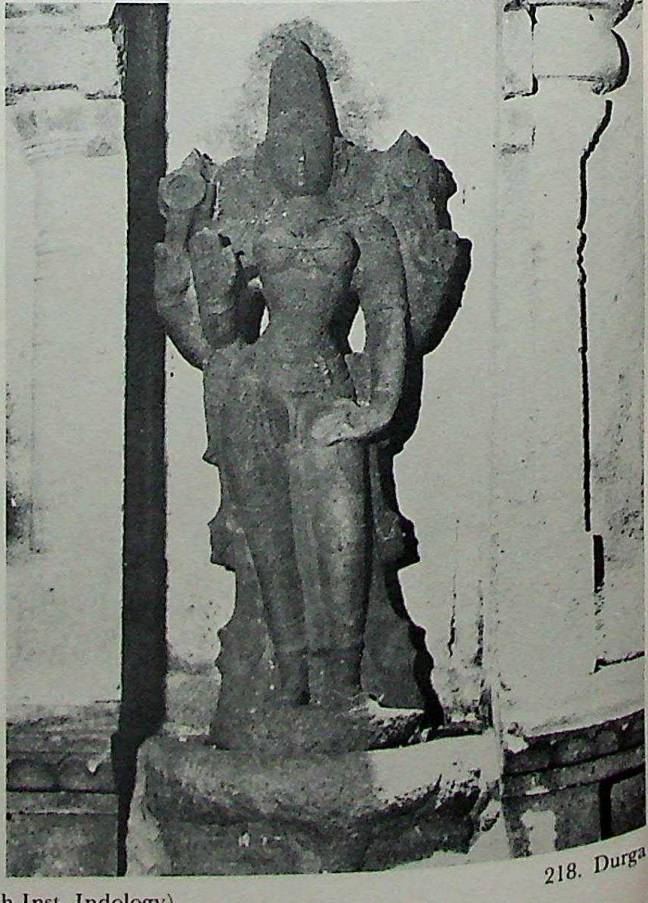
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

UTTATTUR
Siddharatnesvarar temple
Amman shrine

Jnana sakti

216. Kriya sakti

Brahmi

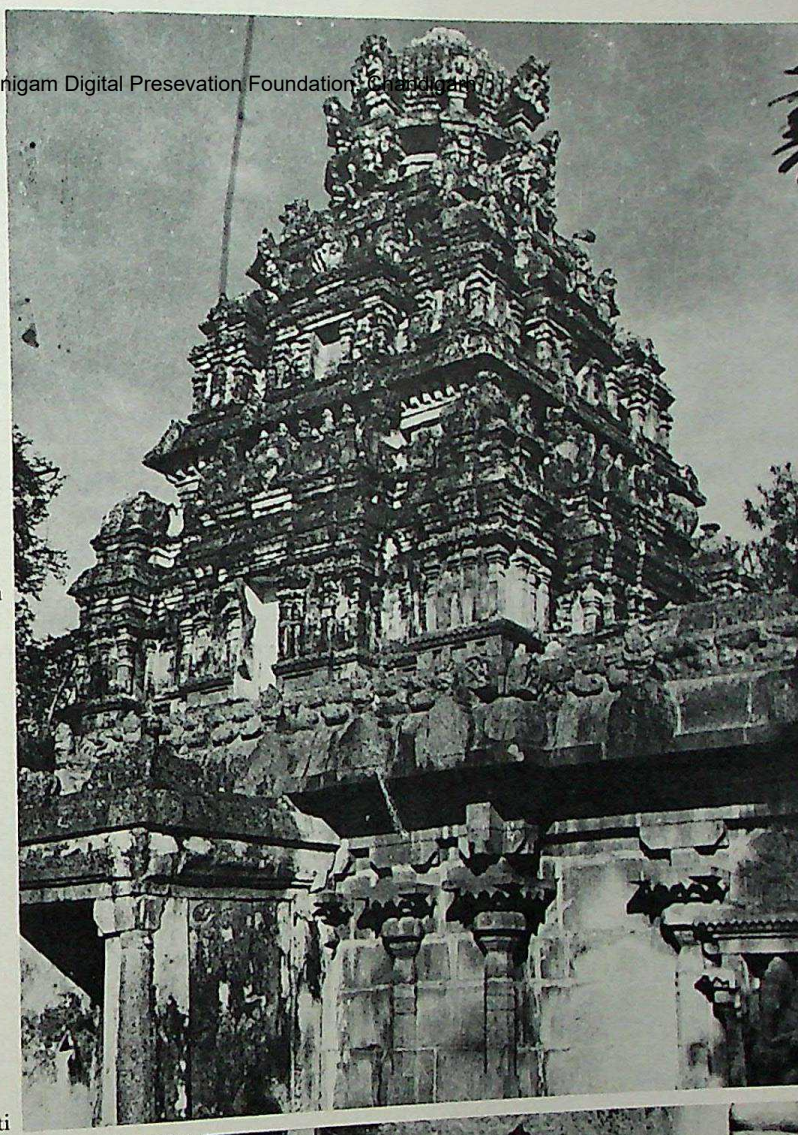


218. Durga

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

219. *Srivimana*

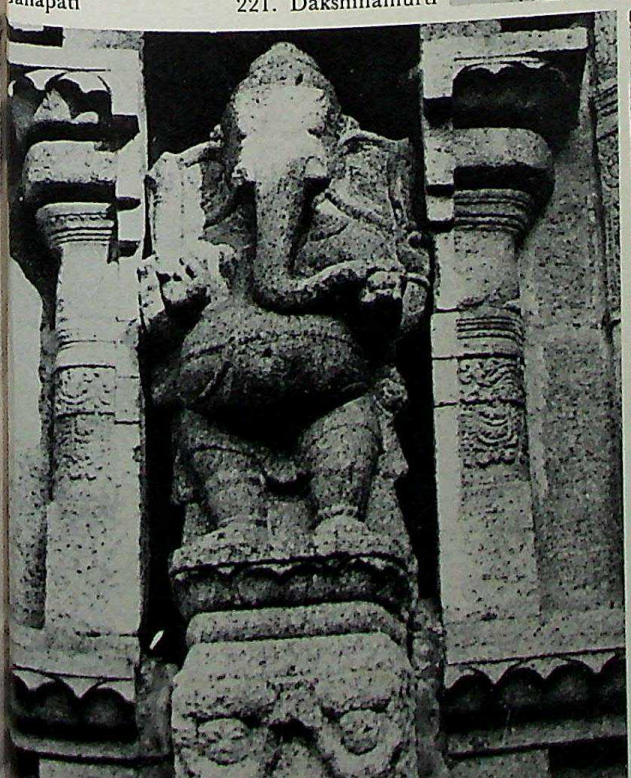
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



MUNNUR
Adavallisvarar
temple

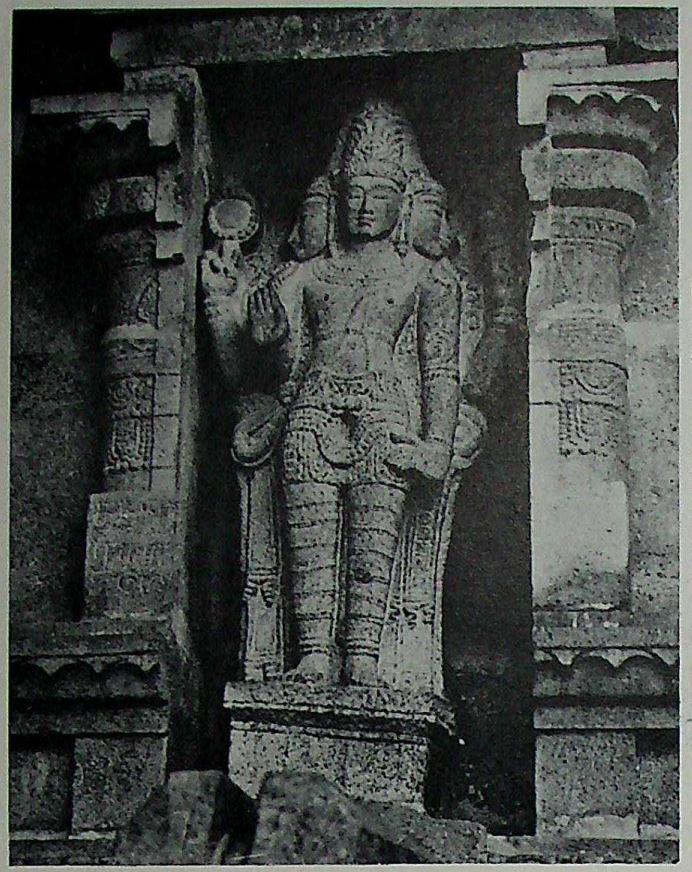
(Courtesy: French
Inst. Indology)

Ganapati



221. Dakshinamurti

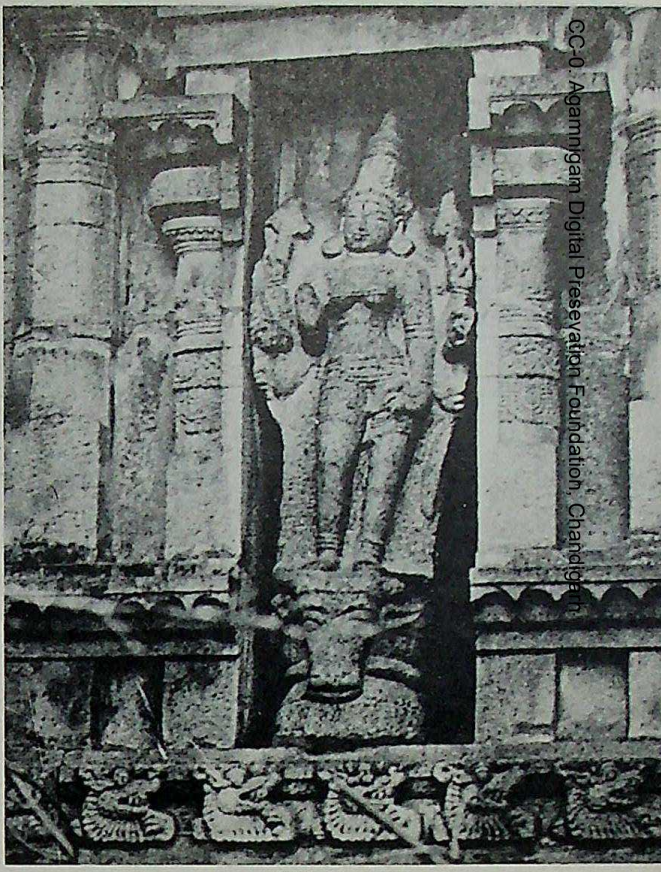
223. Brahma



MUNNUR
Adavallisvarar
temple

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

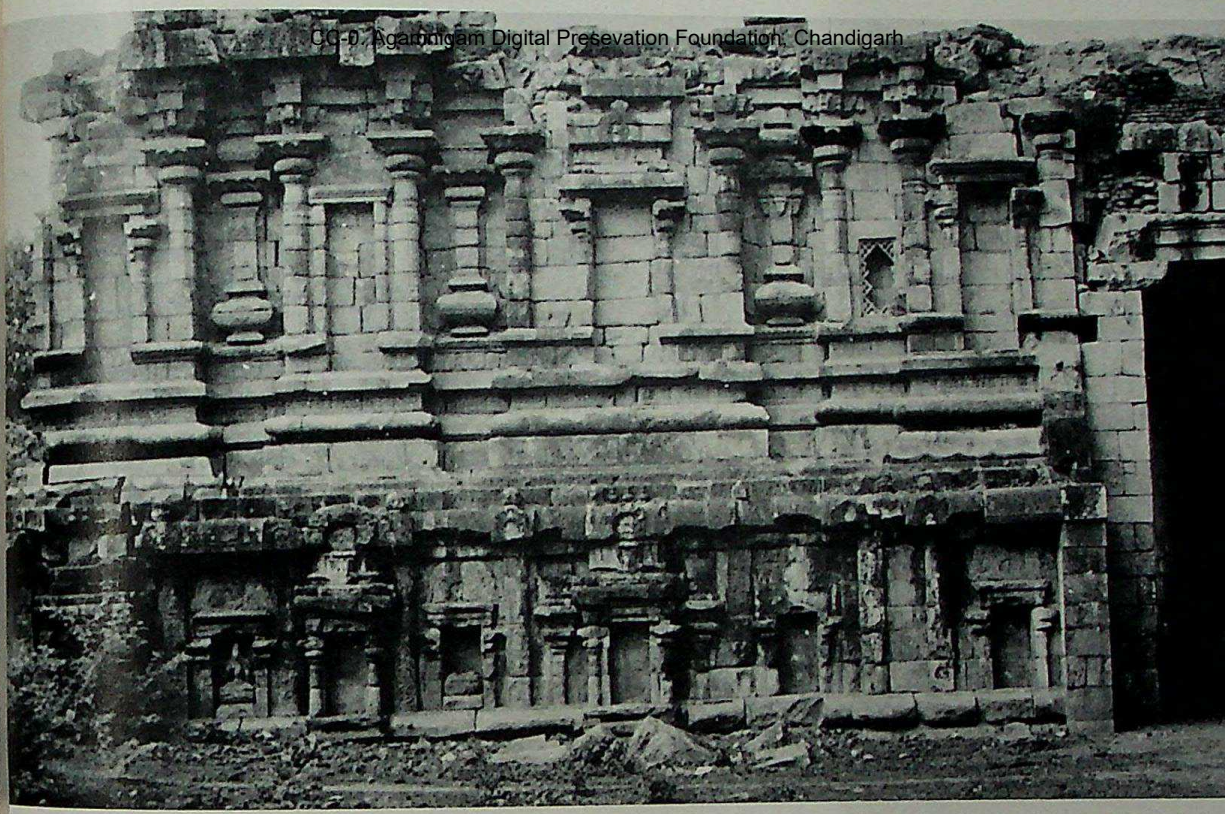
222. Vishnu



224. Durga

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

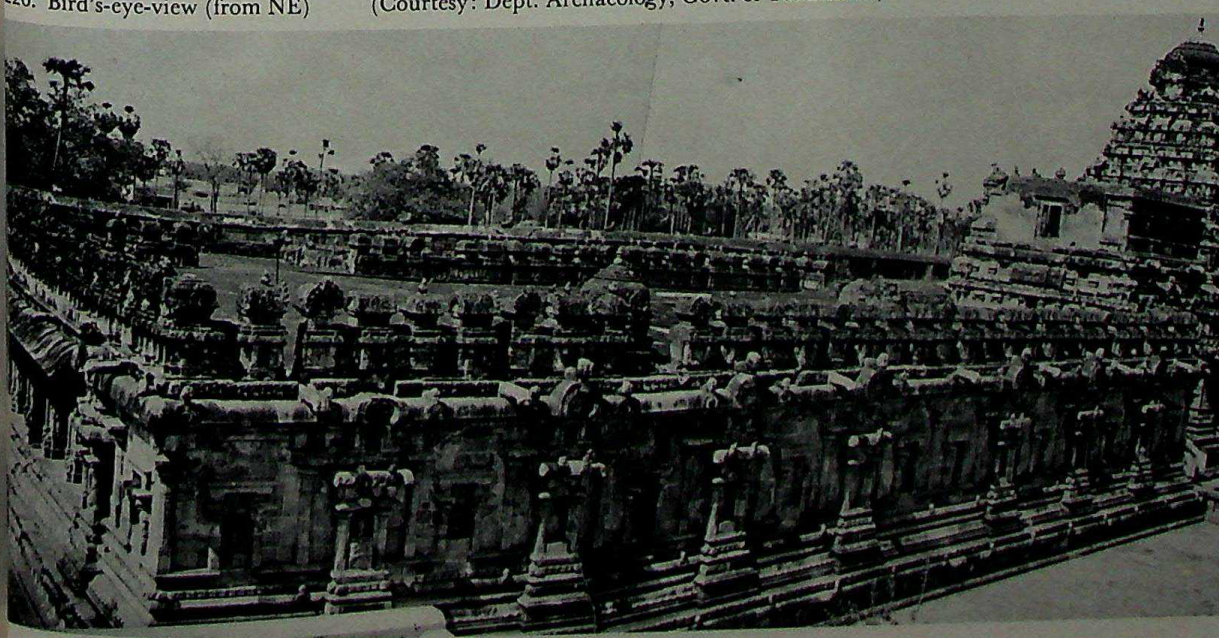
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



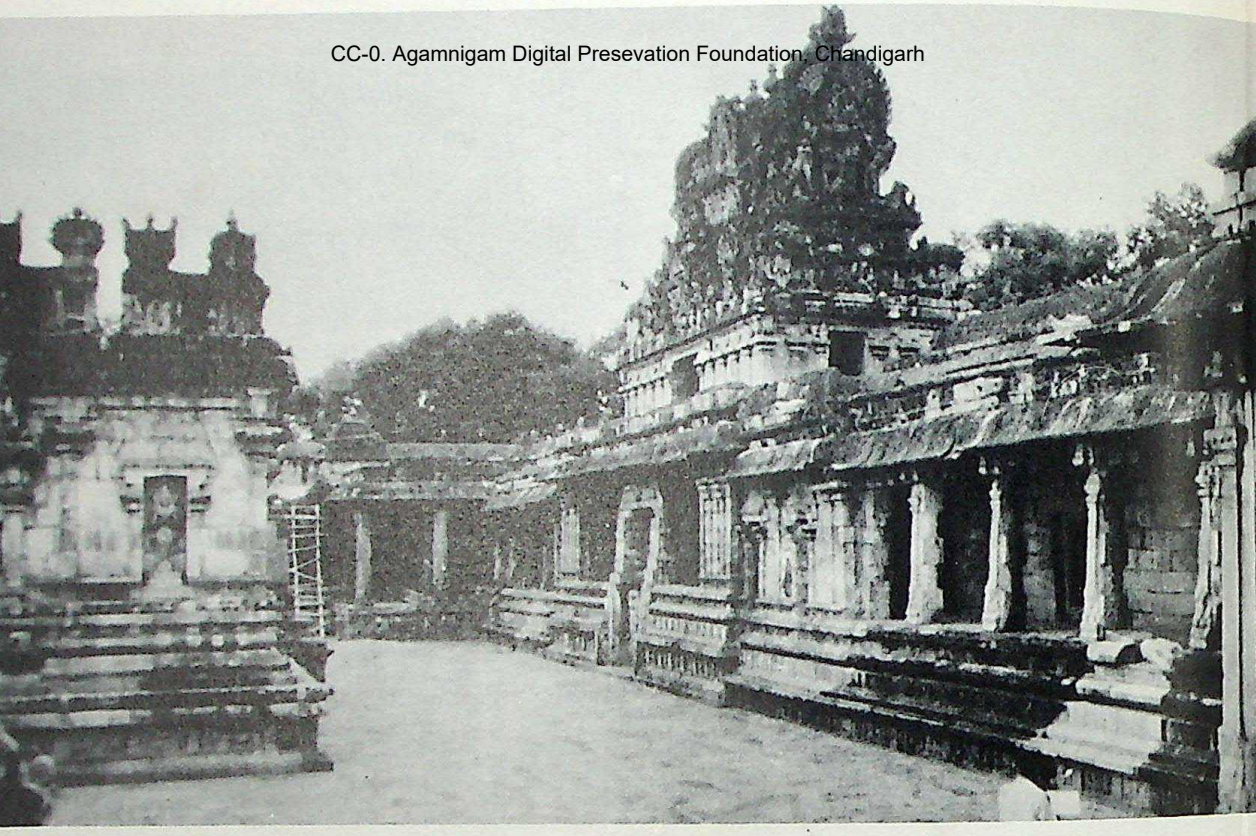
225. Dilapidated outer *gopuram*

DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple

226. Bird's-eye-view (from NE) (Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



227. Inner *gopuram*, west face

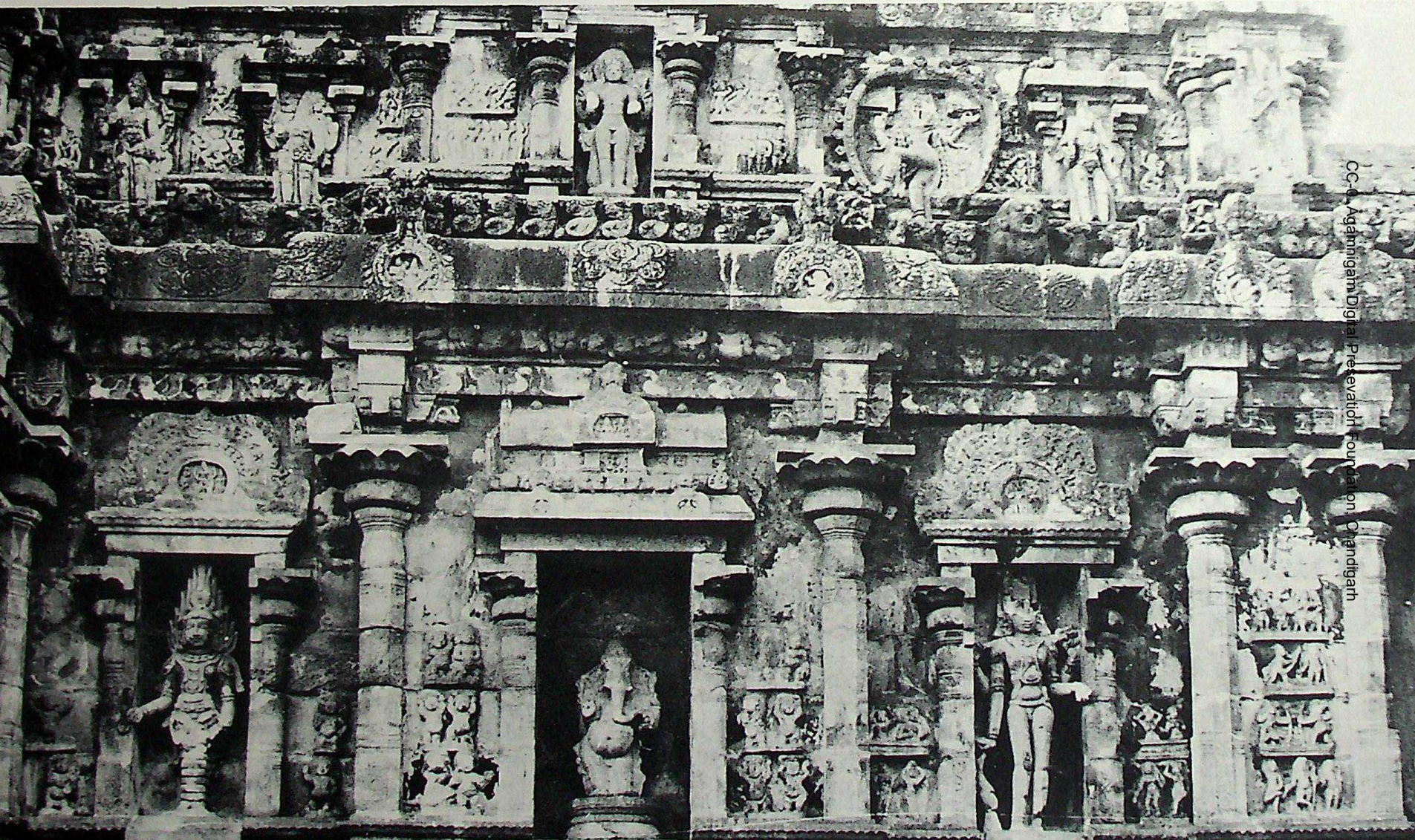
DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple

228. Rajagambhira hall & *srivimana* (SE)

(Courtesy: Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

29. *Ardhamandapa* (S face)

DARASURAM, Airavatesvarar temple



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

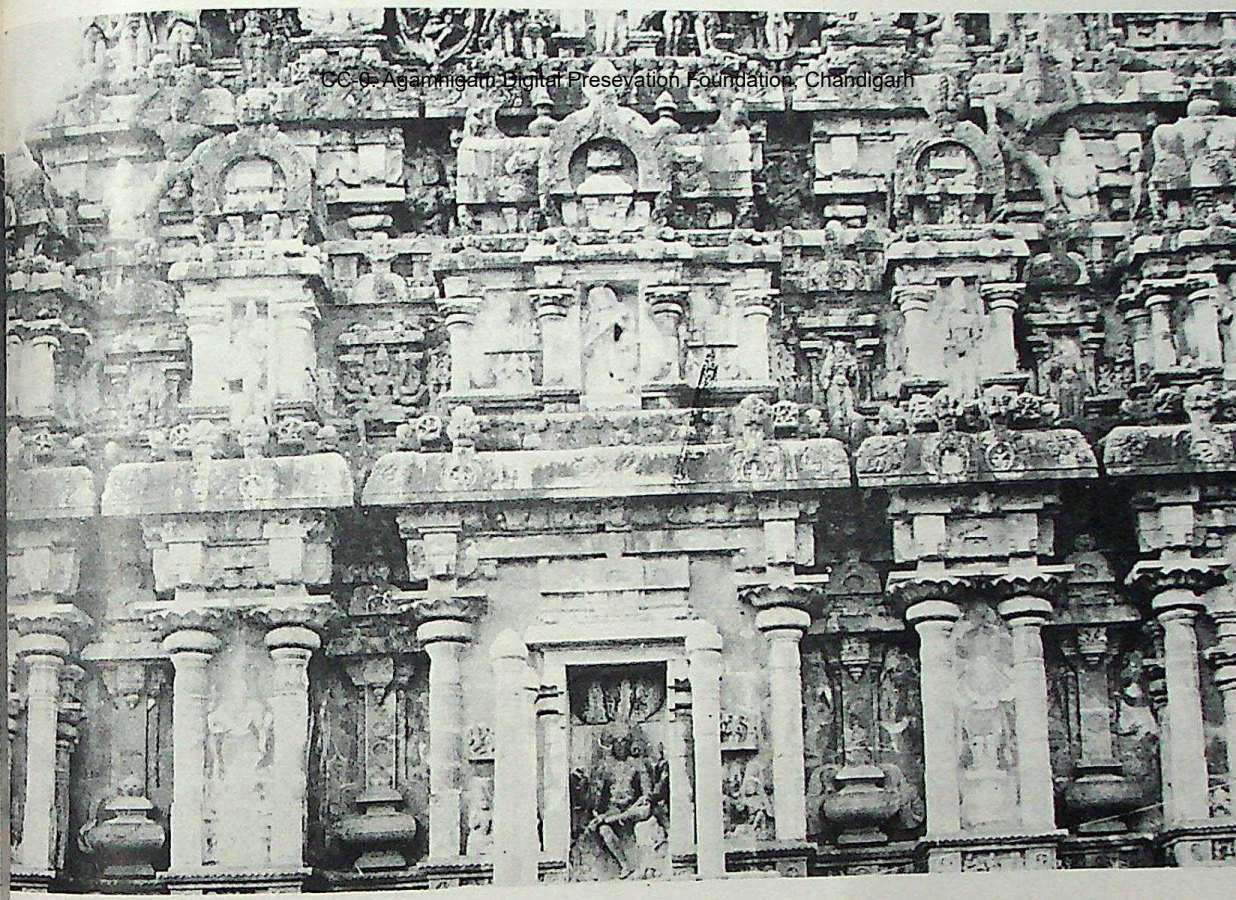
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Srivimana (W face)

DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

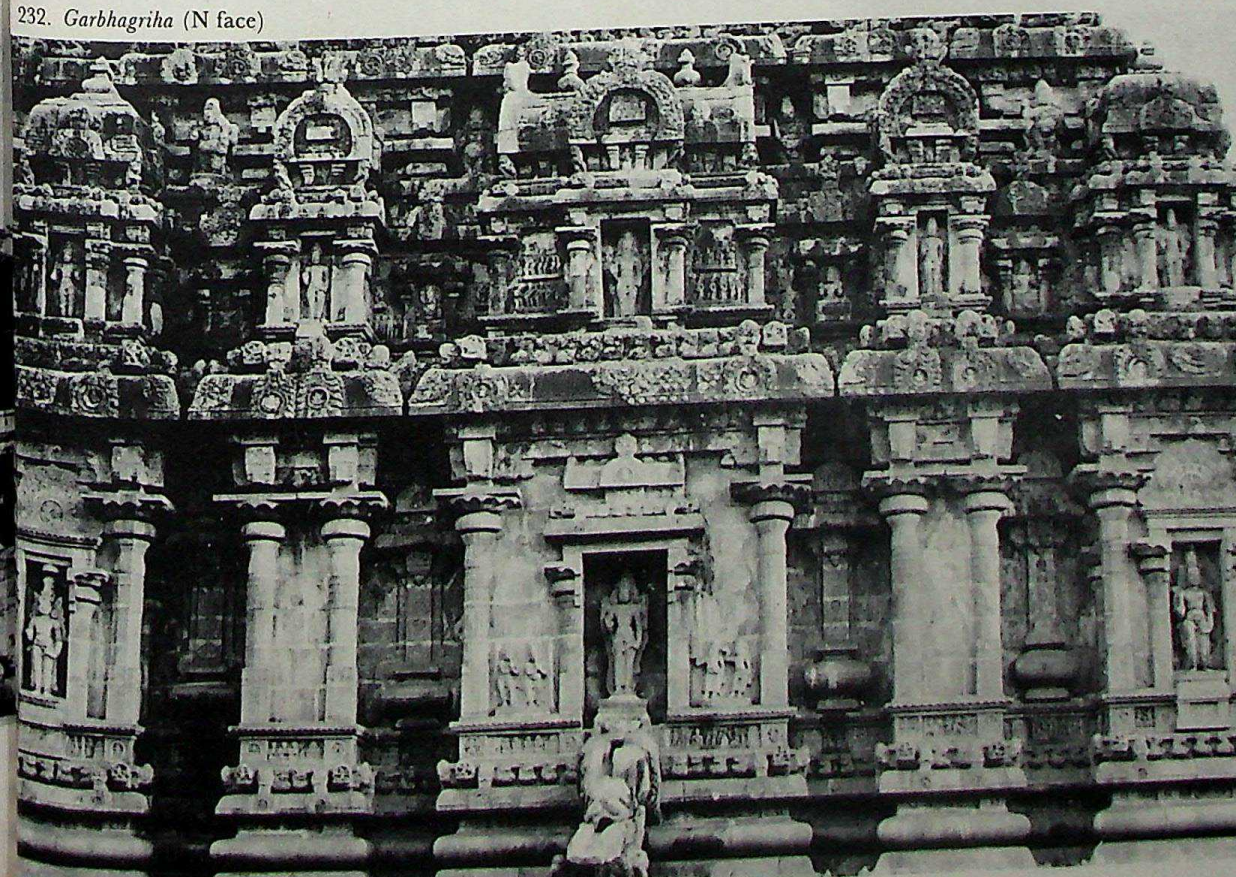
CC-0. Agamnigarh Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

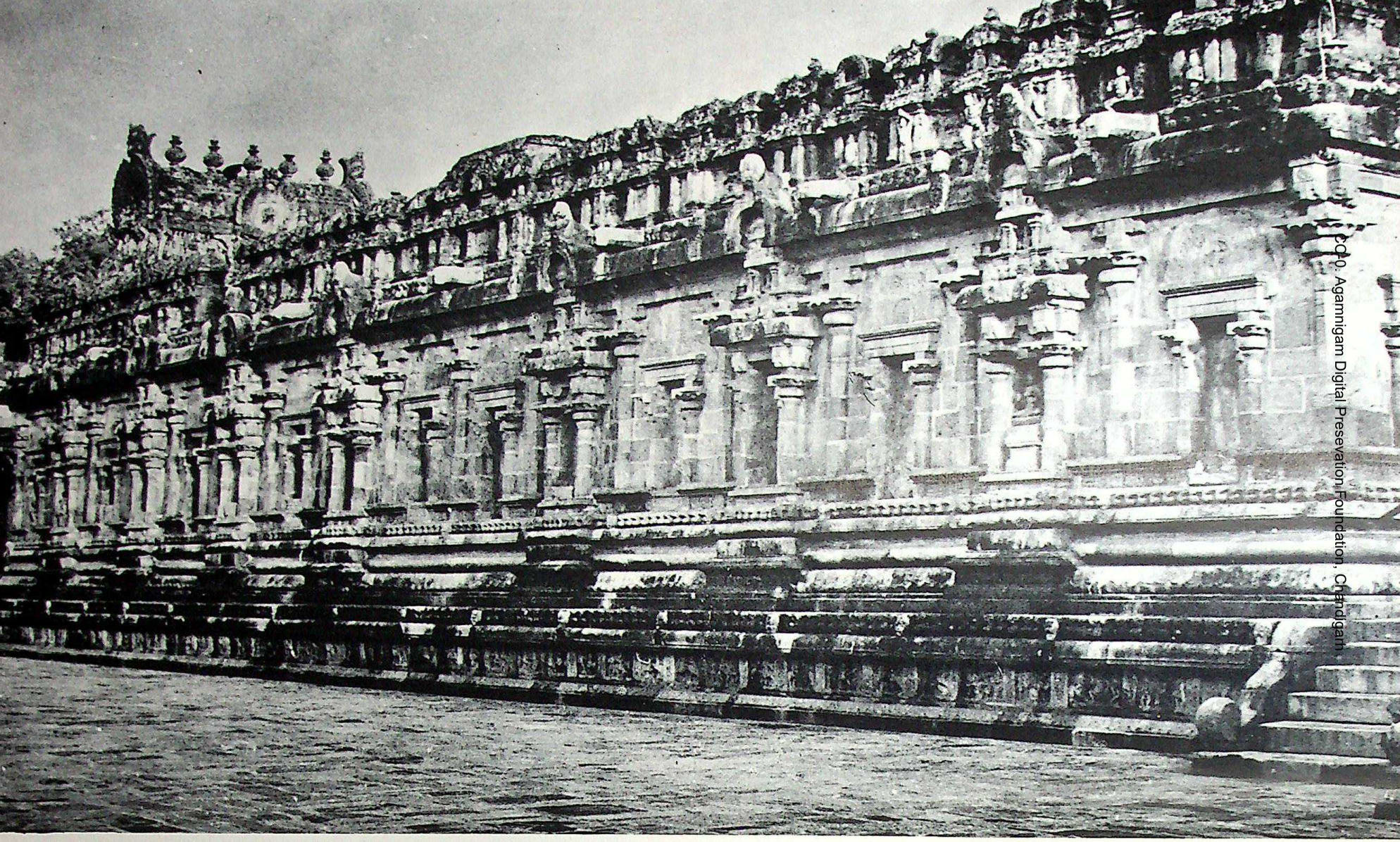


231. *Garbhagriha* (S face)

DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple

232. *Garbhagriha* (N face)





CC0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

233. Mahamandapa and Rajagambhira hall (N wall)

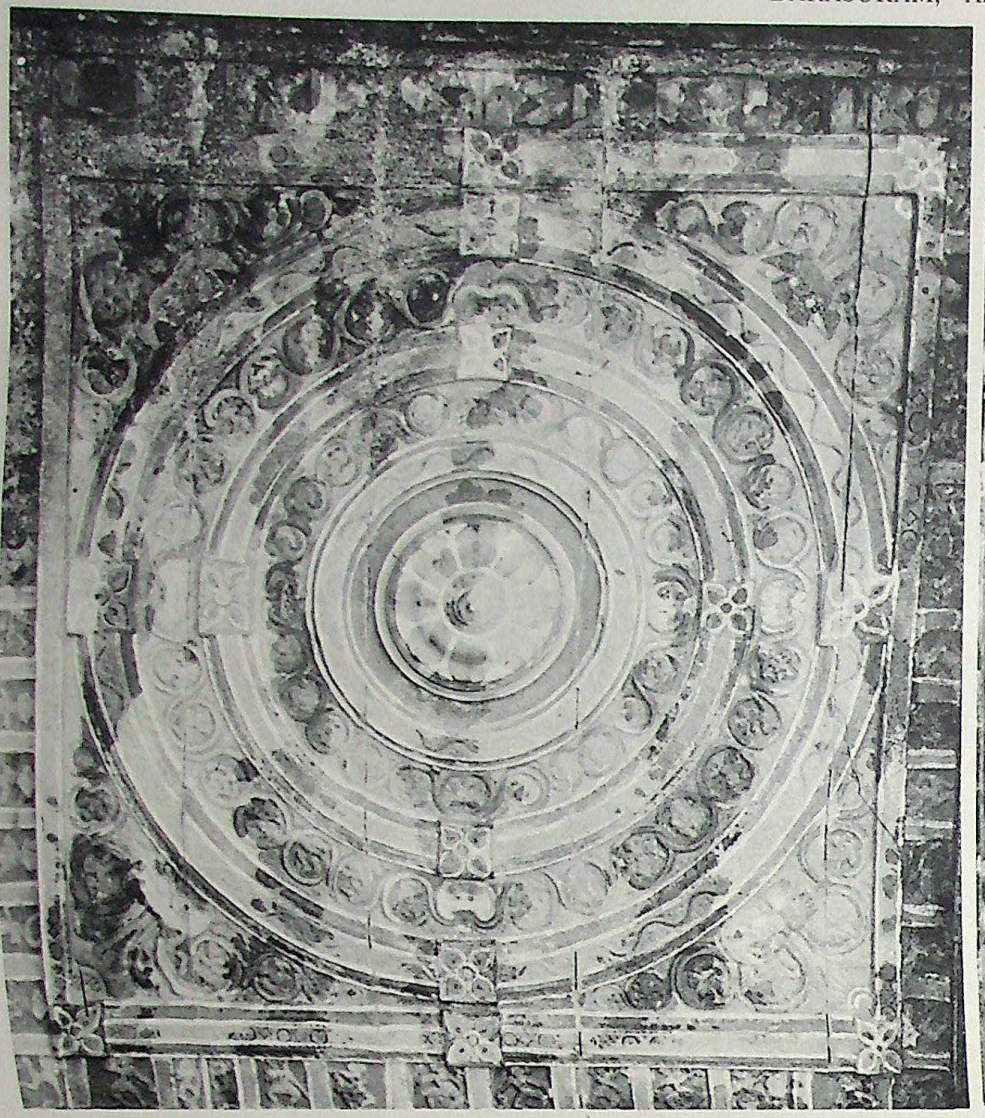
DARASURAM, *Airavatesvarar temple*

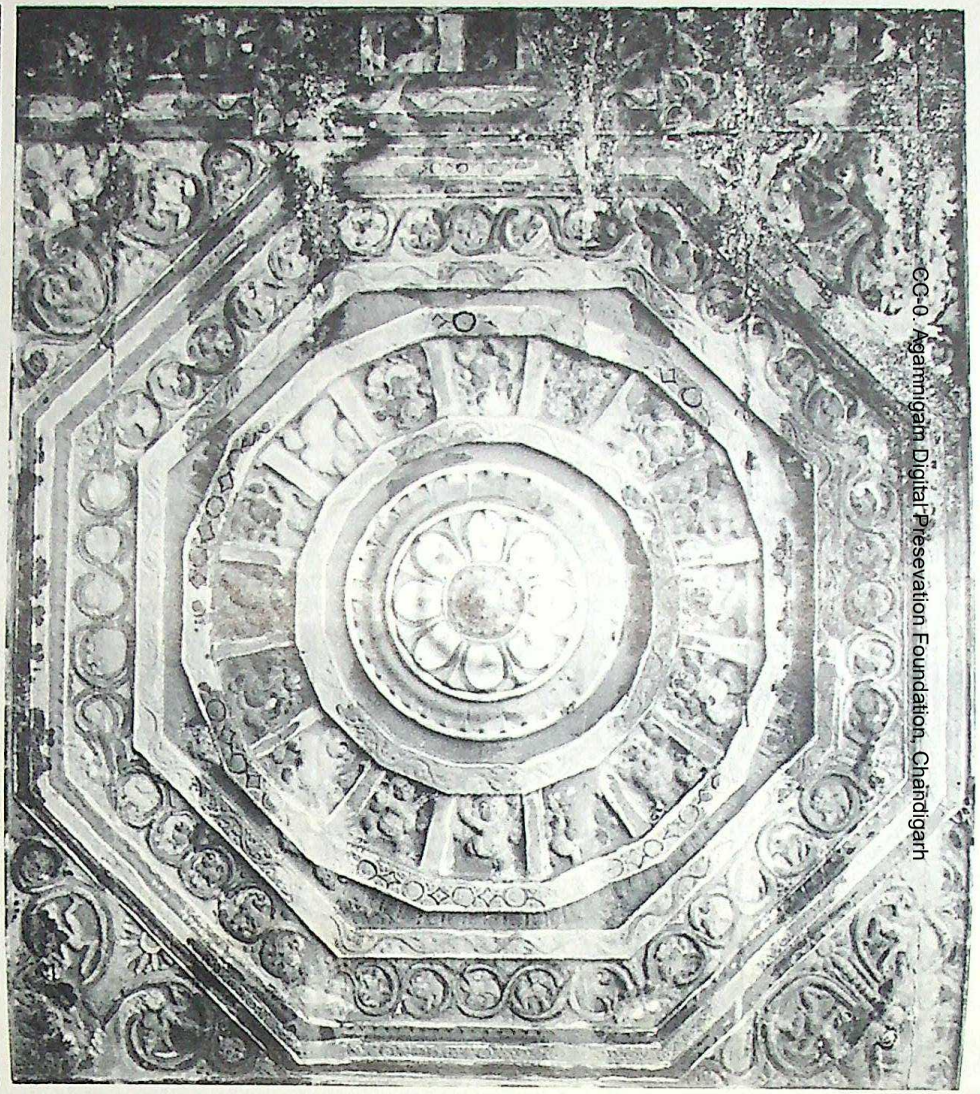
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DARASURAM, Airavatesvarar temple

234 & 235. *Nayanmar* anecdotes (*upapitham*)

DARASURAM, Airavatesvarar temple





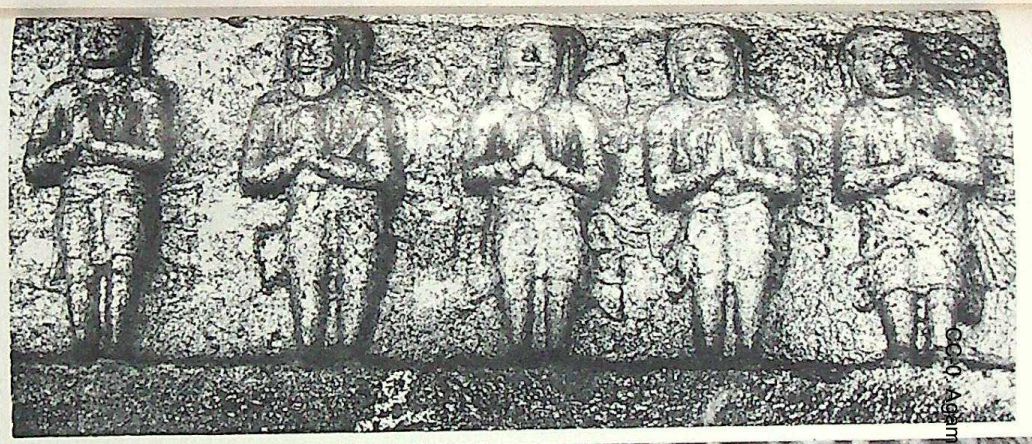
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

236 & 237. *Mahamandapa* ceiling decorations

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

238. Sivacharyas (north *prakara*)

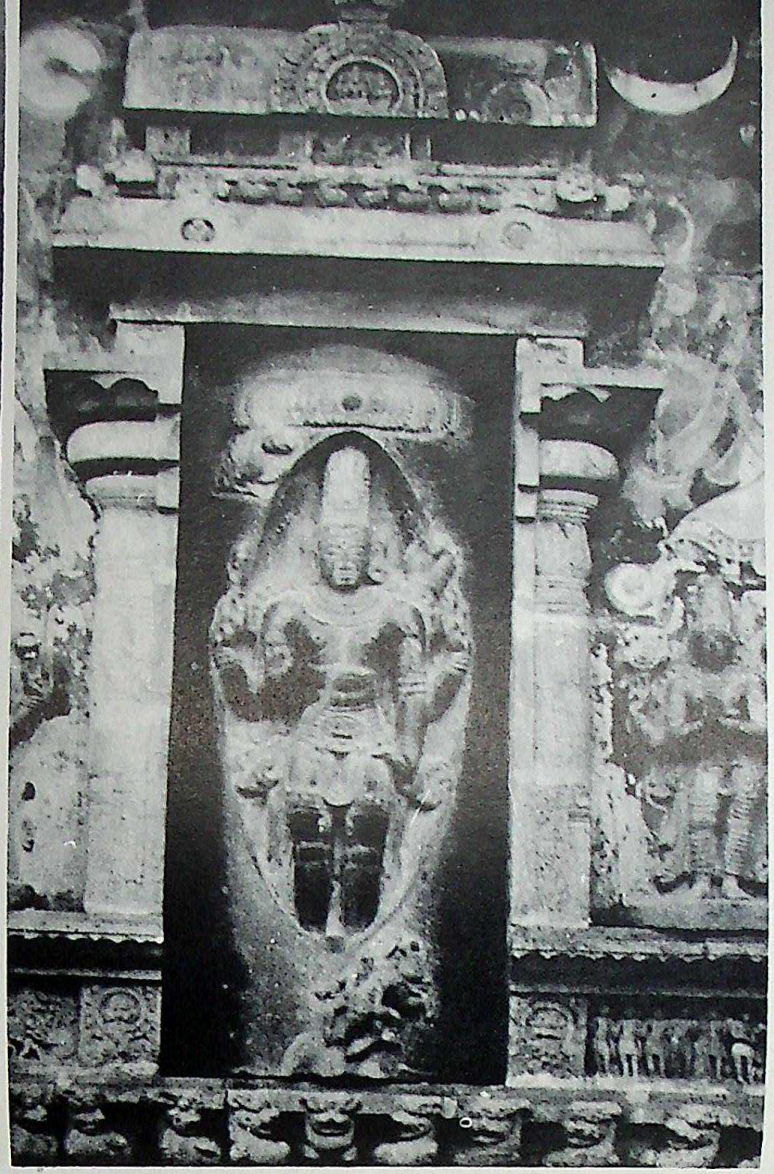
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)



DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple

239-241. Pillar carvings in Rajagambhira hall

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



243. Lingodbhavar

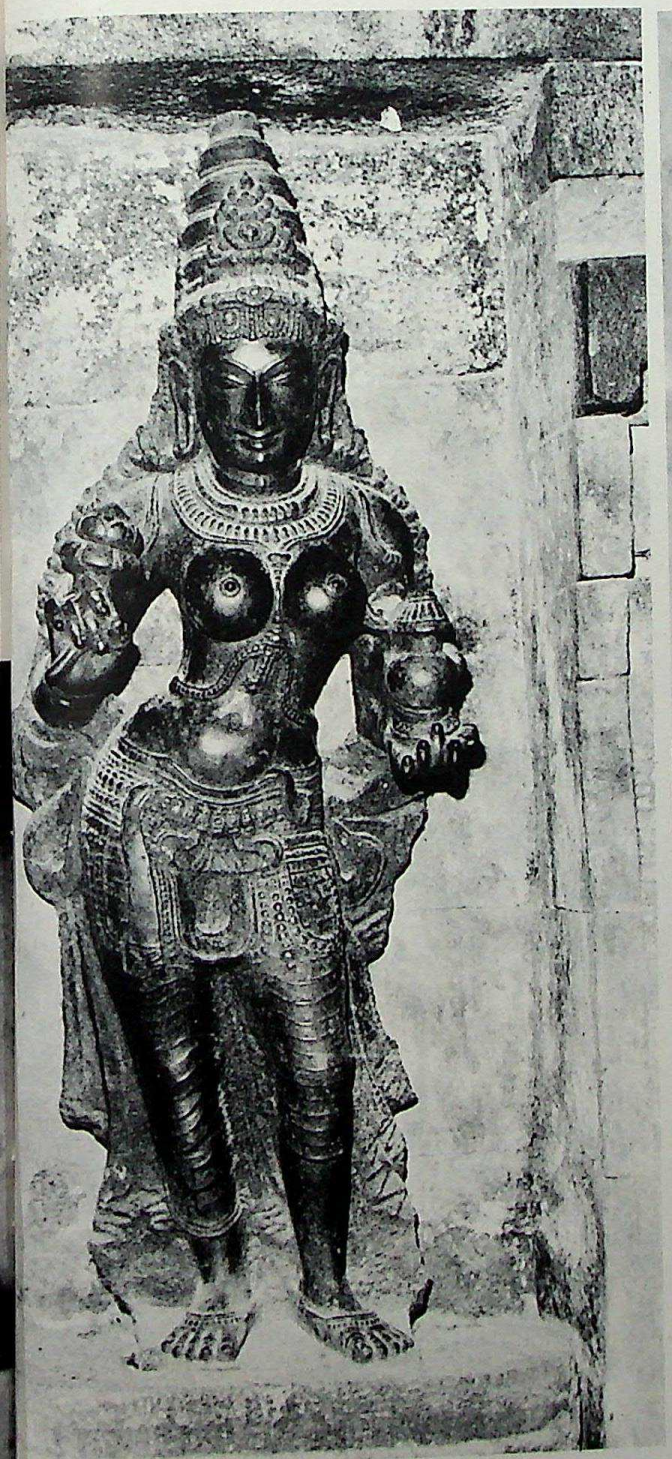
DARASURAM, Airavatesvarar temple

242. Nagadeva

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

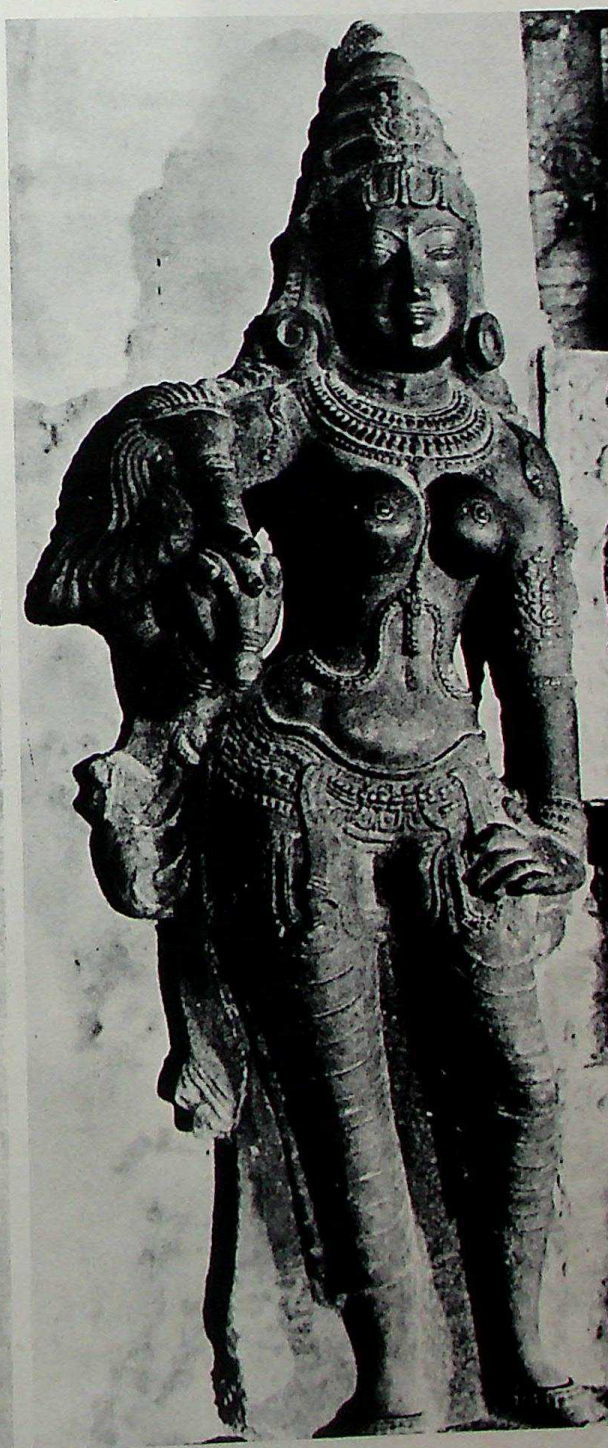
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DARASURAM, Airavatesvarar temple



244. Mohini (Annapurani?)

(Courtesy: Sri N. Sethuraman)



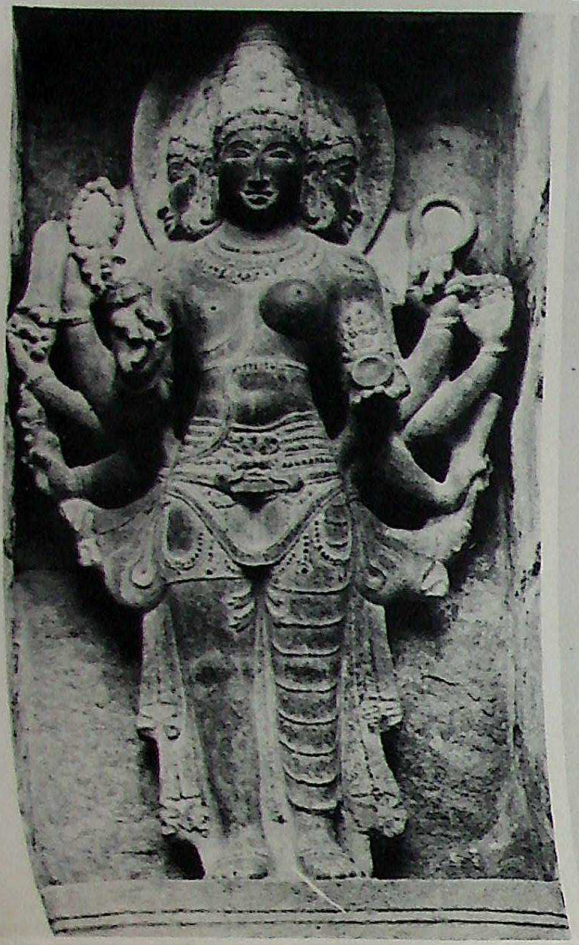
245. *Chauri*-bearer

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology
Govt. of Tamilnadu)

DARASURAM, Airavatesvarar temple

(Courtesy: Dept. Arch., Govt. of Tamilnadu)

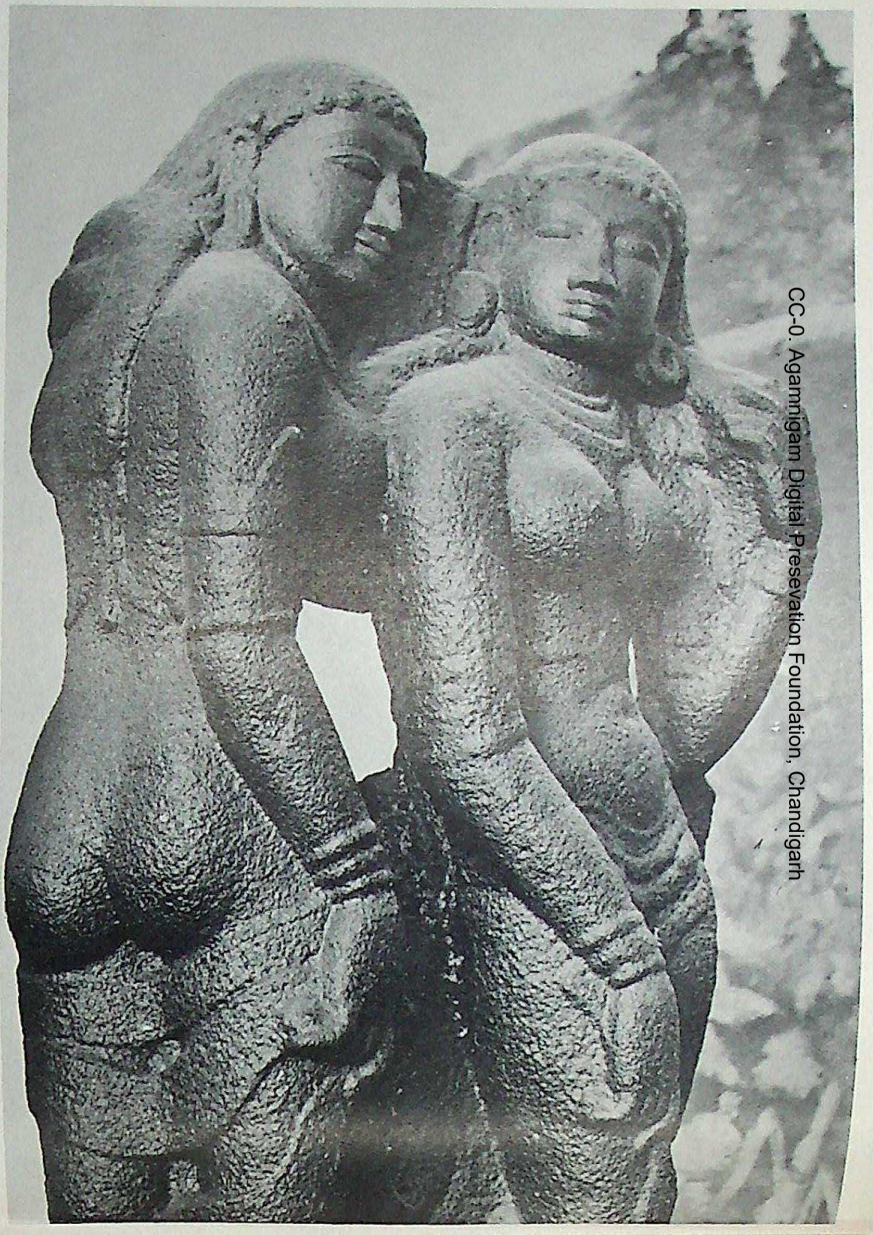
246. Mahamaya



(Courtesy: Sri N. Sethuraman)

247. Amman (Deiva Nachchiyar)

248. *Rishipatnis* (Courtesy: Sri E. S. Mahalingam)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

249. Gajasamharamurti

DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple

(Courtesy: Sri E. S. Mahalingam)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

250. Sarabhamurti

DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

251. *Dvarapala* from
Kalyani

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology
Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh

252. West *prakara* view

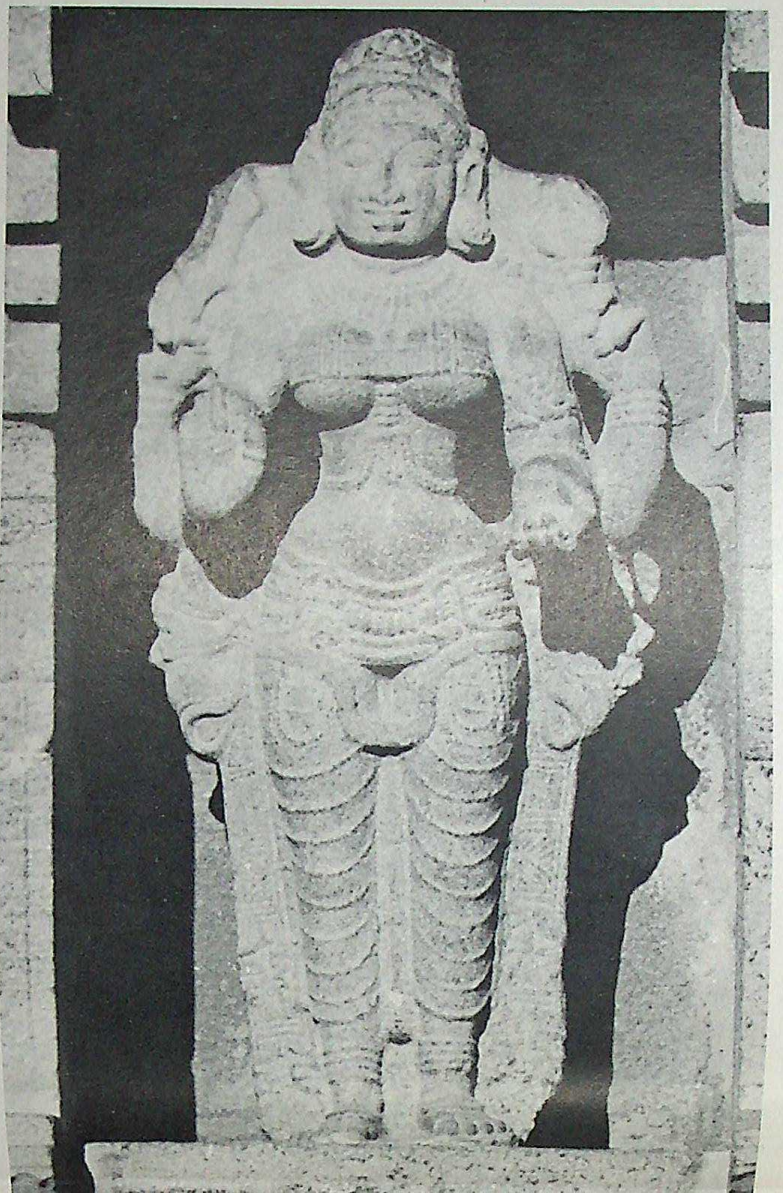
DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar tem
Amman shrine

253. *Garbhagriha* (S face) (Courtesy: Dept. Arch., TN Govt.)

DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple
Amman shrine

254. Jnana sakti

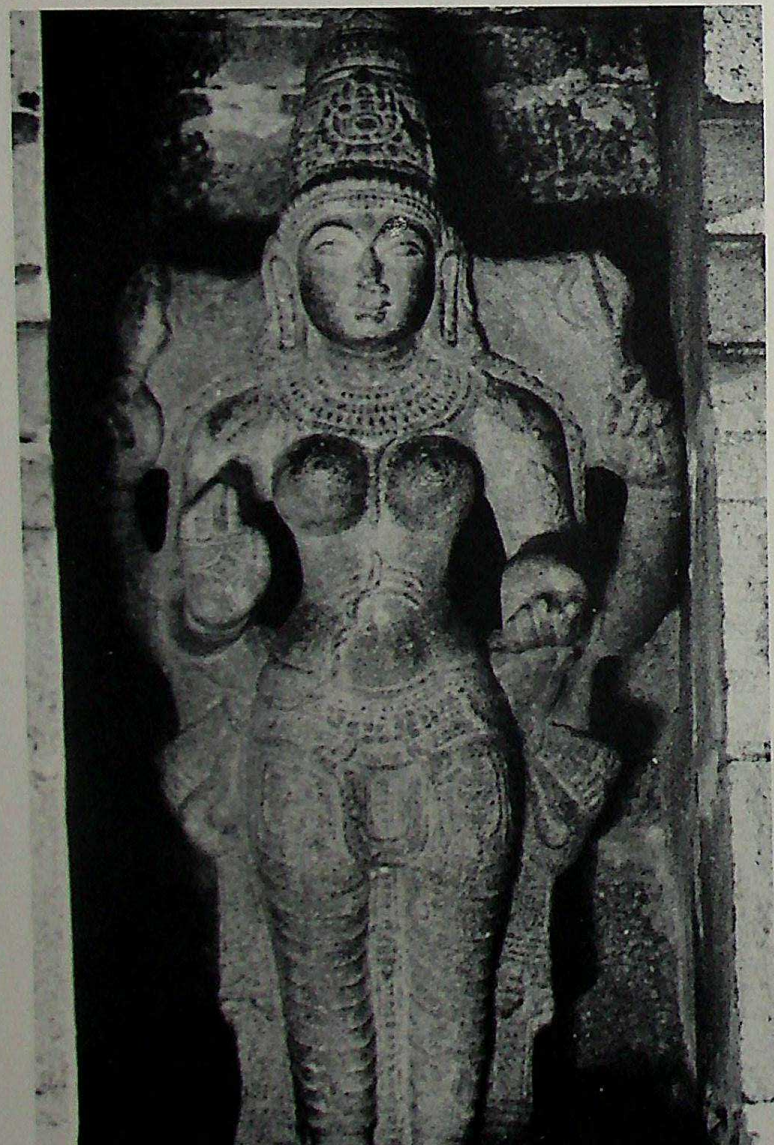
255. Kriya sakti



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DARASURAM
Airavatesvarar temple
Amman shrine

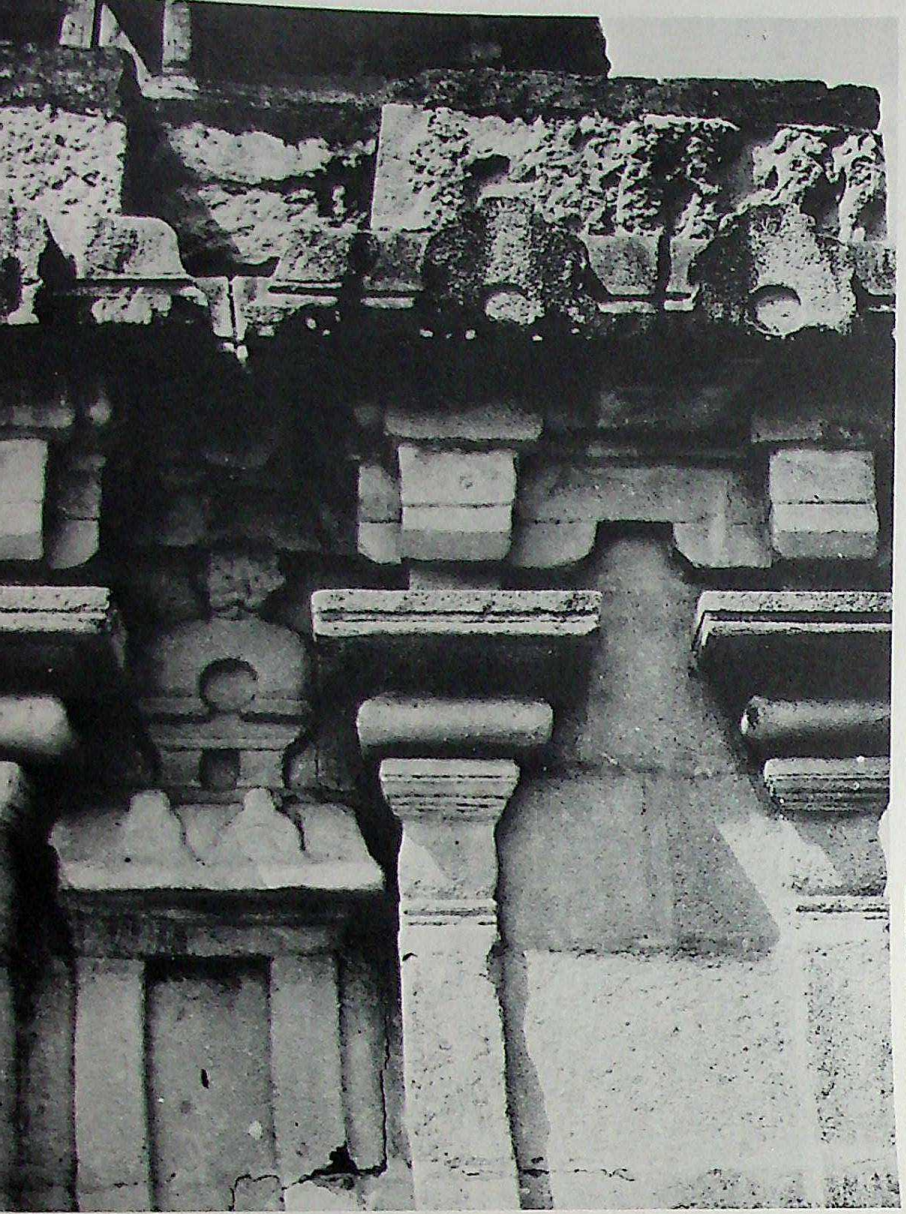
256. Ichchha sakti



PONNAMARAVATI, Cholisvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

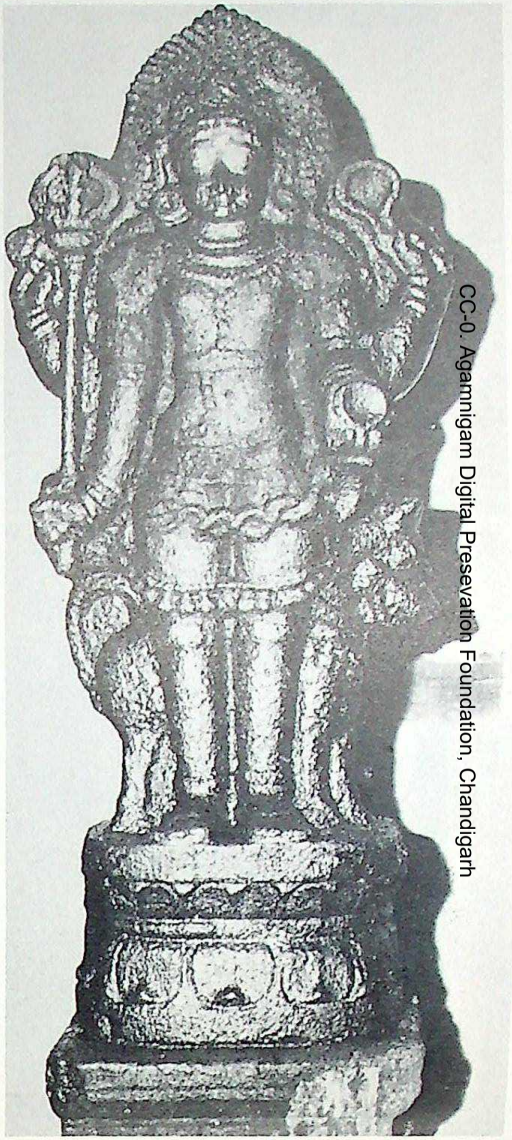
257. *Srivimana*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



258. Wall and entablature details

259. Brahma



260. Bhairavar

PONNAMARAVATI, Cholisvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

261. General view (SW)

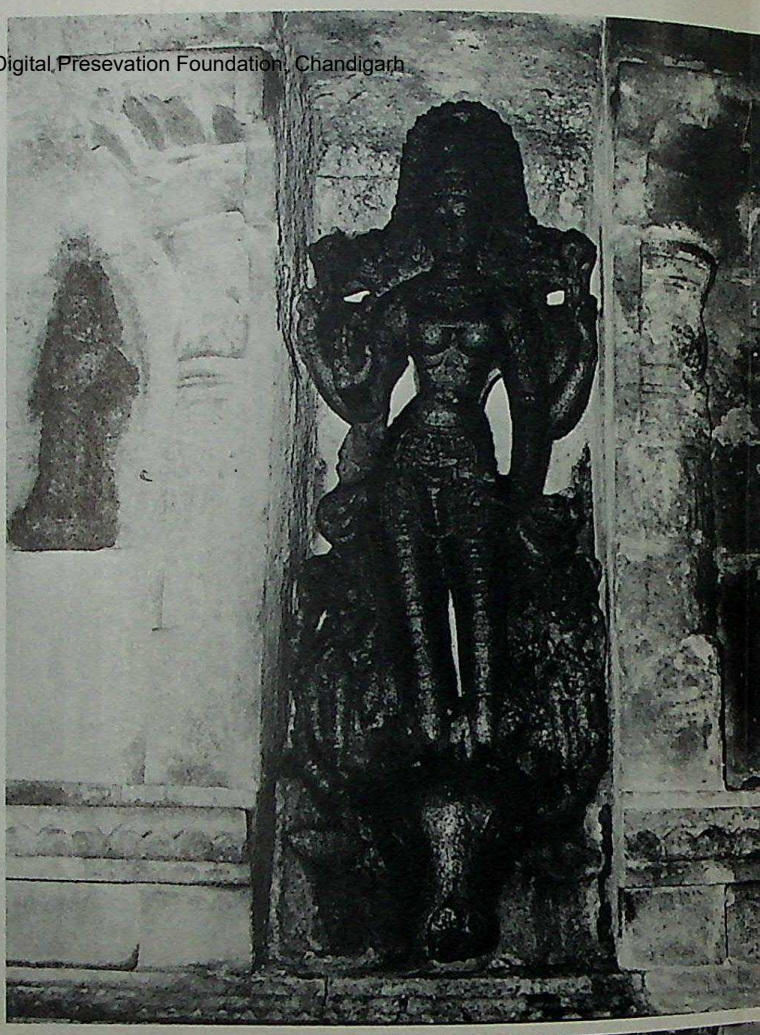
PALLAVARAYANPETTAI
Sundaresvarar temple

262. Ganapati

263. Lingodbhavar

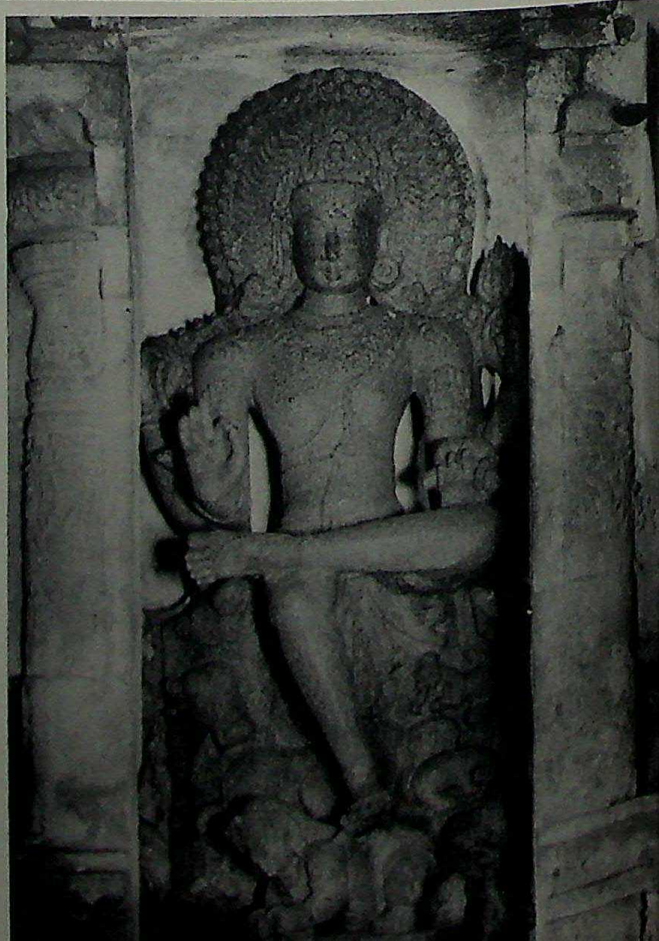
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PALLAVARAYANPETTAI
Sundaresvarar temple

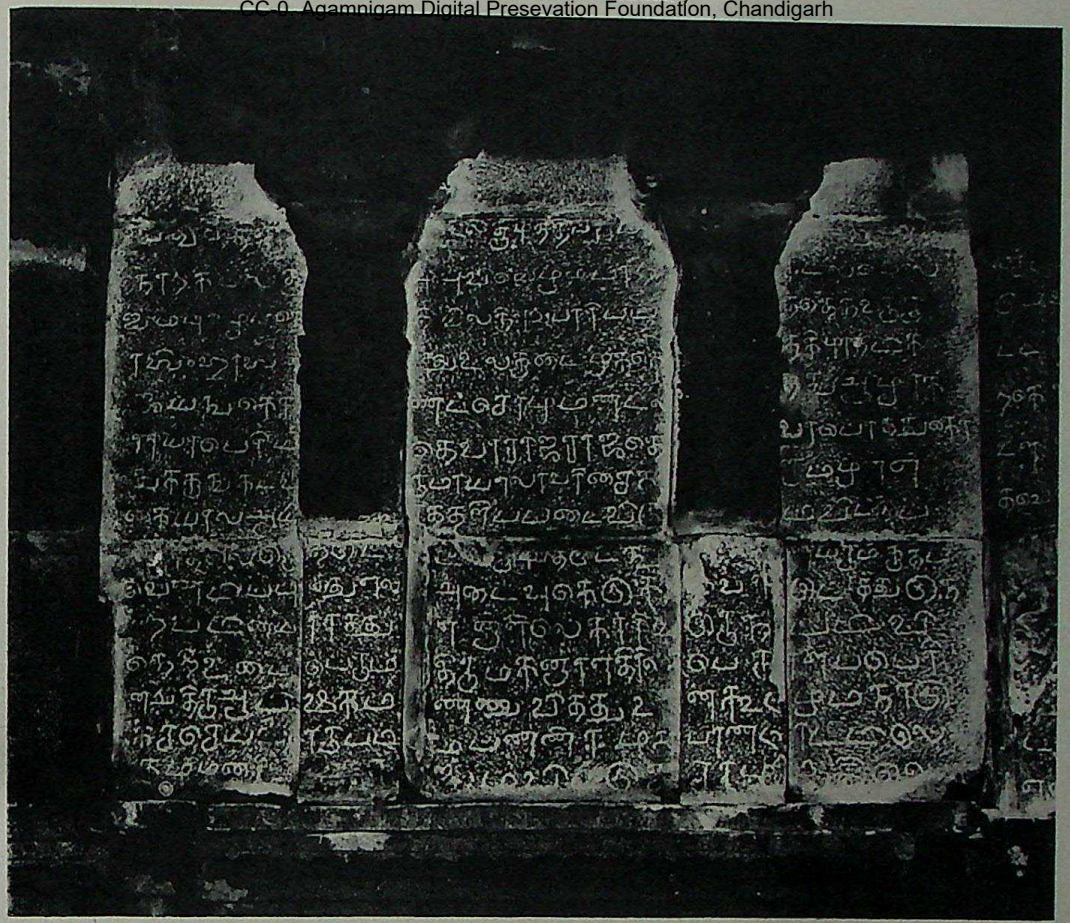


265. Jyeshthadevi

266. Dakshinamurti

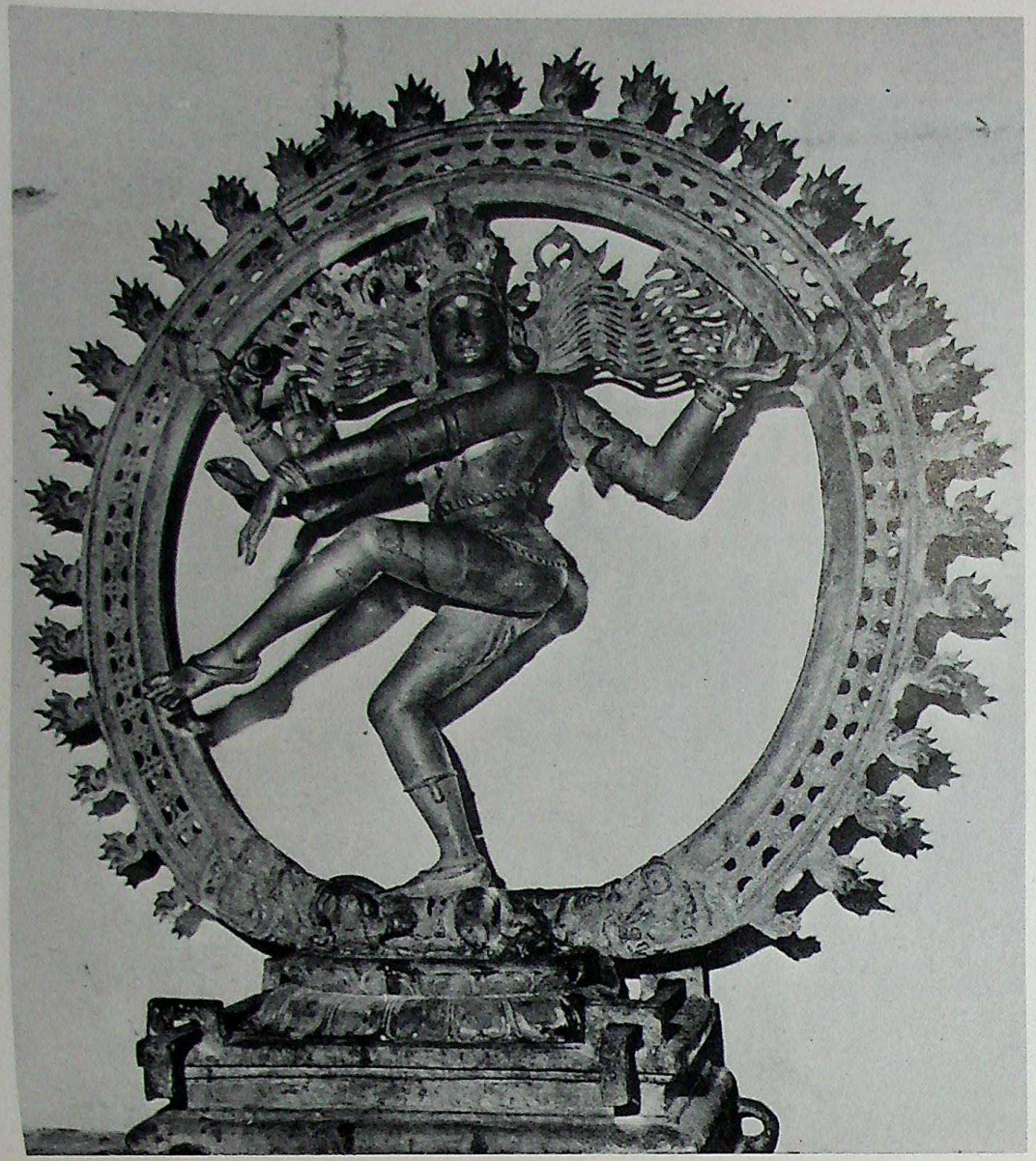


(Courtesy: Sri N. Sethuraman)
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



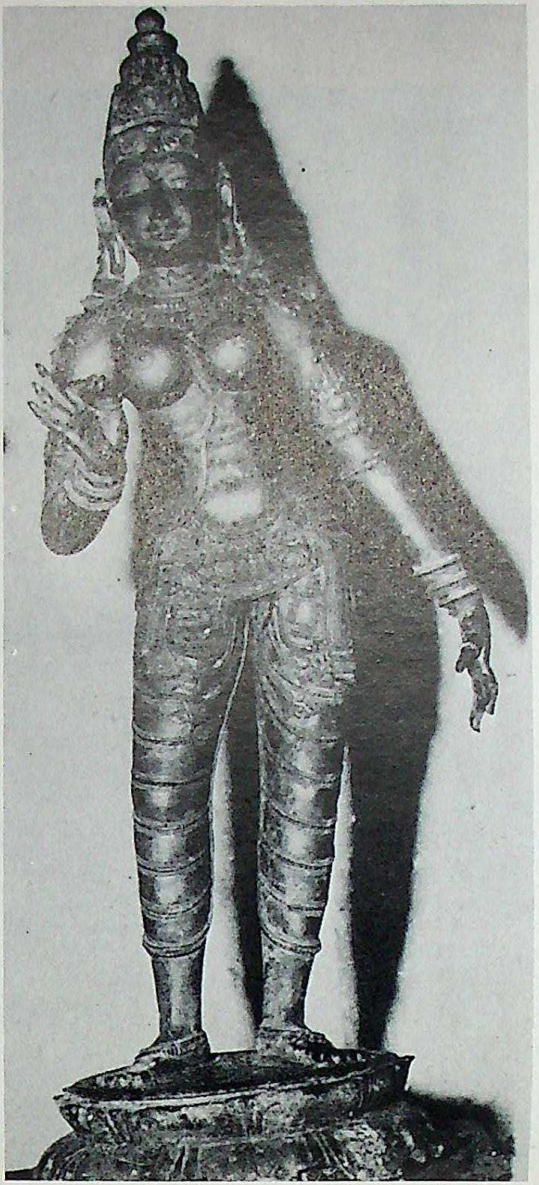
267 & 268. Composite view of the Pallavarayanpettai inscription

PALLAVARAYANPETTAI
Sundaresvarar temple



269. Nataraja (bronze)

PALLAVARAYANPETTAI
Sundaresvarar temple



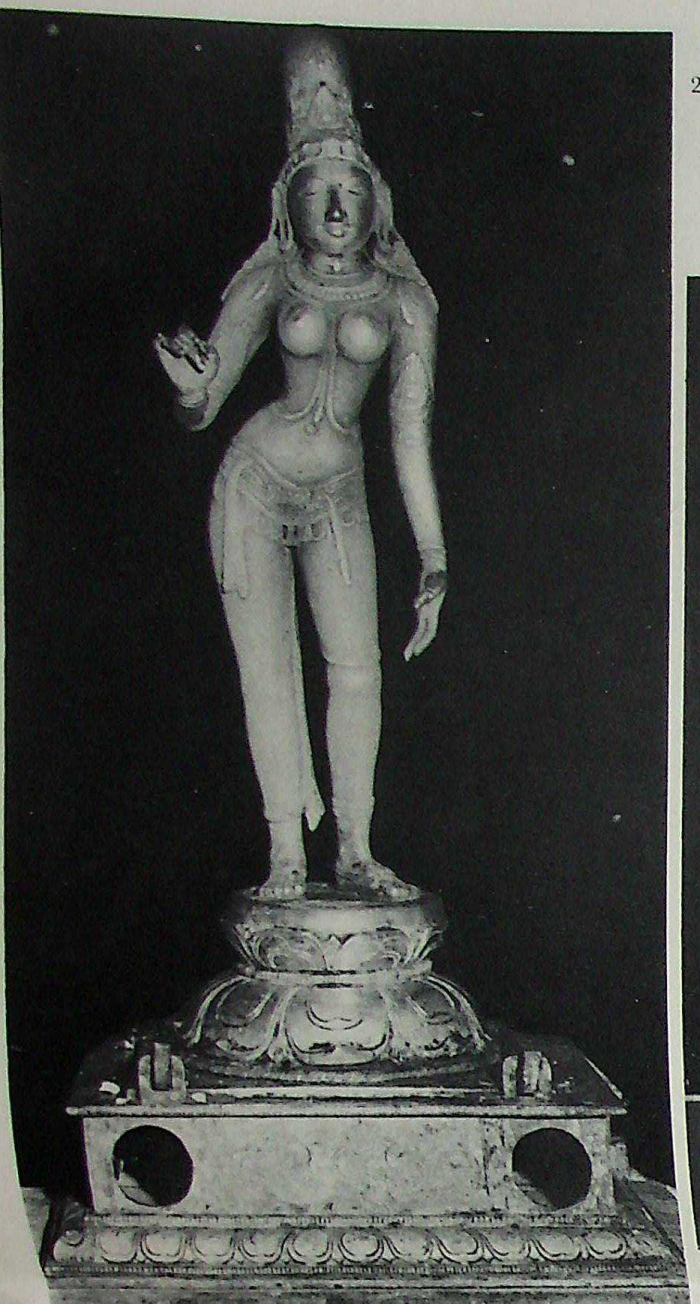
270. Amman (bronze)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

271. Nataraja

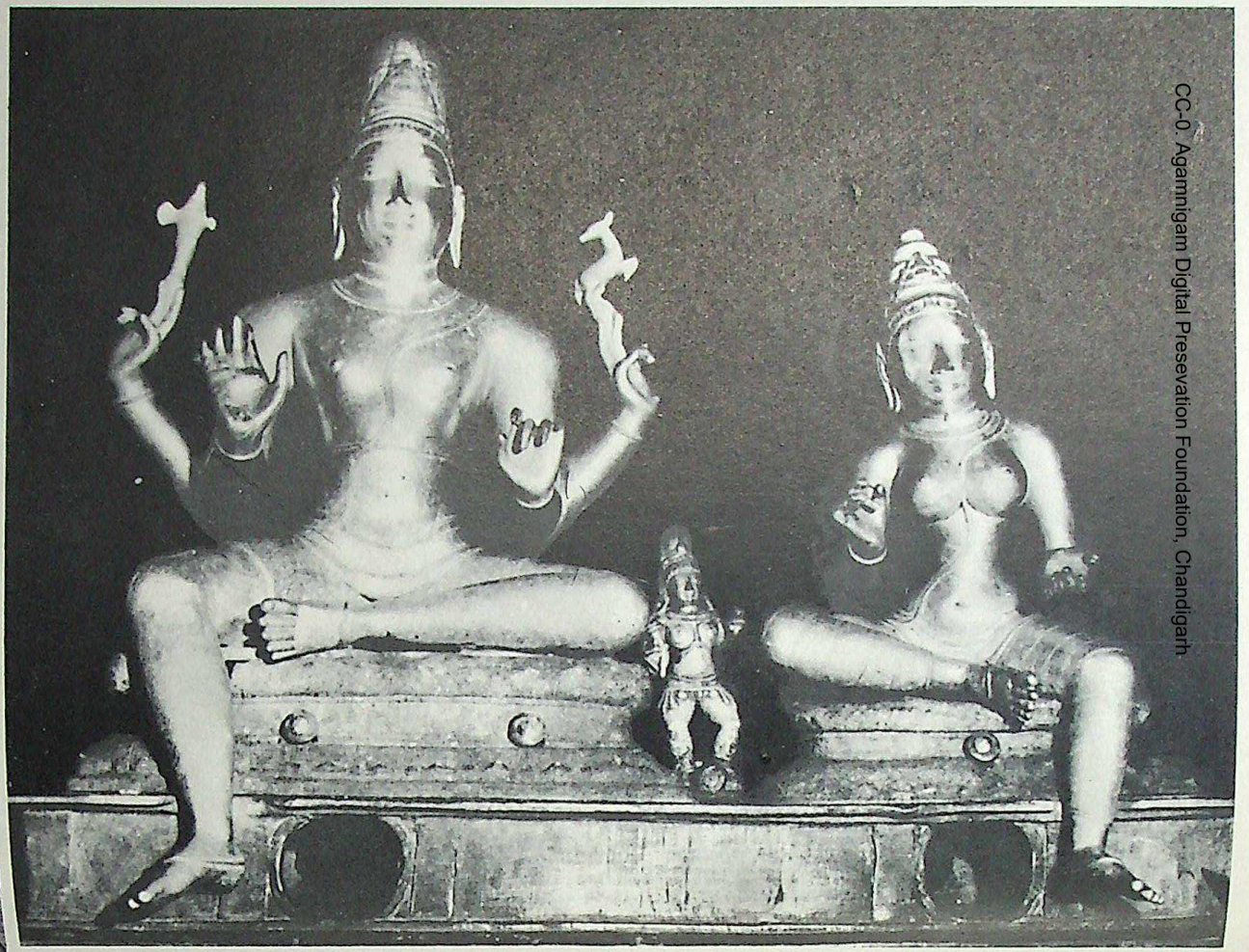
SRIVANCHIYAM, Vanchisvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)



272. Sivakamasundari

SRIVANCHIYAM
Vanchisvarar temple

273. Somaskandar (bronze)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

274. *Srivimana (NW view*

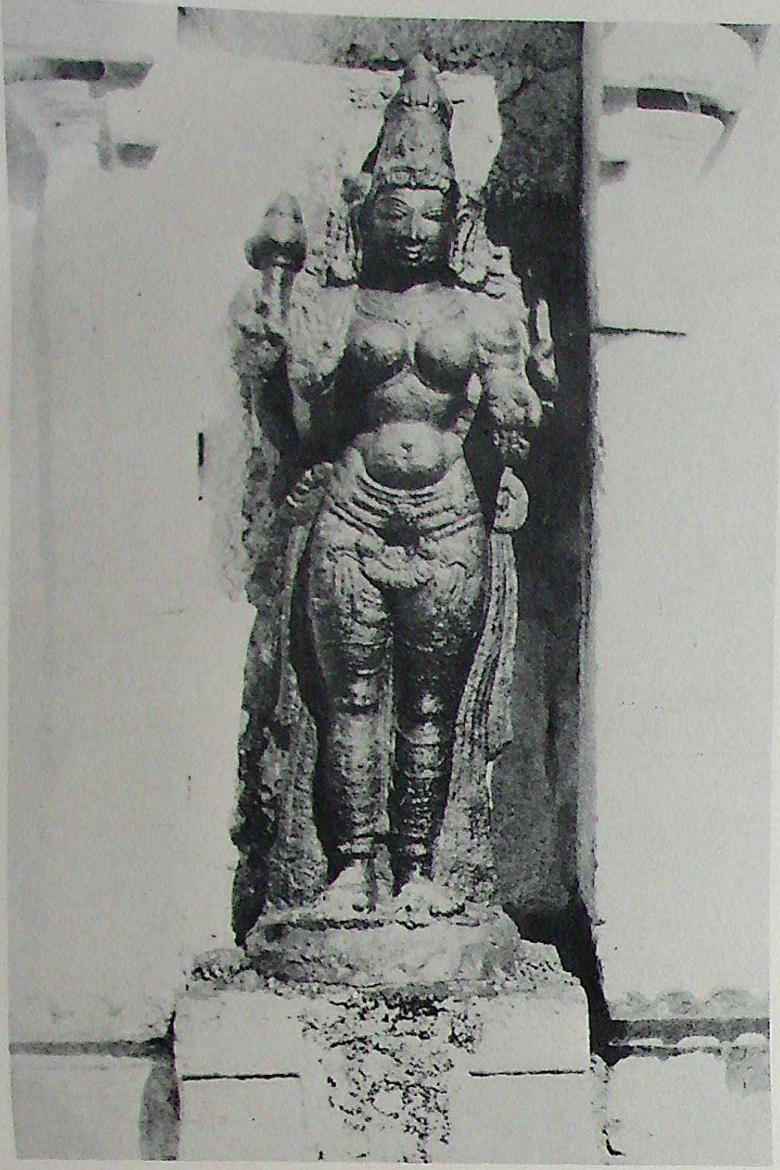
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

TIRUVASI
Marruraivar isvarar temple

275. Vaishnavi
(Amman shrine)

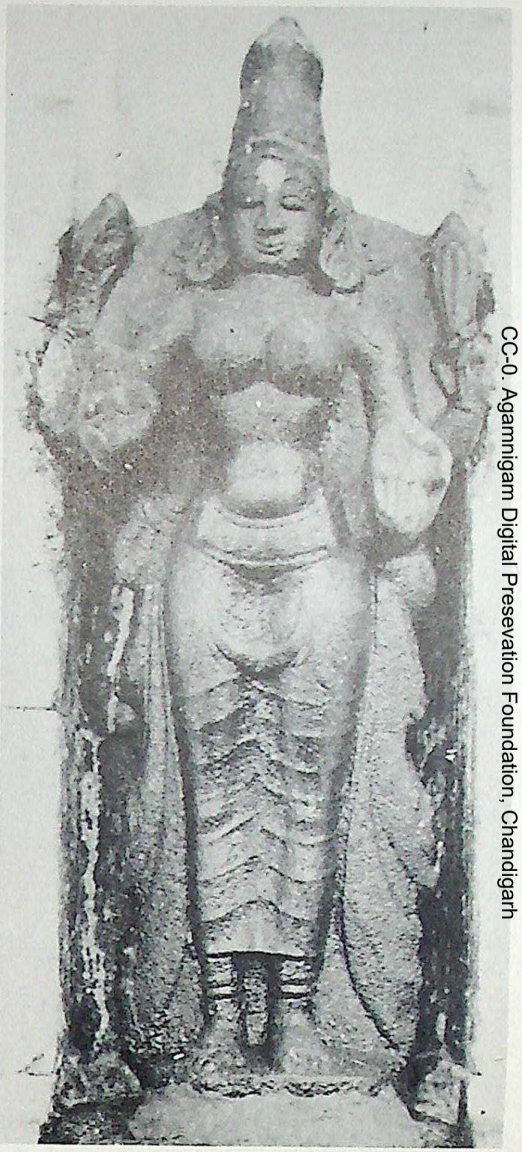
276. Brahmi
(Amman shrine)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



277. Mahesvari
(Amman shrine)

278. Raudri
(Amman shrine)



279. Rudrani
(Amman shrine)

TIRUVASI, Marruraivar isvarar temple

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

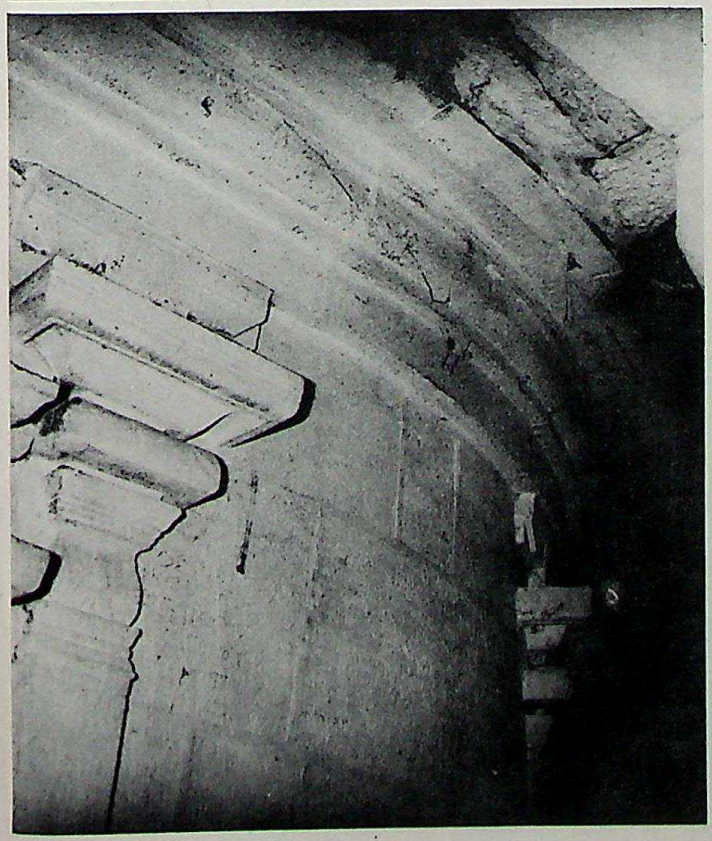
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ARPAKKAM
Tiruvalisvarar temple

280. *Griva*, *sikhara* and *stupis*

283. Vish



281. *Garbhagriha* wall

282. Ayya

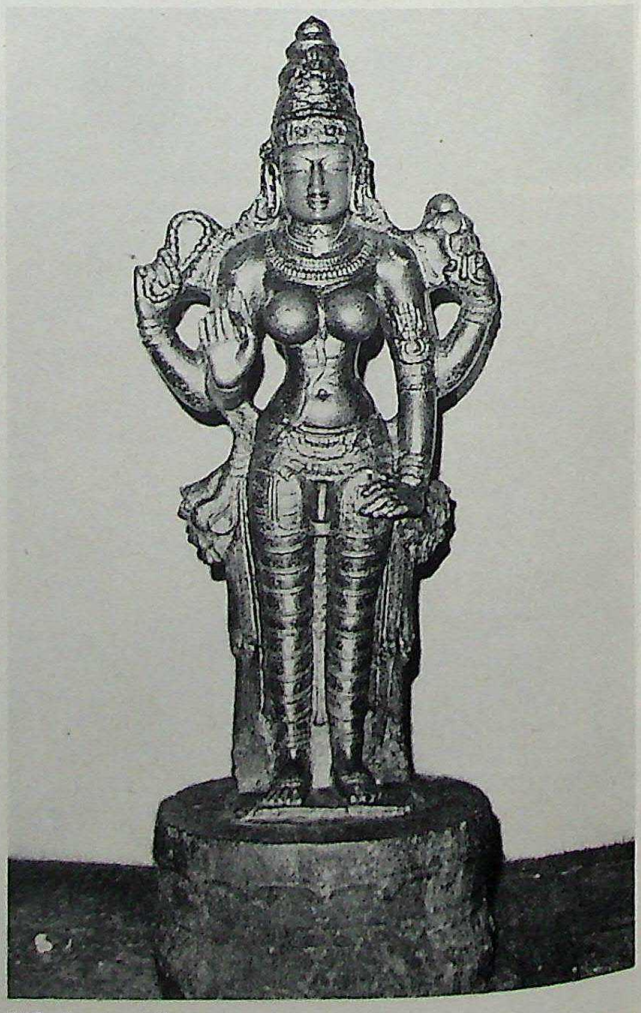
(Courtesy: Pls. 280 & 281. French Inst. Indology,
Pls. 282 & 283. Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

284. *Srivimana* superstructure (NW view)

285. Amman shrine (N face)

286. Durga



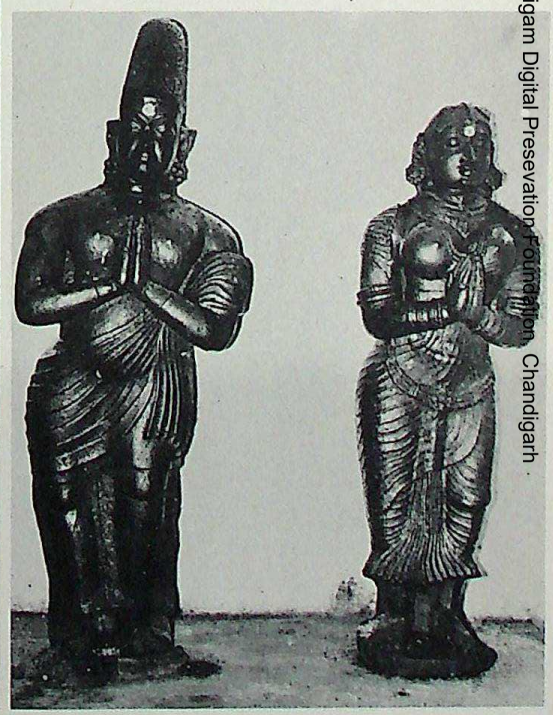
287. Jnanambika

(Courtesy: Pls. 284 & 285. French Inst. Indology
Pls. 286 & 287. Sri N. Sethuraman)

PATTISVARAM
Tenupurisvarar temple

288. Nataraja (bronze)

289. Amman (bronze)



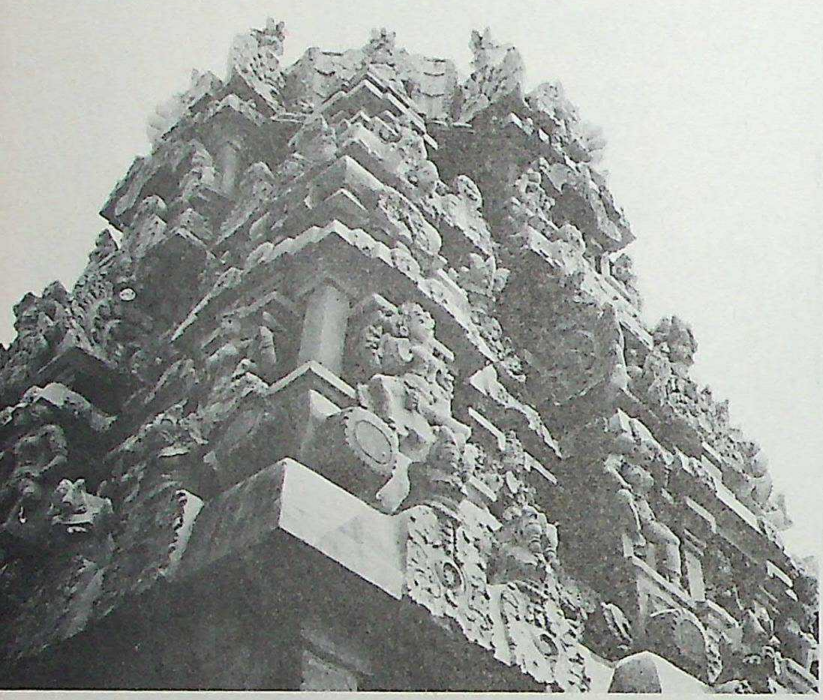
290. Govinda Dikshitar and spouse

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

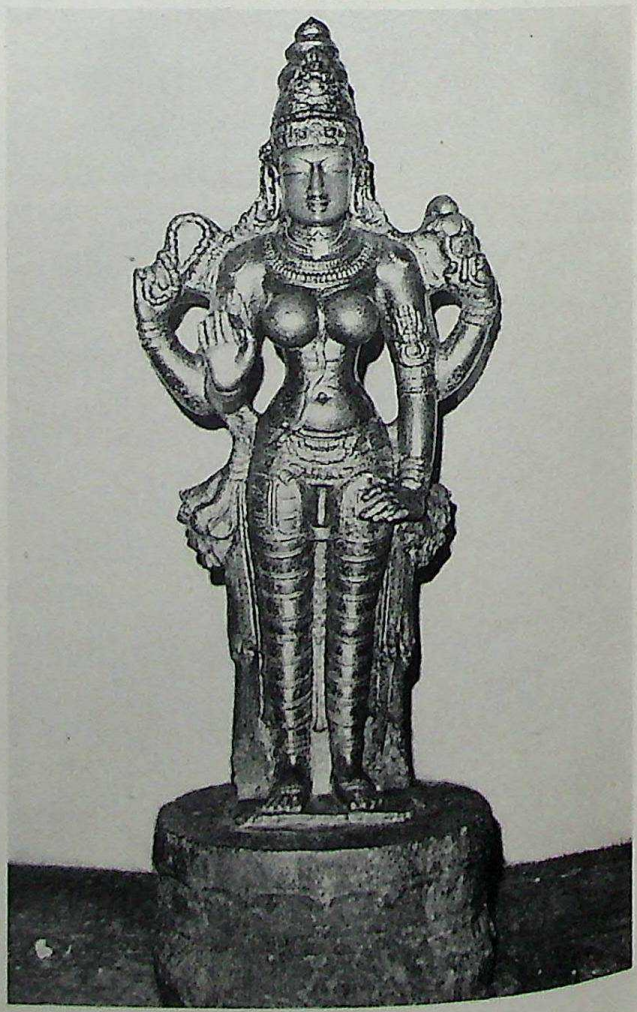
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

284. *Srivimana* superstructure (NW view)



285. Amman shrine (N face)

286. Durga

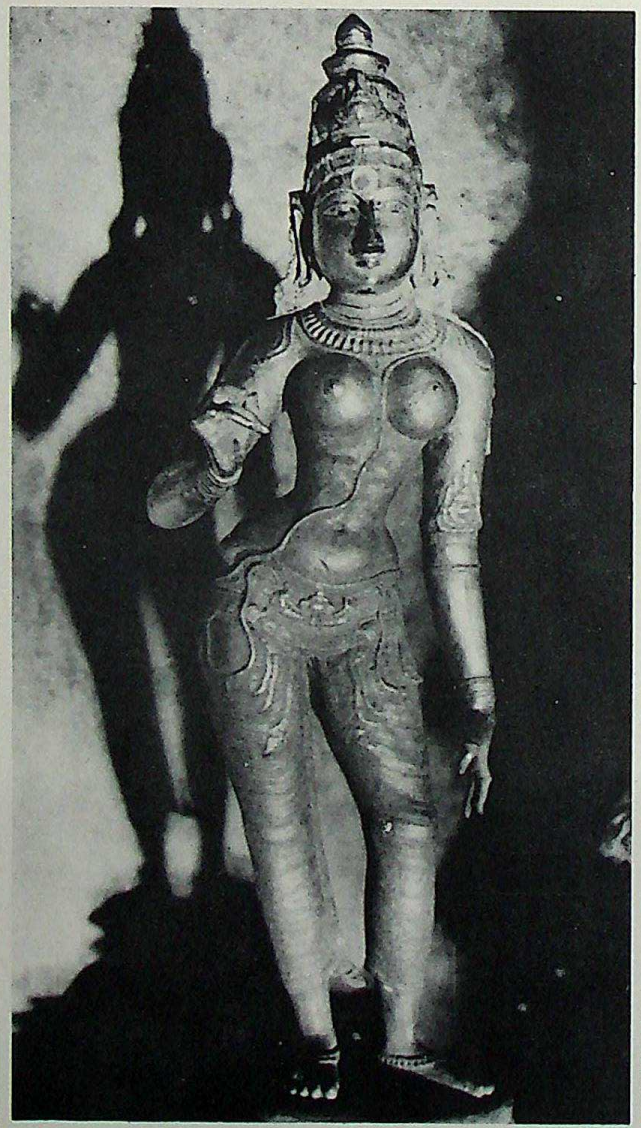


287. Jnanambika

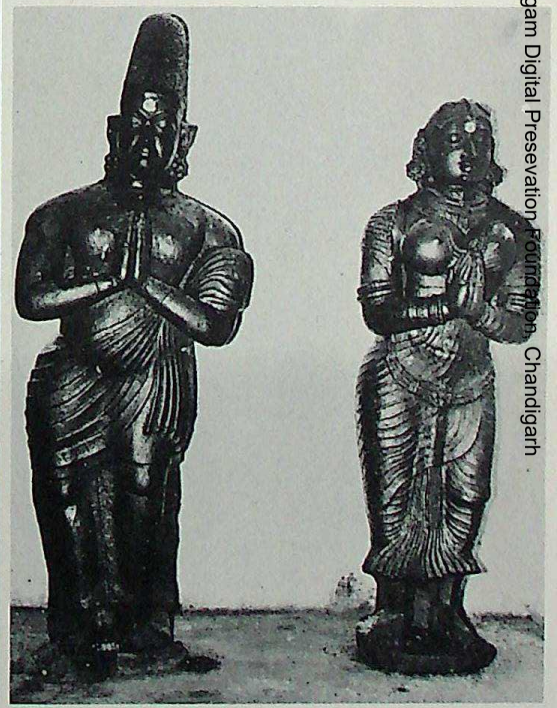
(Courtesy: Pls. 284 & 285. French Inst. Indology
Pls. 286 & 287. Sri N. Sethuraman)

PATTISVARAM
Tenupurisvarar temple

288. Nataraja (bronze)



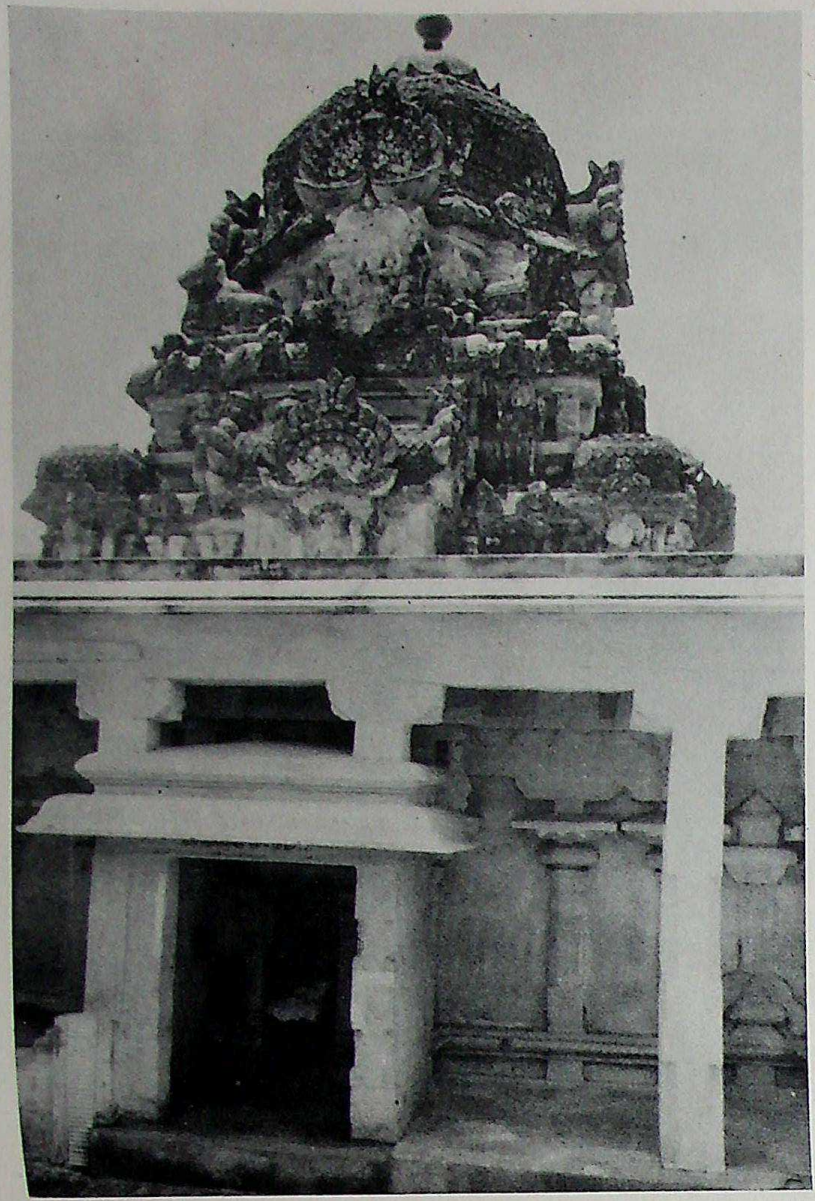
289. Amman (bronze)



290. Govinda Dikshitar and spouse

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



291. *Srivimana*

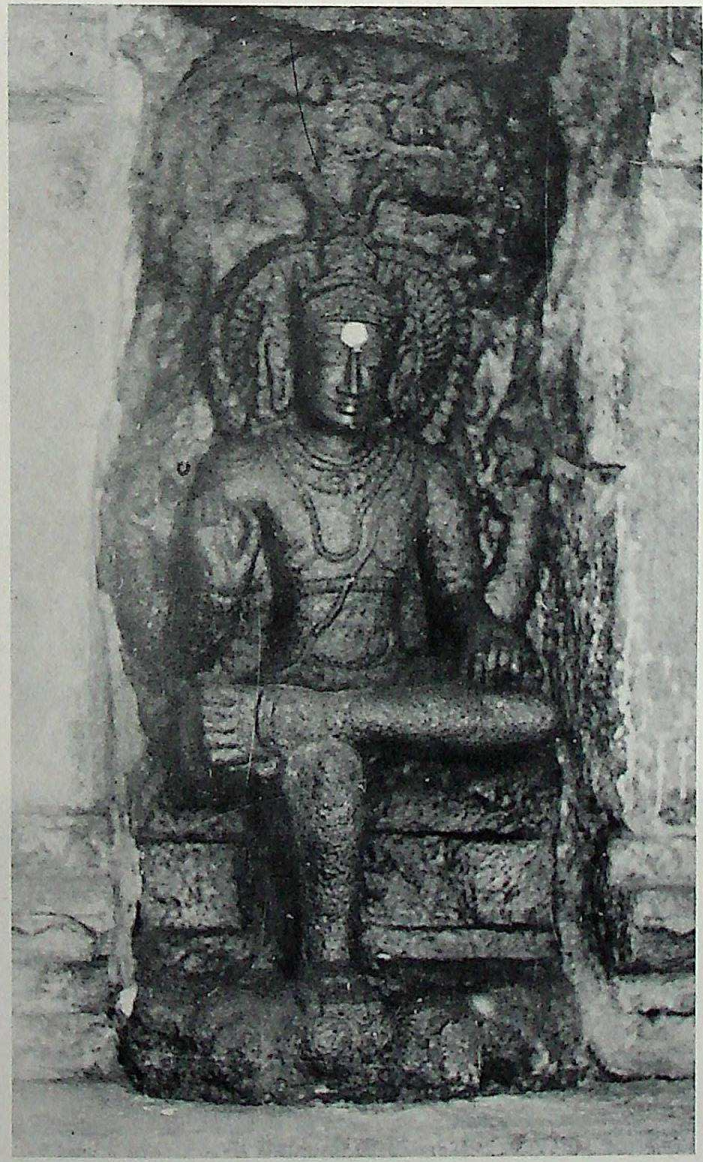
TIRUSATTIMUTTAM
Tirusattimuttam temple

292. Agastya
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

293. Nataraja

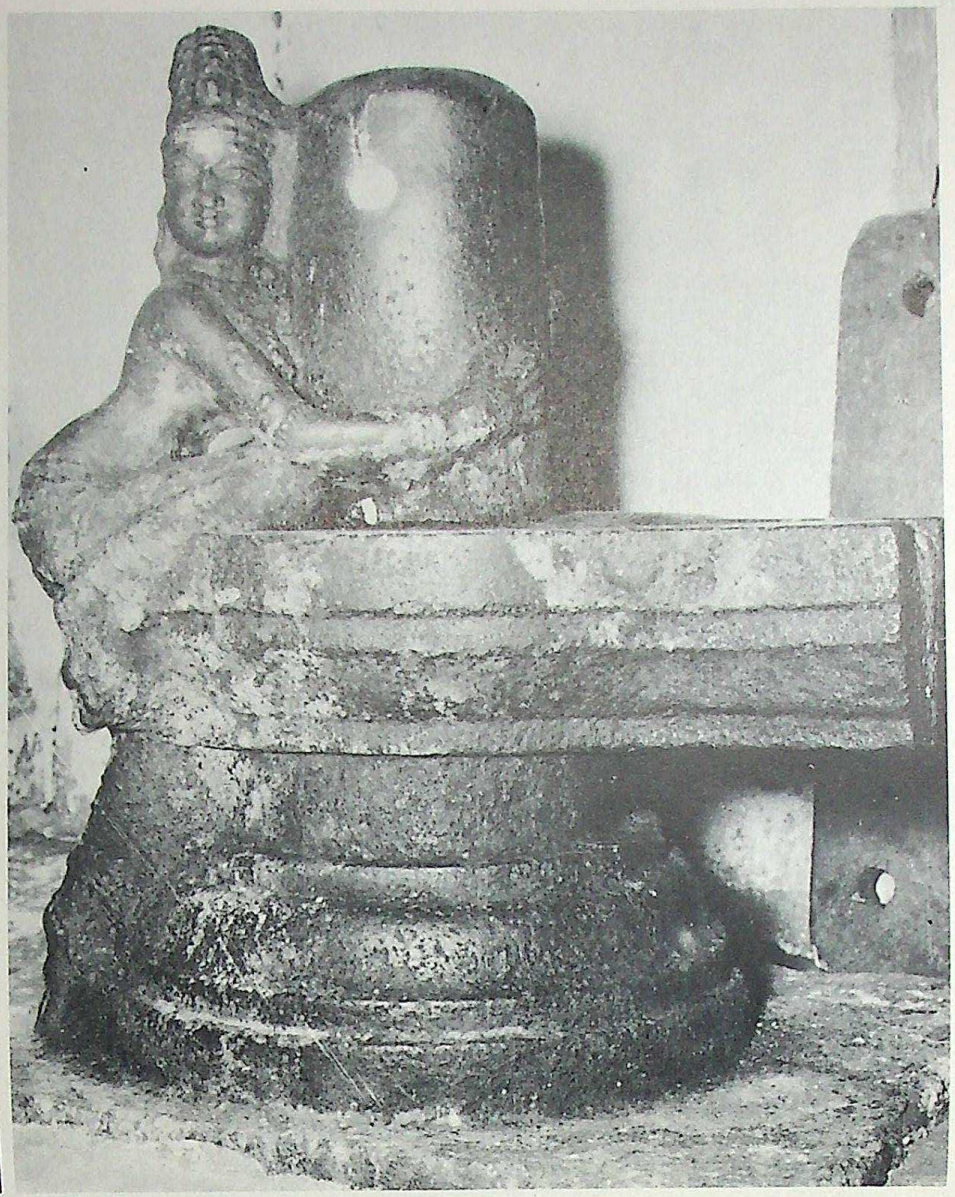
TIRUSATTIMUTTAM
Tirusattimuttam temple



294. Dakshinamurti
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

295. Lingodbhavar



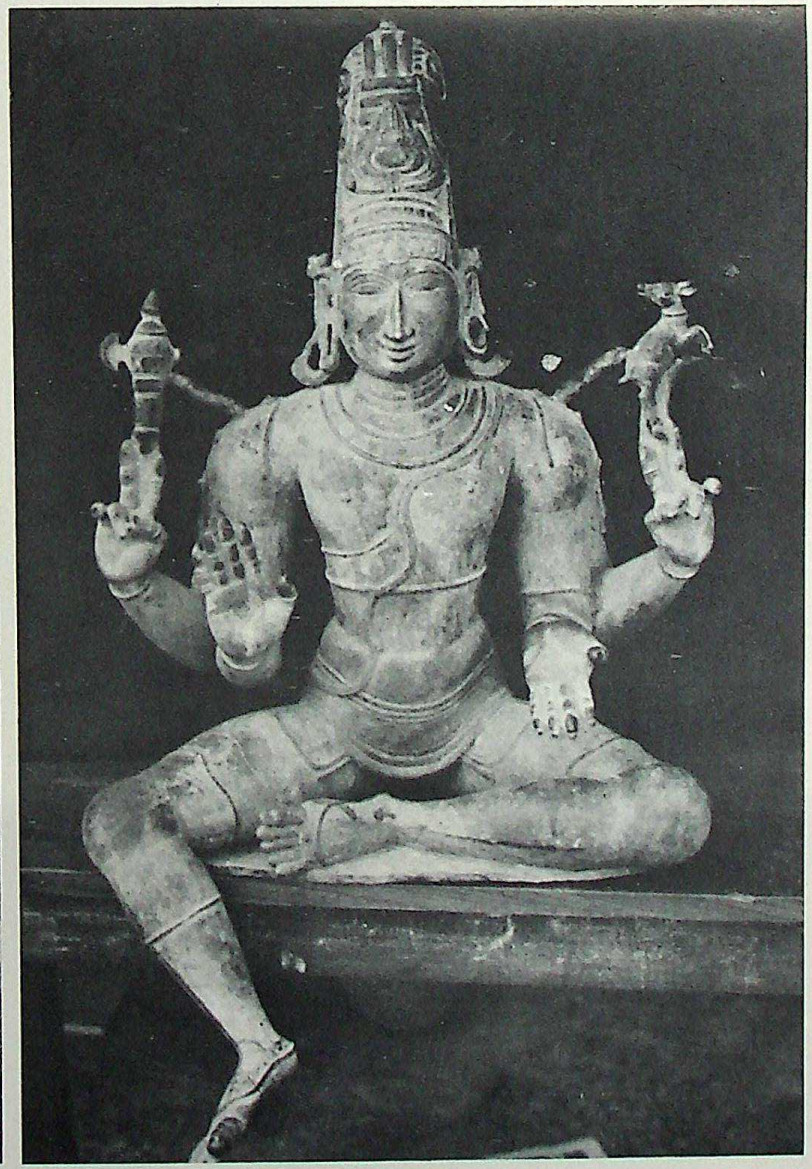
296. Alingana Amman
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

TIRUSATTIMUTTAM
Tirusattimuttam temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

297. Nataraja (bronze)
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

TIRUSATTIMUTTAM
Tirusattimuttam temple



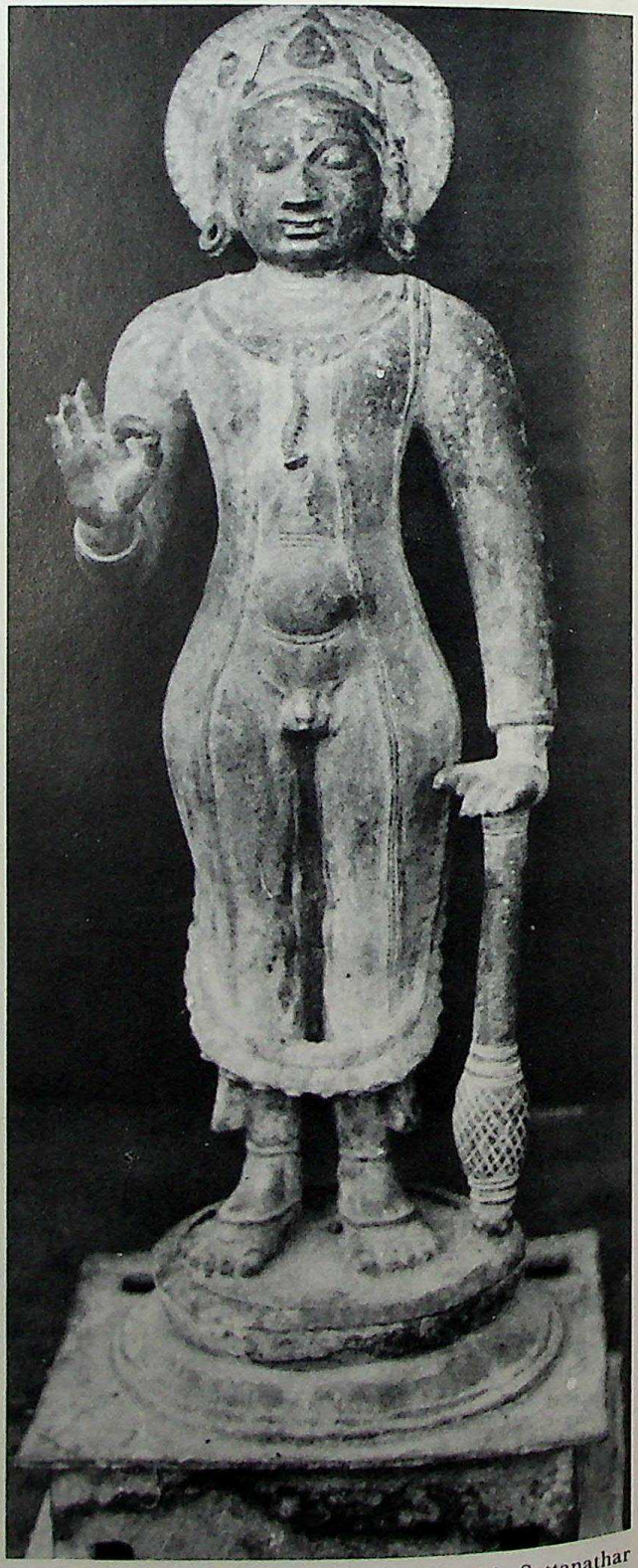
298. Siva of Somaskanda group (bronze)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

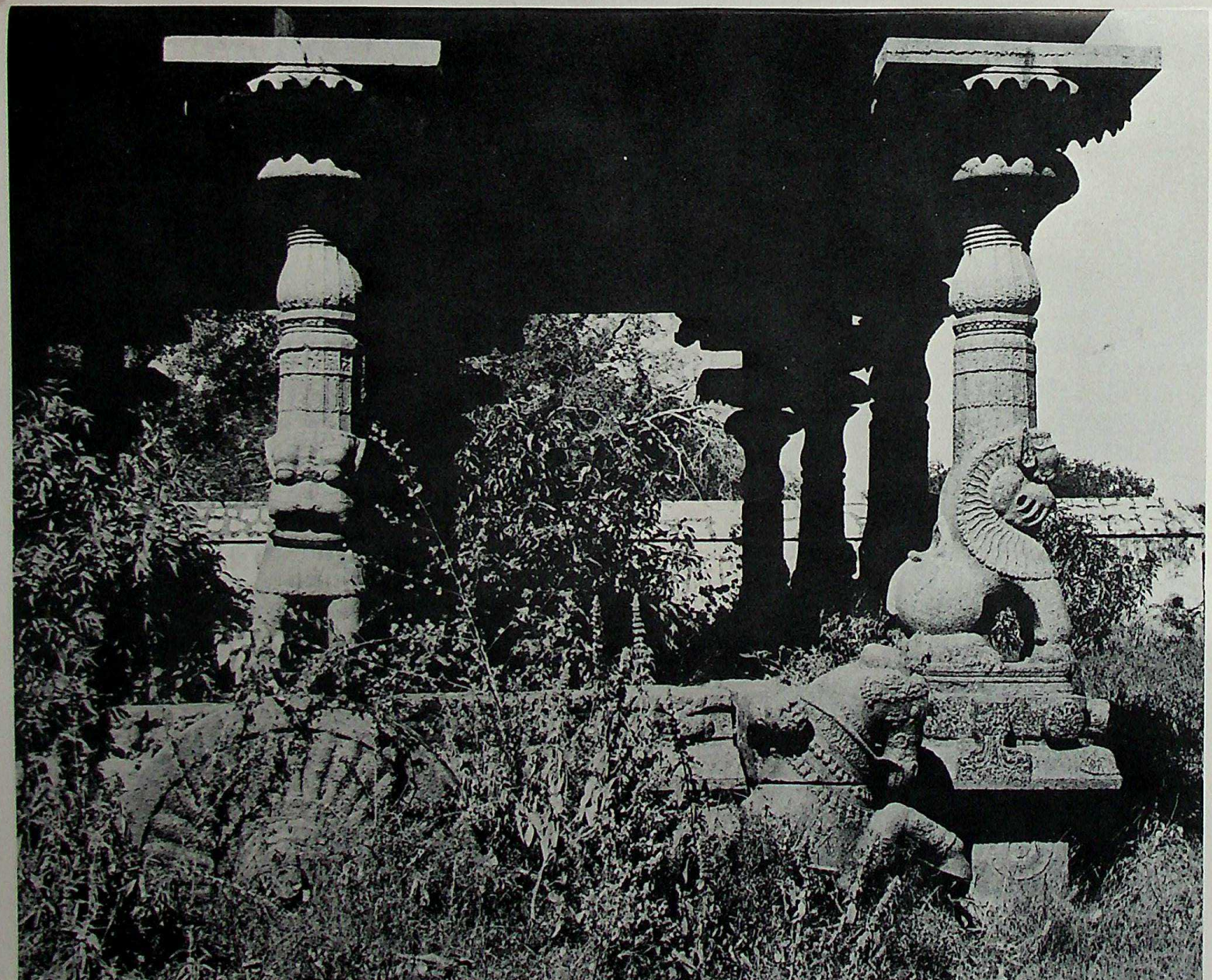
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUSATTIMUTTAM
Tirusattimuttam temple

299. Manikkavachakar



300. Sattanathar



(Courtesy: The American Academy of Benares)

TIRUVAKKARAI
Chandramoulisvarar temple

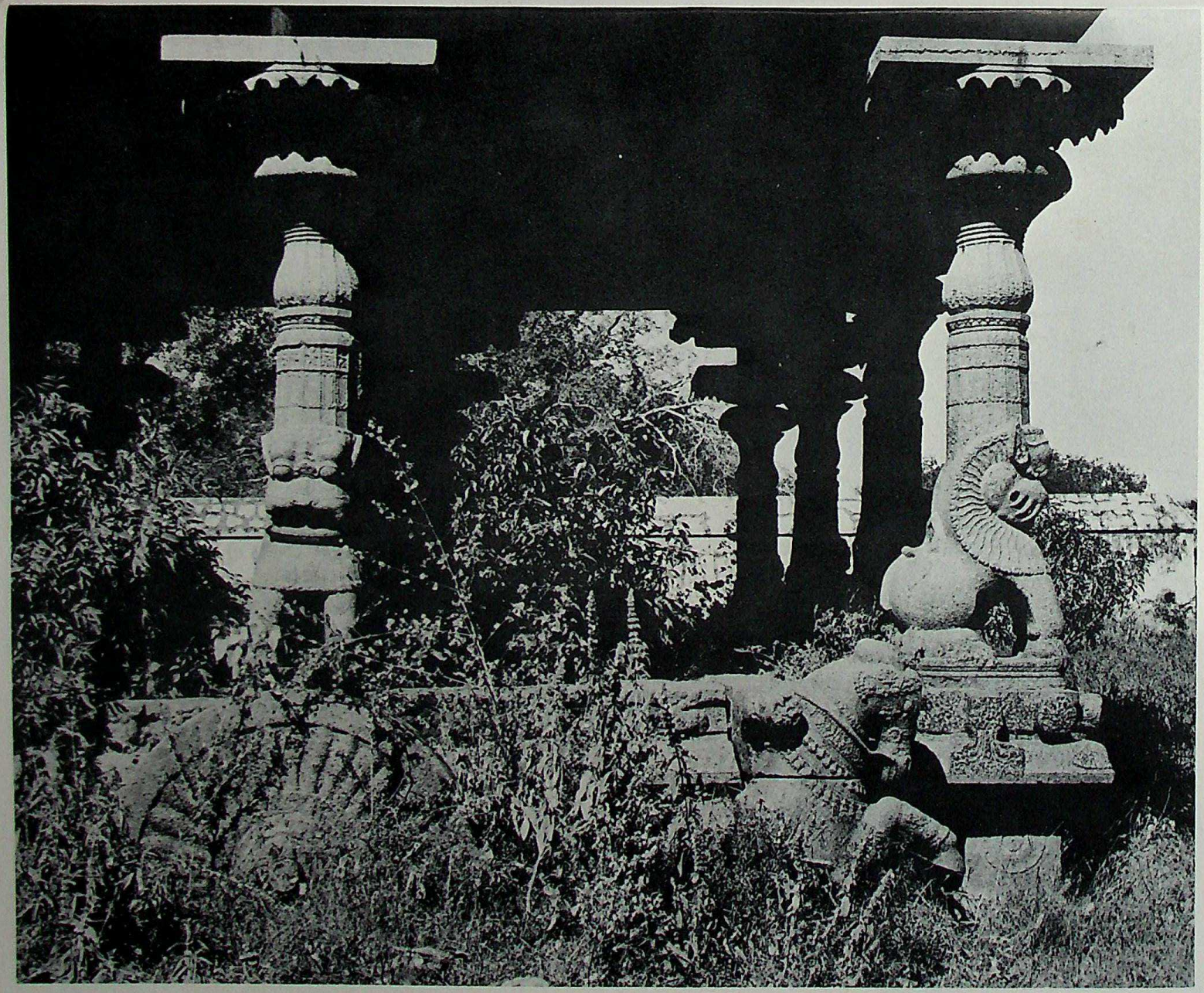
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUSATTIMUTTAM
Tirusattimuttam temple

299. Manikkavachakar

300. Sattanathar



(Courtesy: The American Academy of Benares)

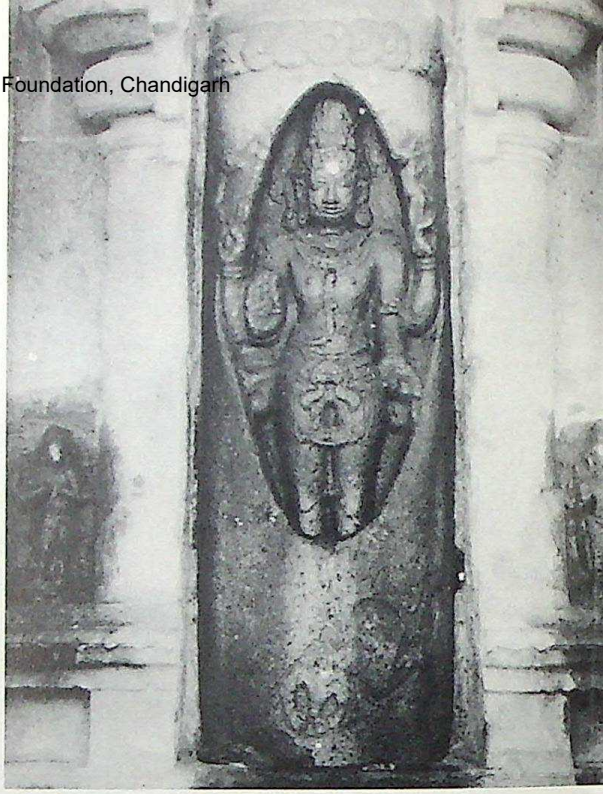
TIRUVAKKARAI
Chandramoulisvarar temple

301. 100-pillared hall

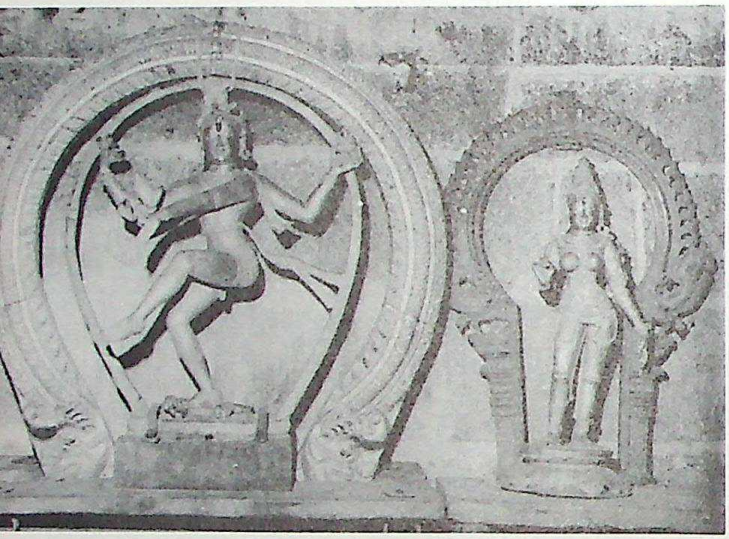
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

304. Lingodbhavar

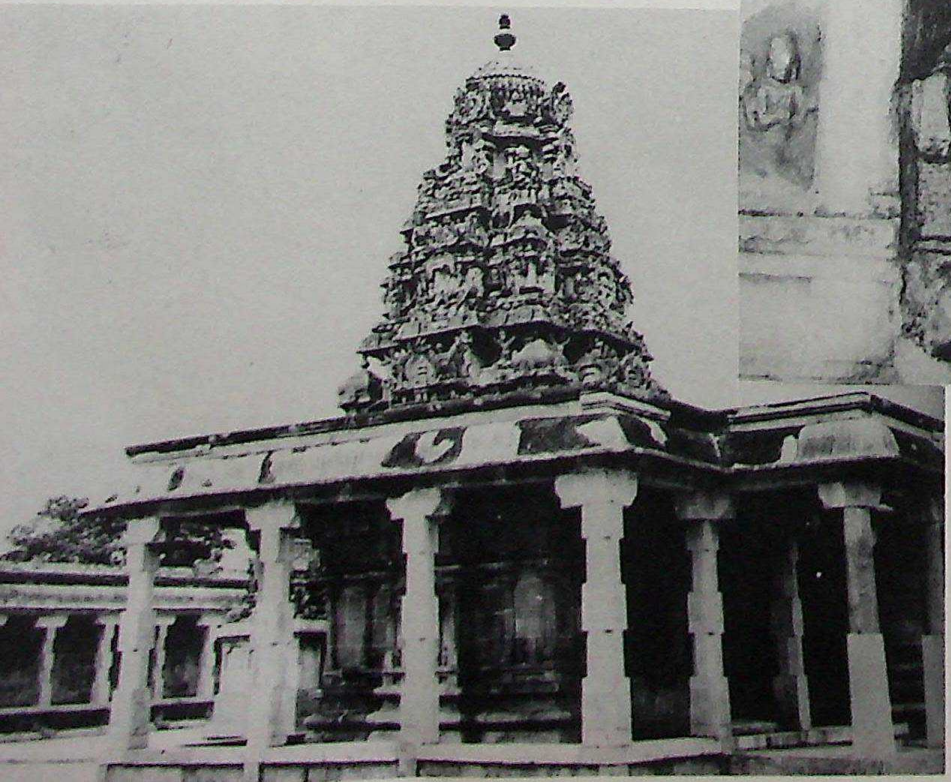


303. Nataraja and Amman



TIRUVENNAINALLUR
Arul turai temple

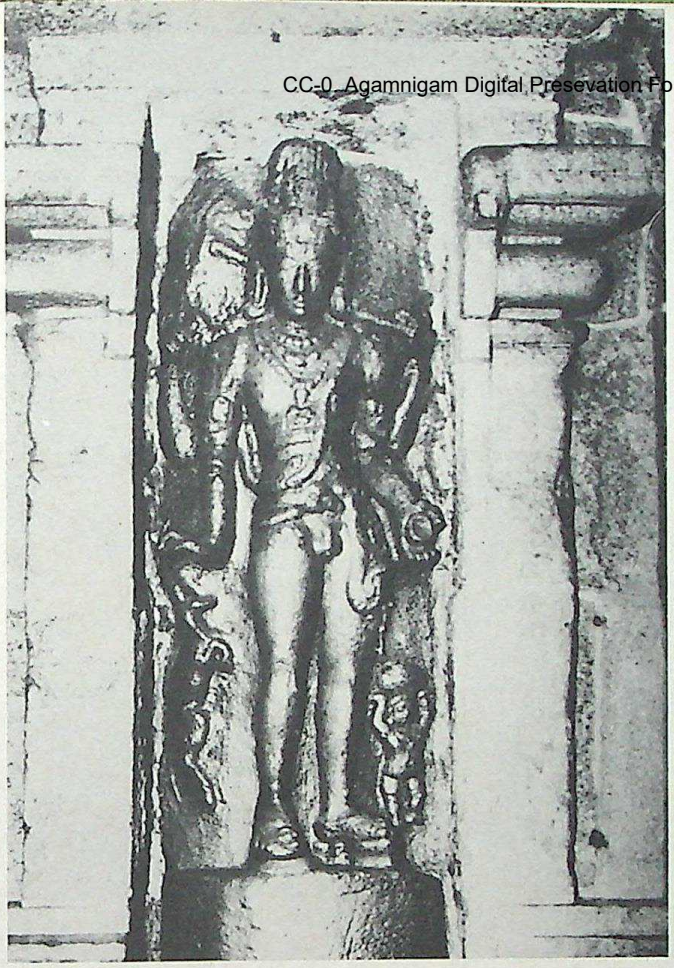
302. General view (W)
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)



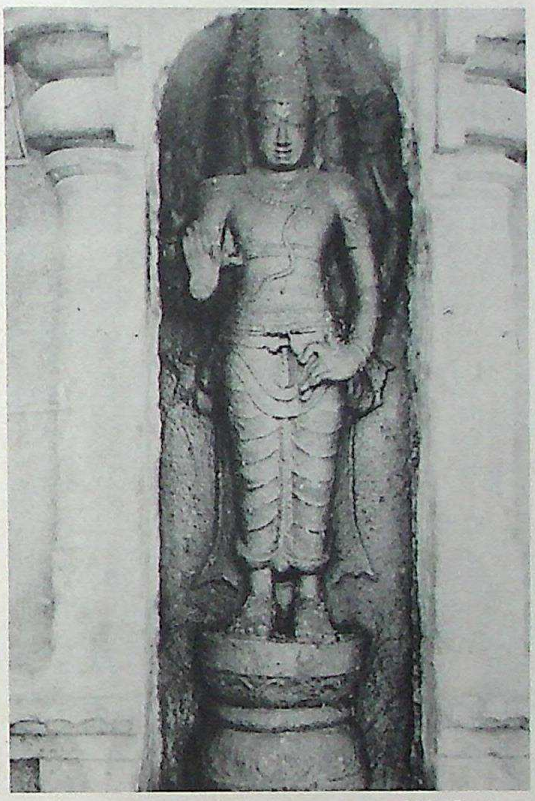
305. Dakshinamurti
(Pls. 303-305. Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUVENNAINALLUR
Arul turai temple



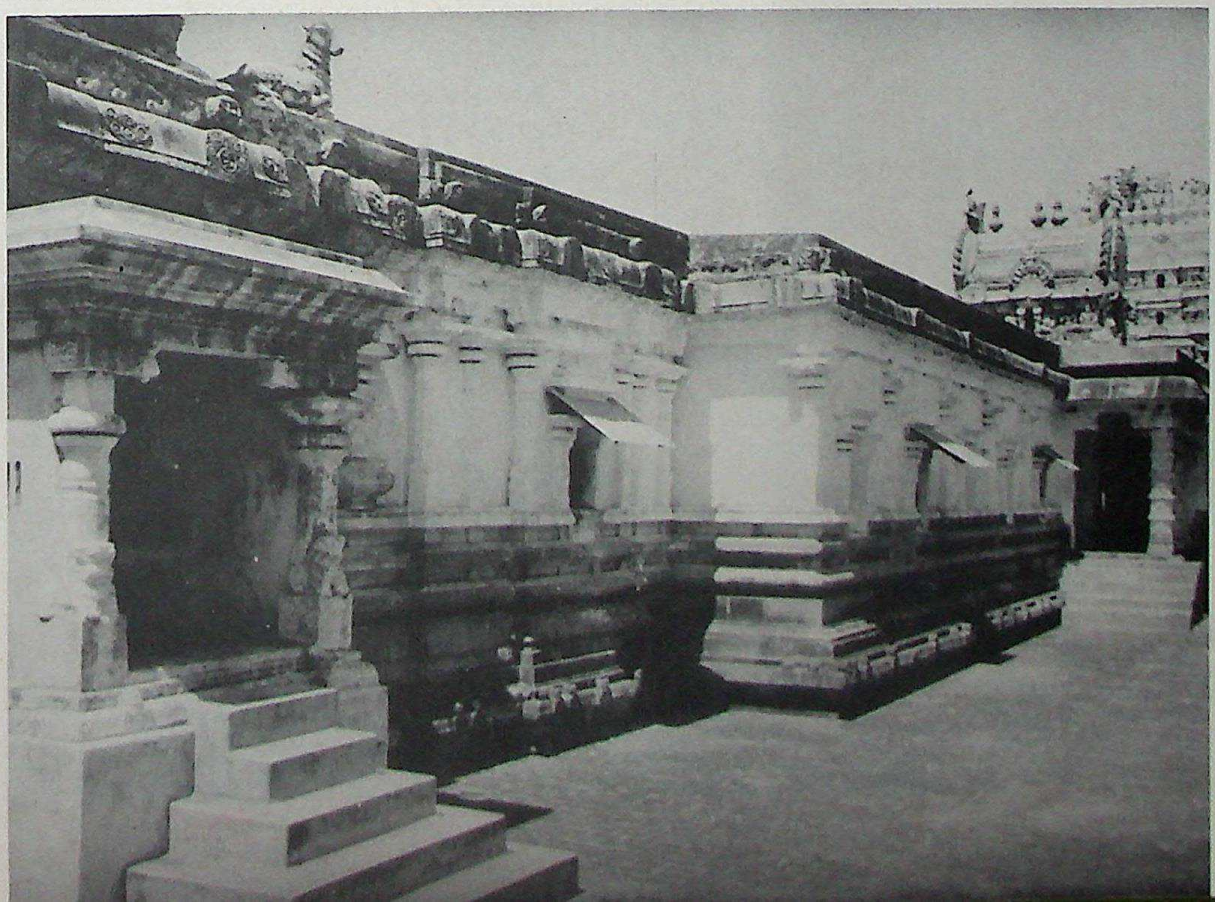
306. Bhikshatanar



307. Brahma

ACHYUTAMANGALAM
Somanathesvarar temple

308. General view (W)



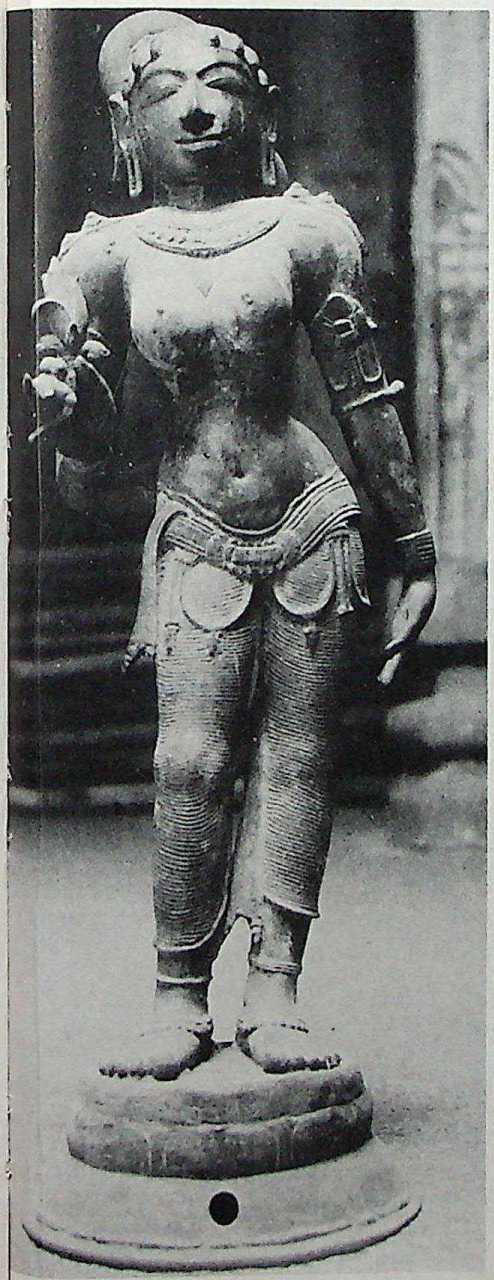
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

309. *Garbhagriha* (W face) ACHYUTAMANGALAM Somanathesvarar temple

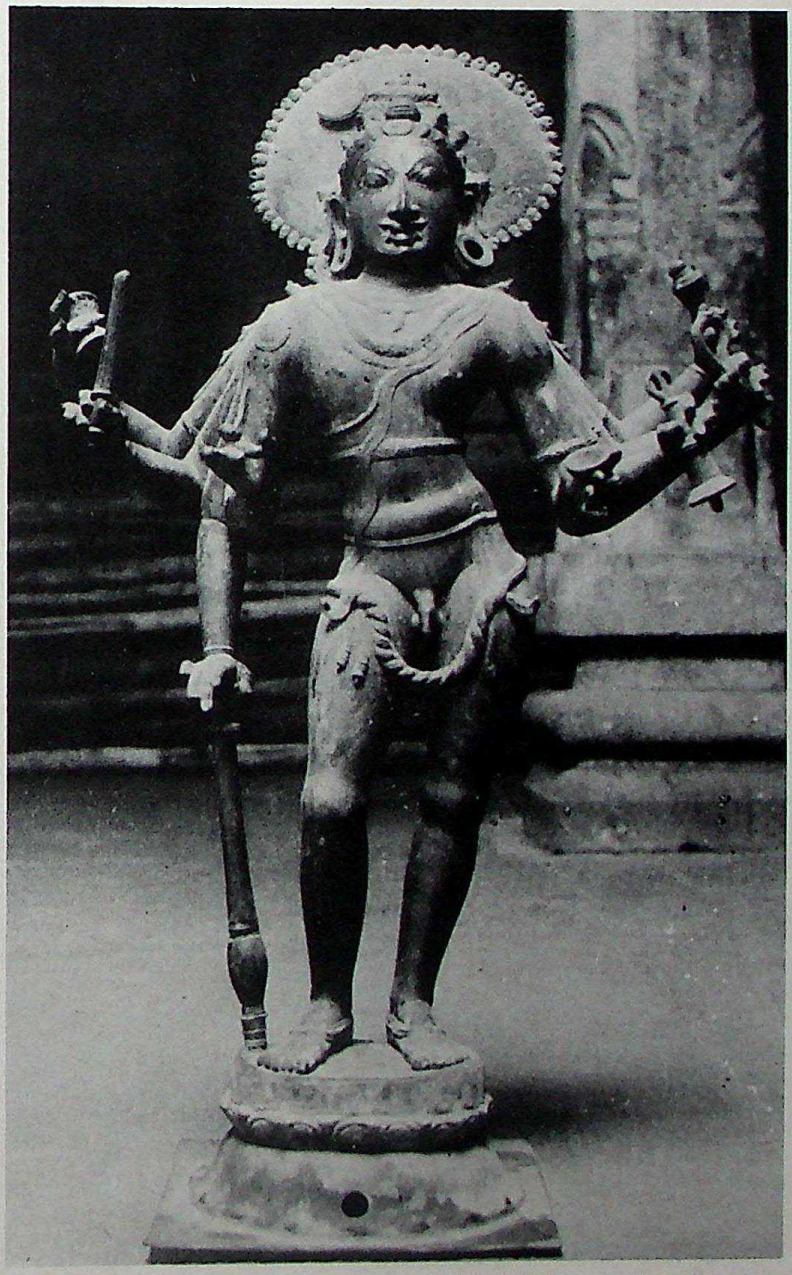
310. Mukhalingam KALAHASTI Kalahastisvarar temple

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



311. Mohini (bronze)



312. Bhikshatanar (bronze)

KALAHASTI
Kalahastisvarar temple

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

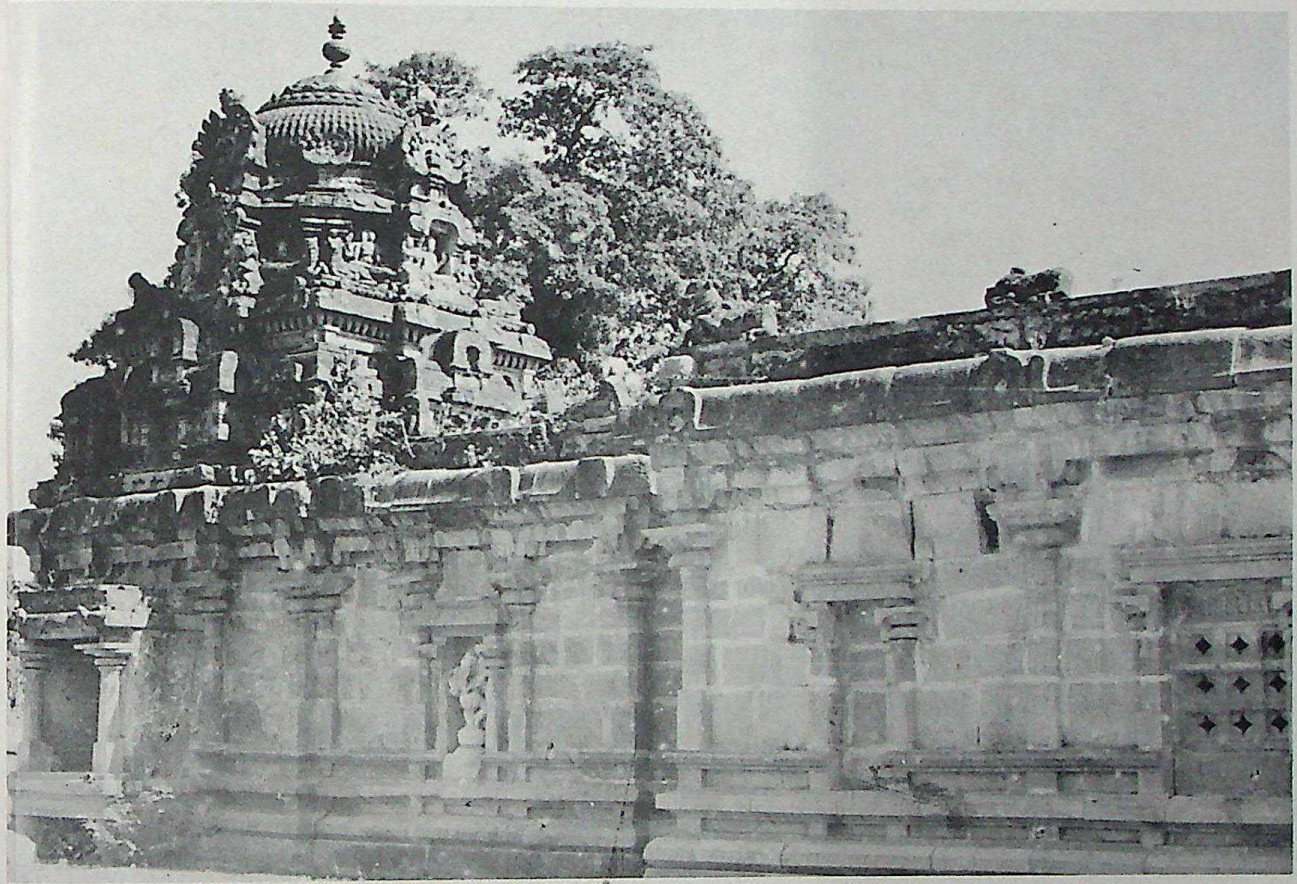
313. Kulottunga III
('Sivapadasekhara')

TEN TIRUVALANGADU
Alangadu udaiyar temple

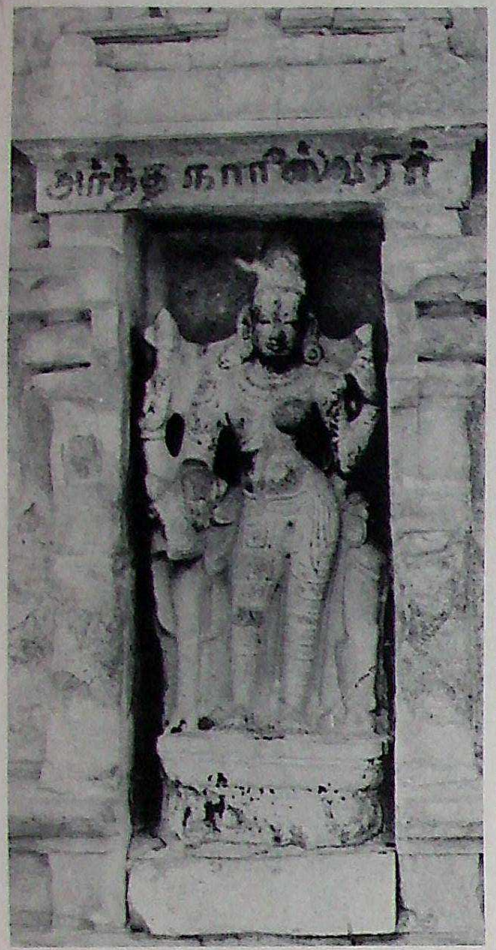
(Courtesy: Sri N. Sethuraman)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

314. *Srivimana* (S face)



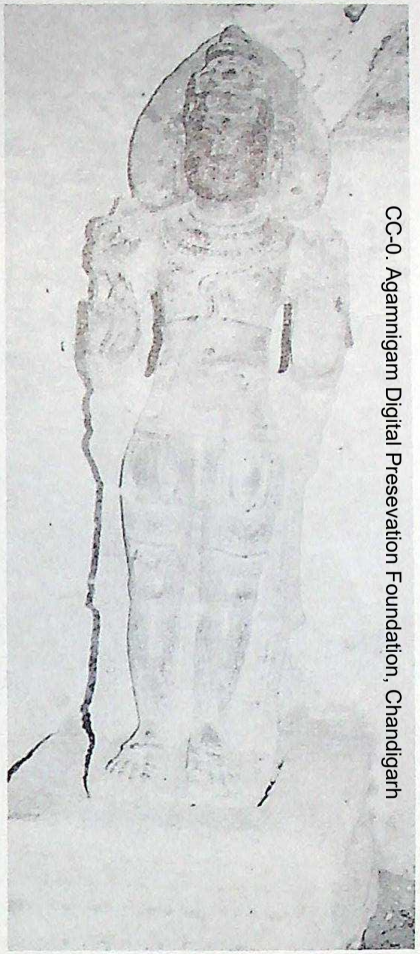
315. General view (W)



316. Ardhanari

317. Durga

318. Ganapati



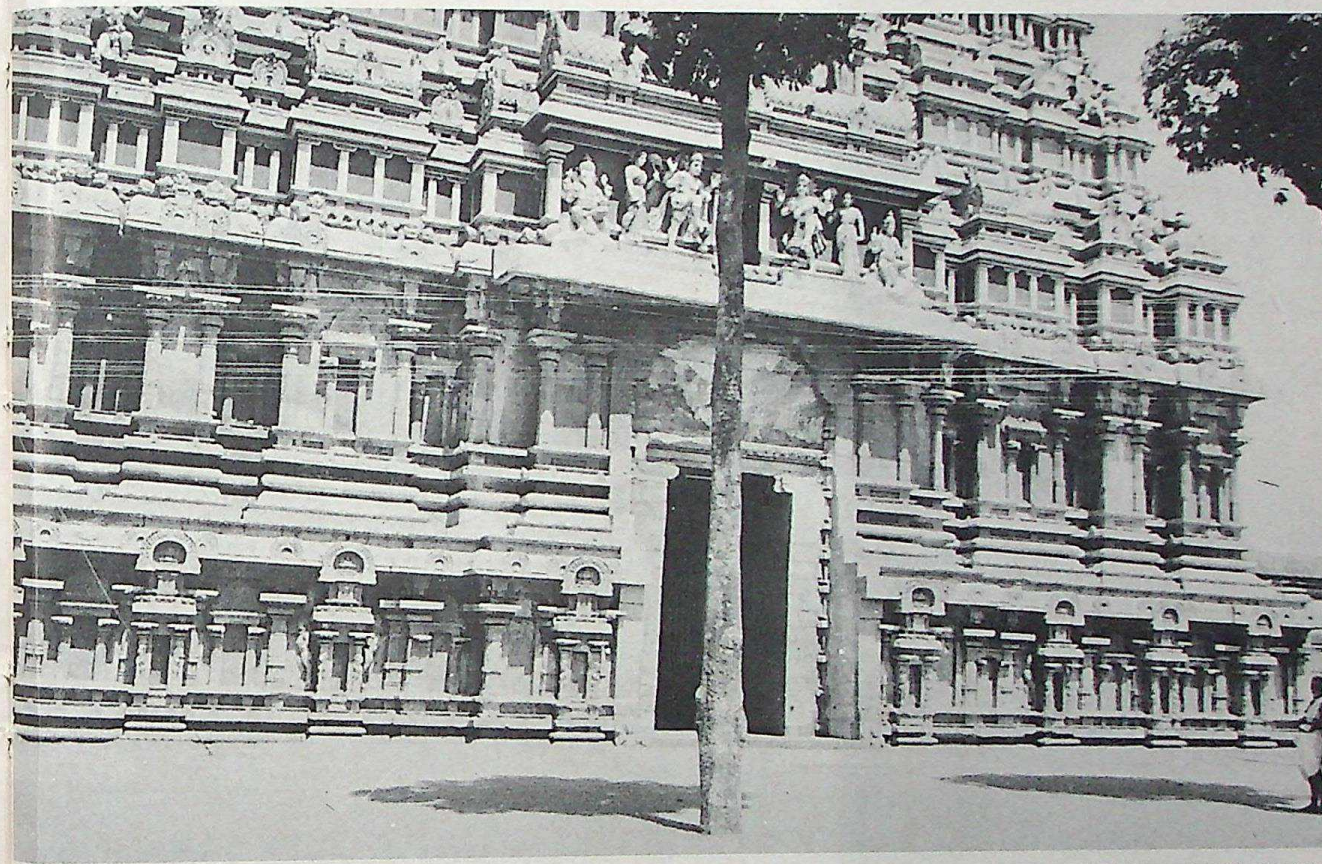
319. Surya (loose)

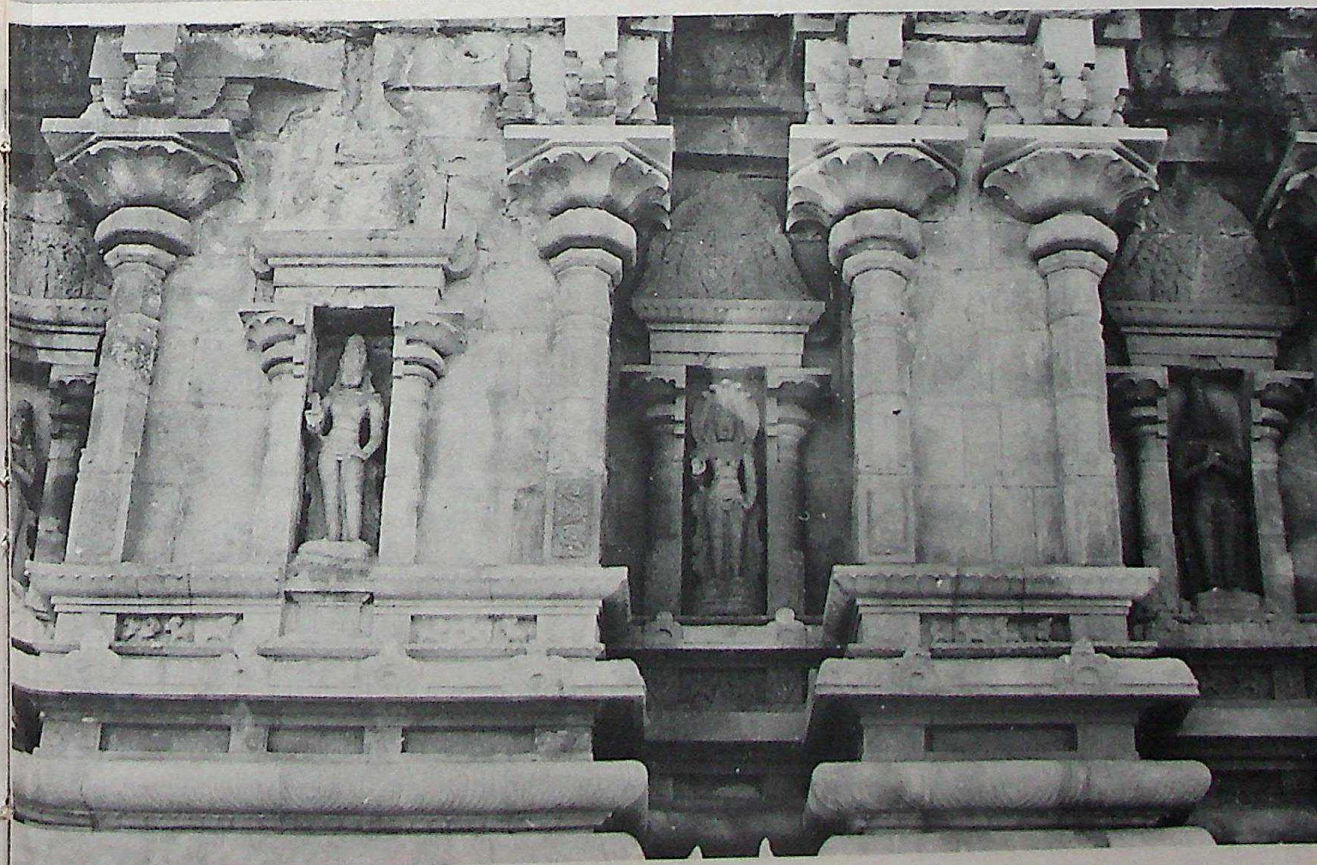
KORUKKAI
Kulottungasolisvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

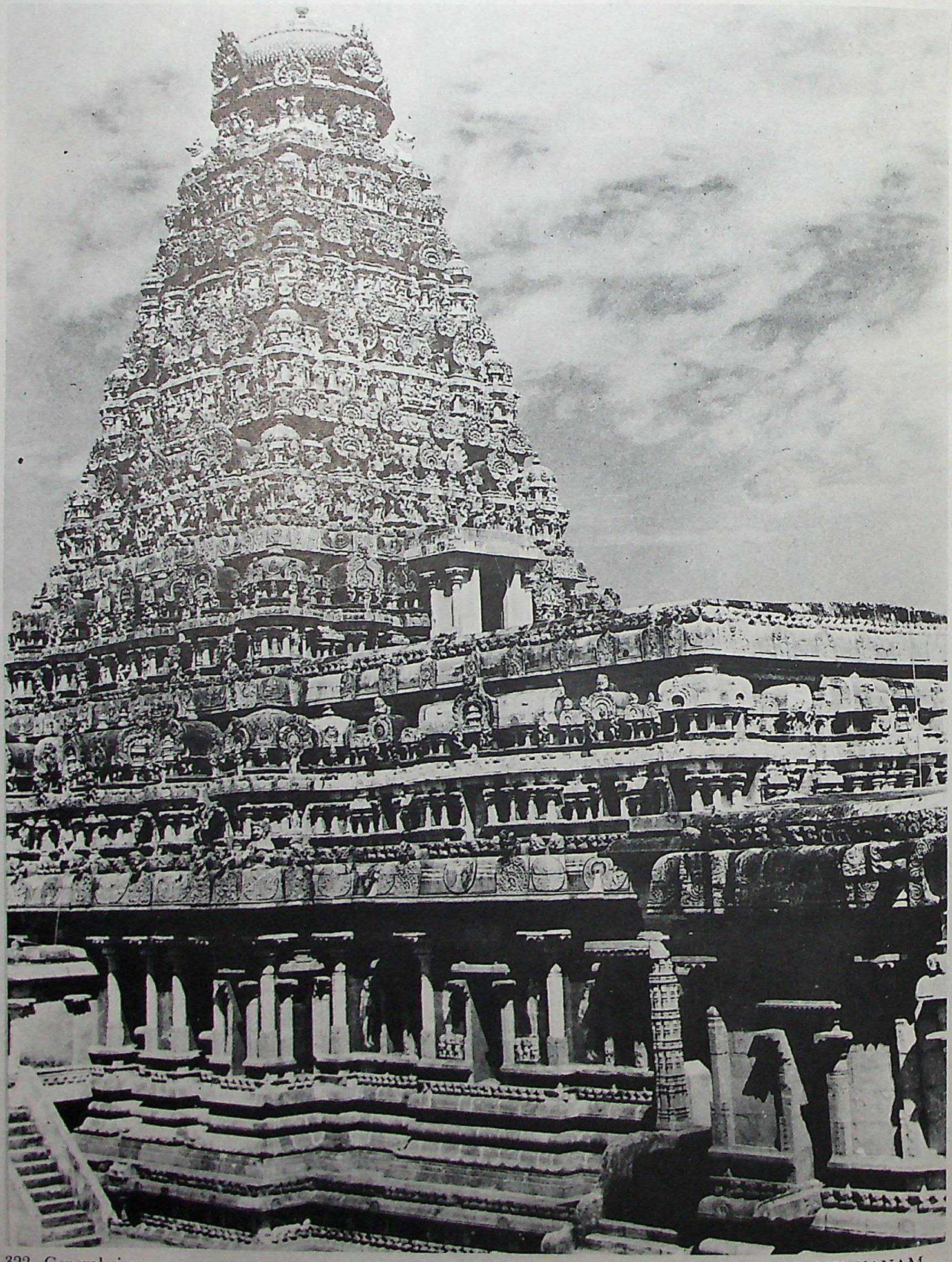
320. Outer *gopuram* (E)





321. Outer *gopuram*, inner face, S half

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



322. General view

TRIBHUVANAM
Kampaharesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TRIBHUVANAM
Kampaharesvarar temple

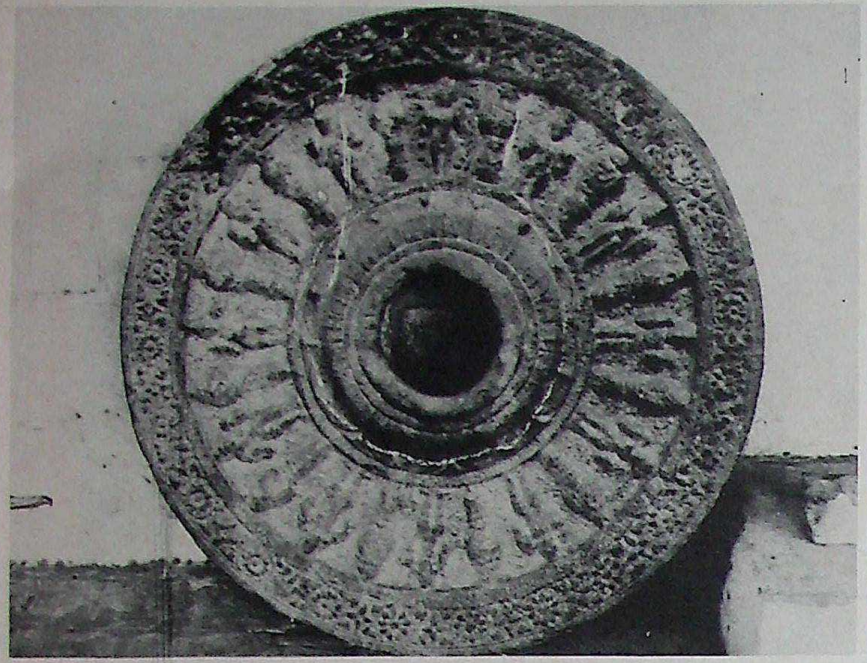
323. South *prakara*

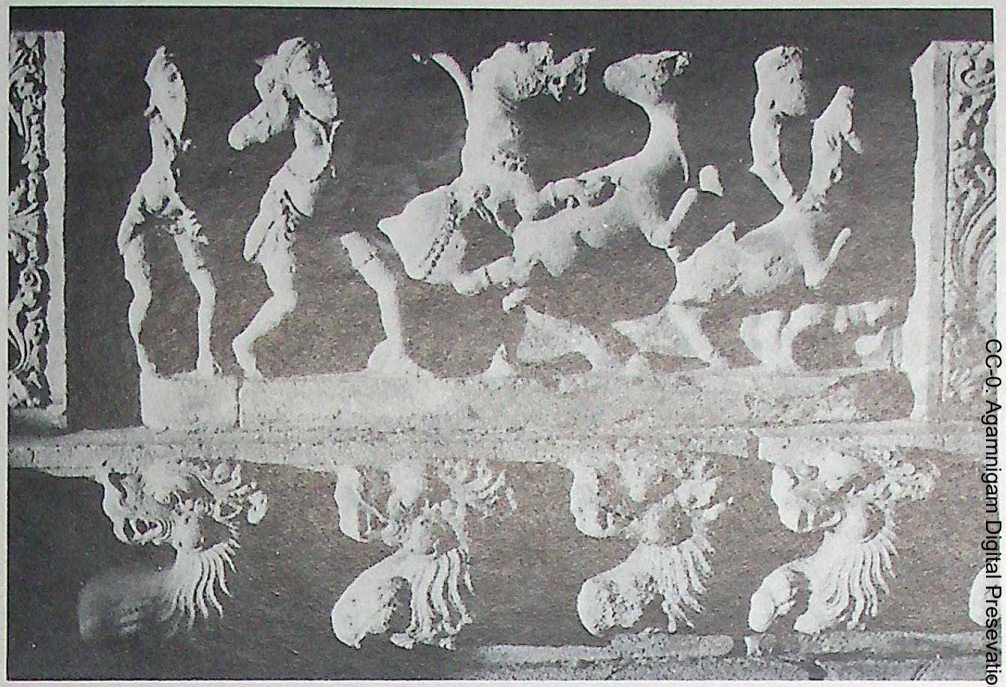
(Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle)

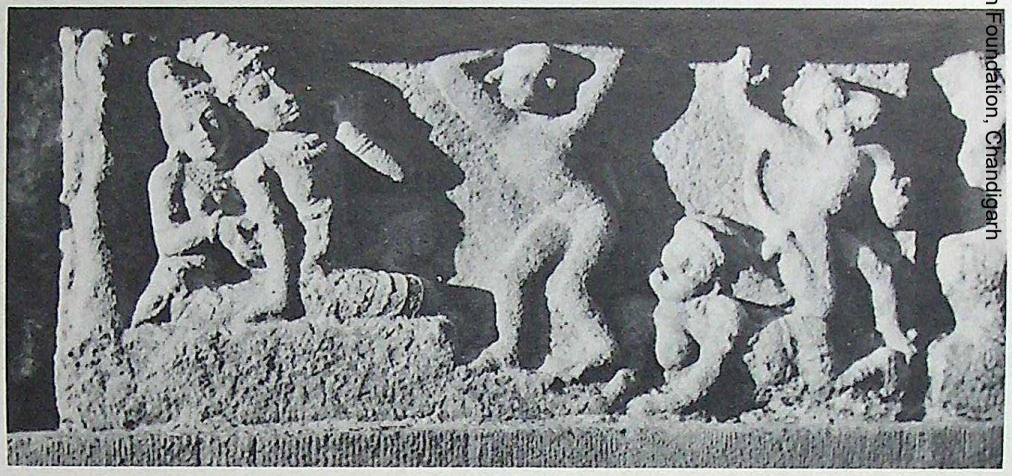
324. Kulottunga III inscription
(*adhishthanam* of *garbhagriha*)

TRIBHUVANAM
Kampaharesvarar temple

325. Wheel (loose)







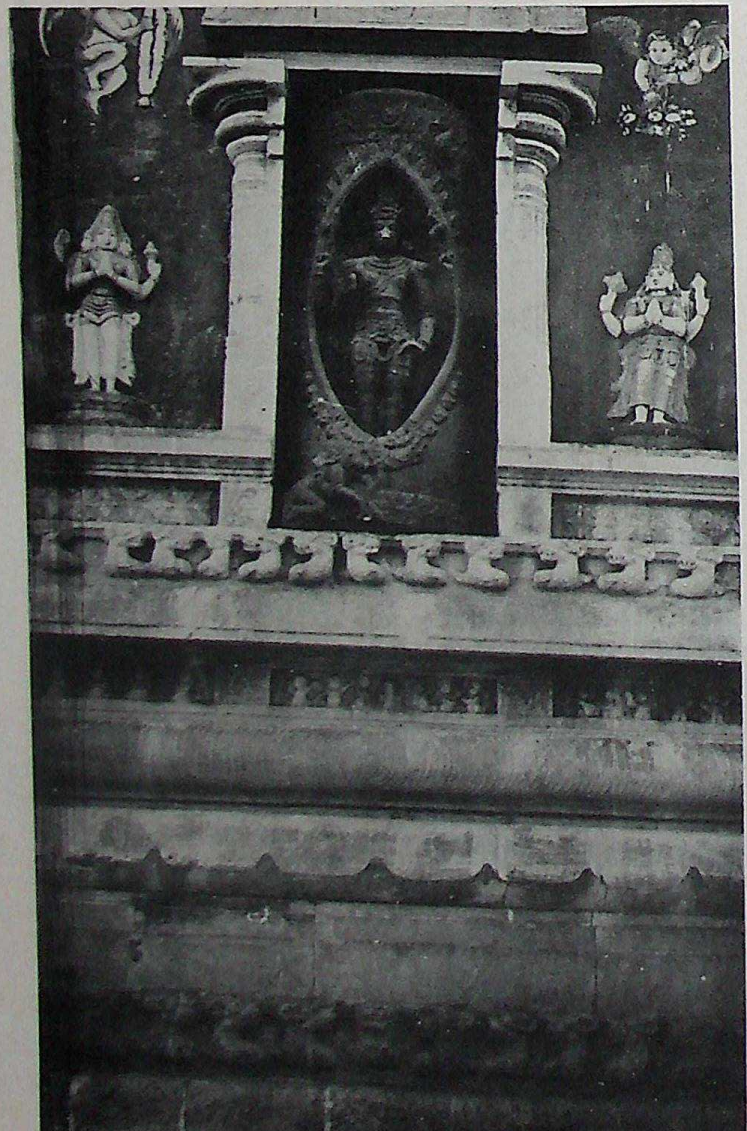
326 to 328. Decorative elements in *upapitham*

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TRIBHUVANAM, Kampaharesvarar temple

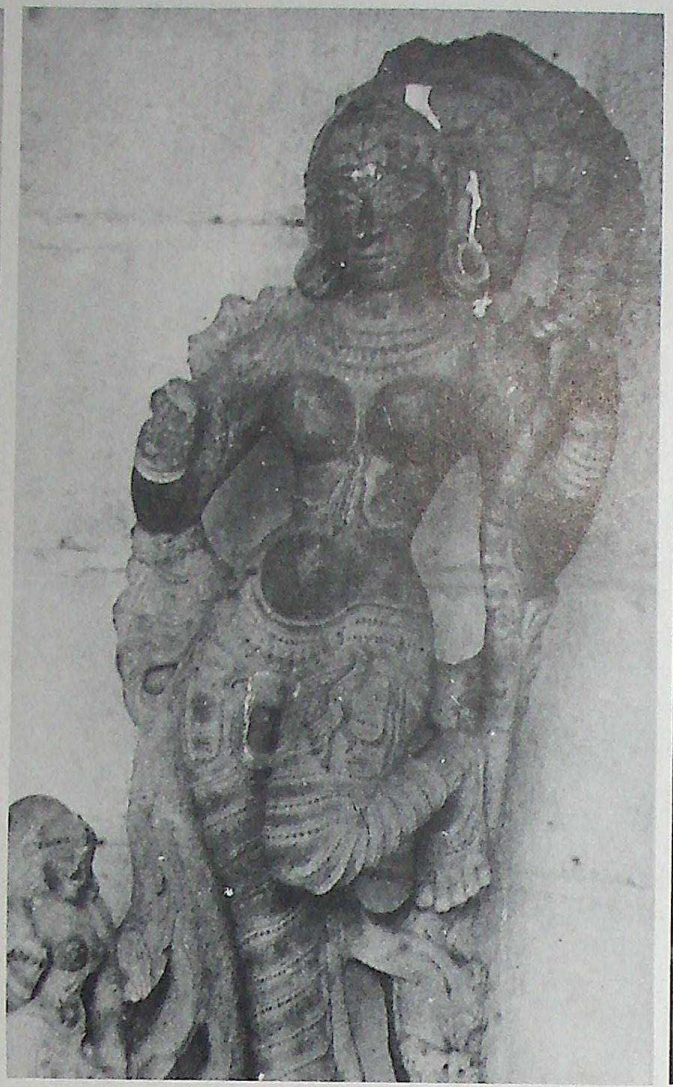
329. Lingodbhavar



330. Durga

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

331. Nataraja
(loose, broken)



332. Salabhanjika (loose)

333. *Dvarapala*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TRIBHUVANAM
Kampaharesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

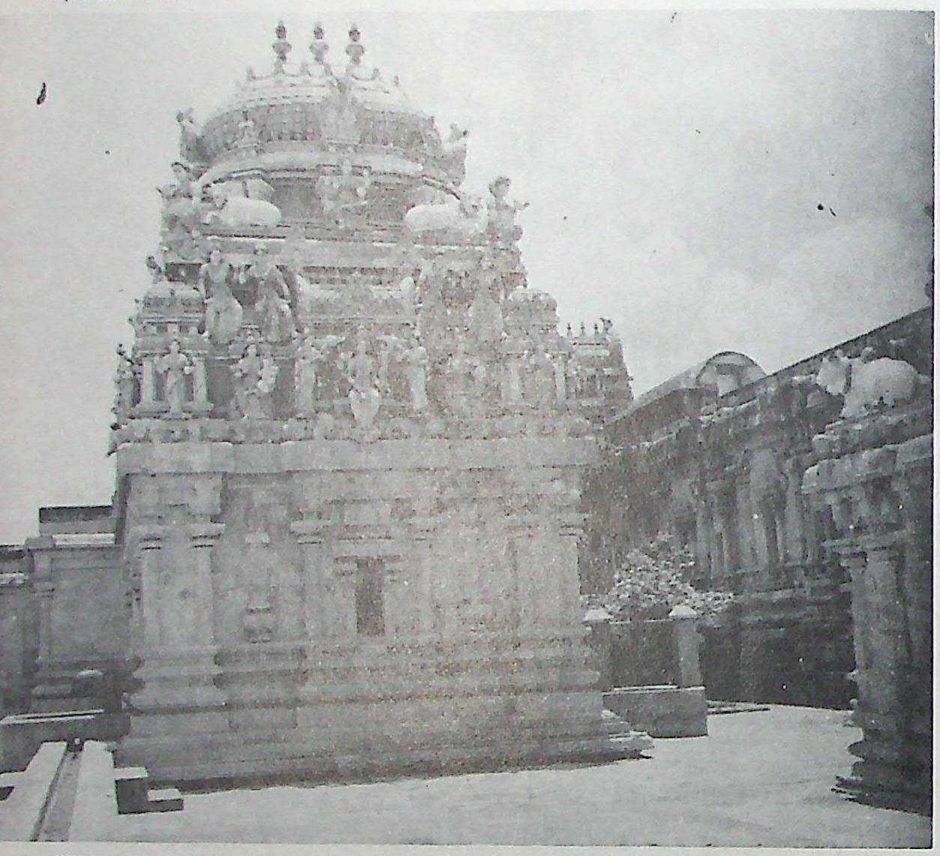
334. Sarabhamurti (bronze)

TRIBHUVANAM, Kampaharesvarar temple

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

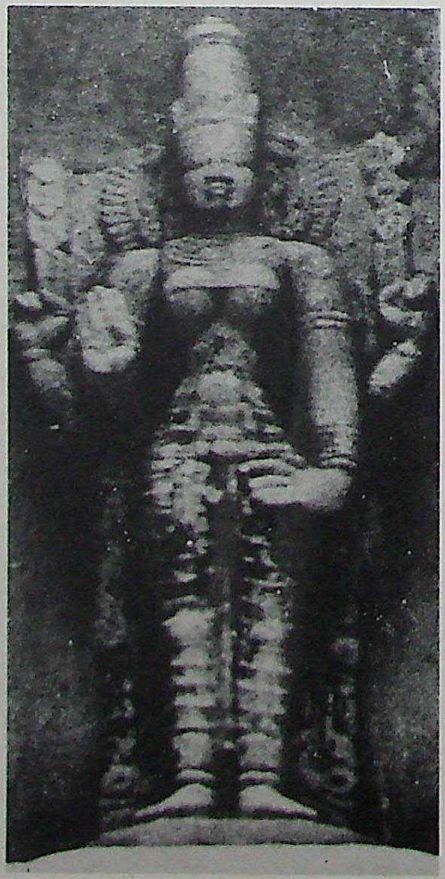
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

335. Rear view

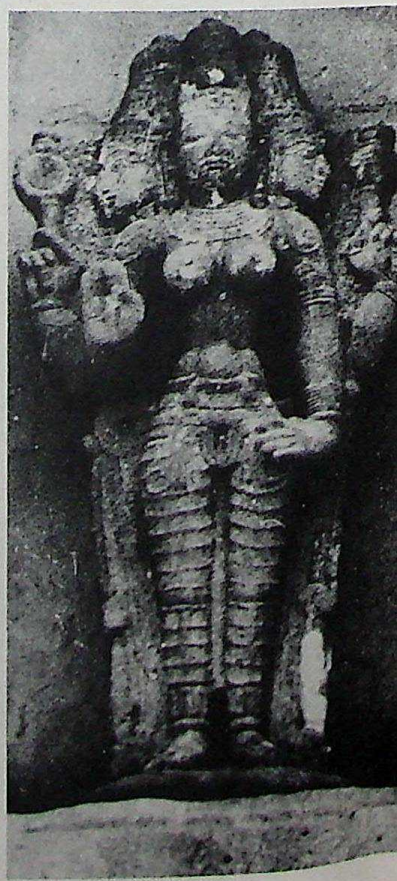


336. Mahesvari

337. Vaishnavi



338. Kaumari



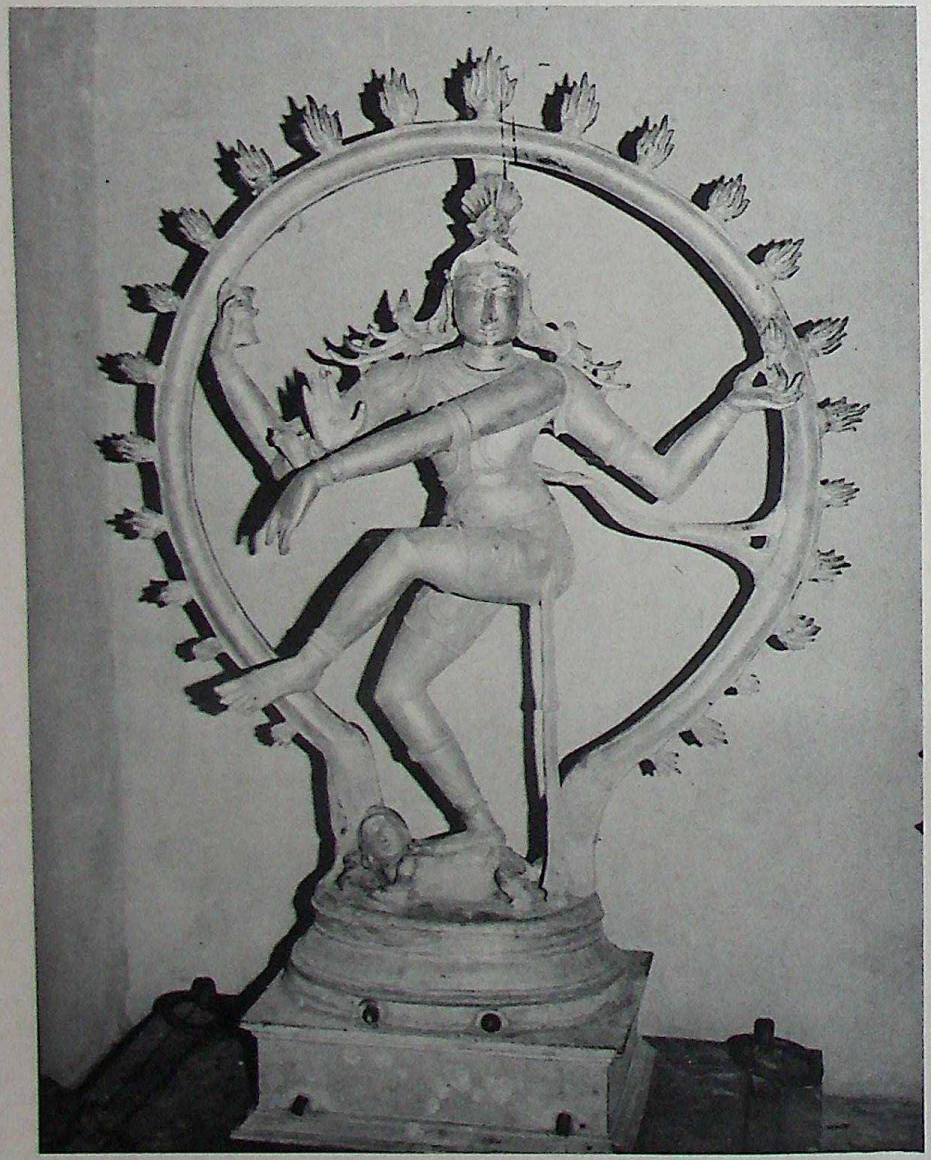
339. Brahmi

(Pls. 335-339. Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

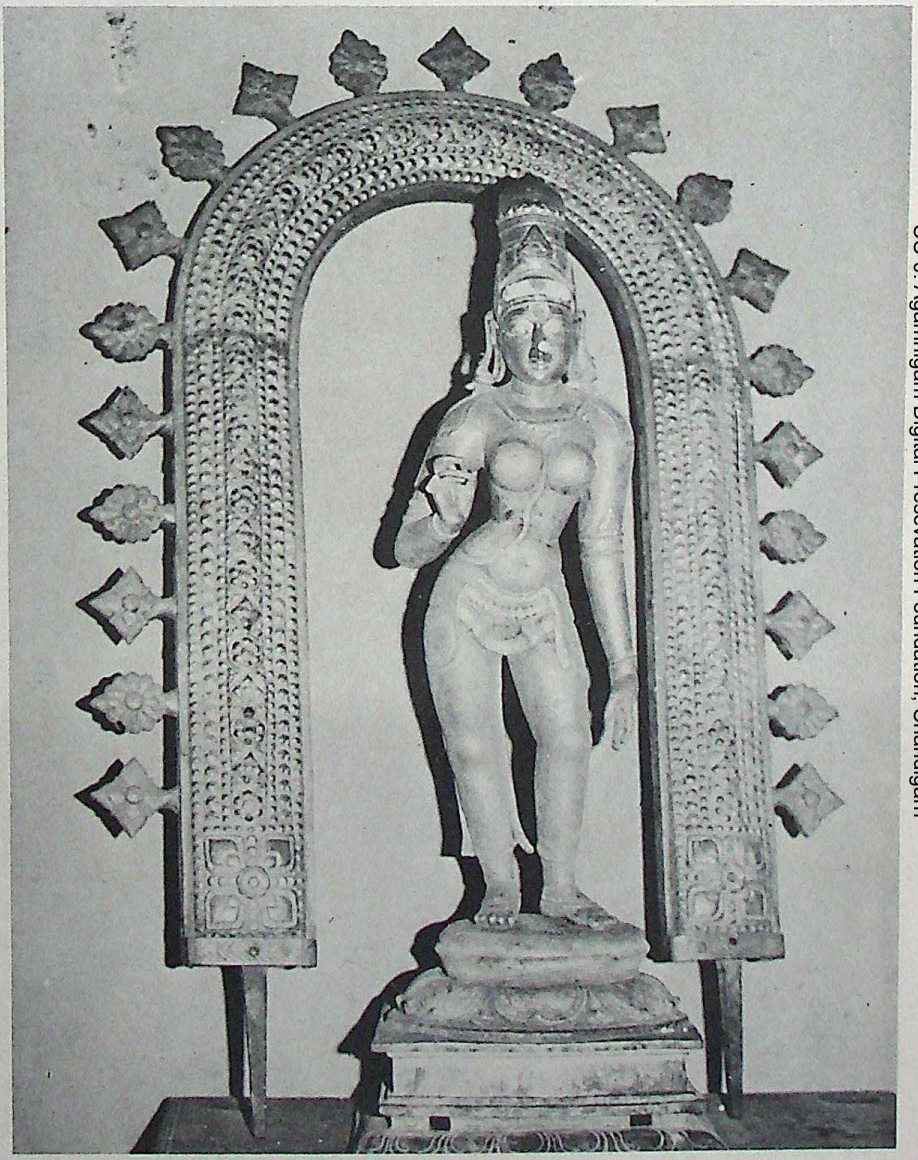
TIRUMANANJERI

Udvahanathasvamin temple

340. Nataraja (bronze)



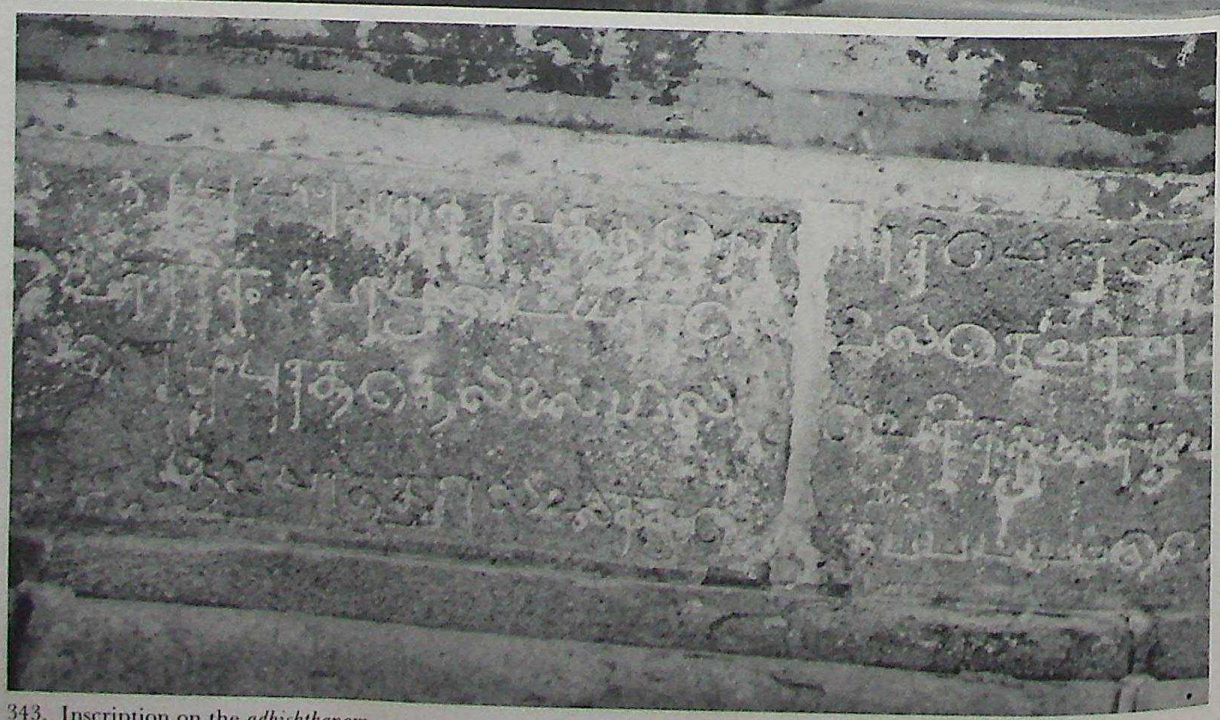
341. Amman (bronze)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

342. General view (SW)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



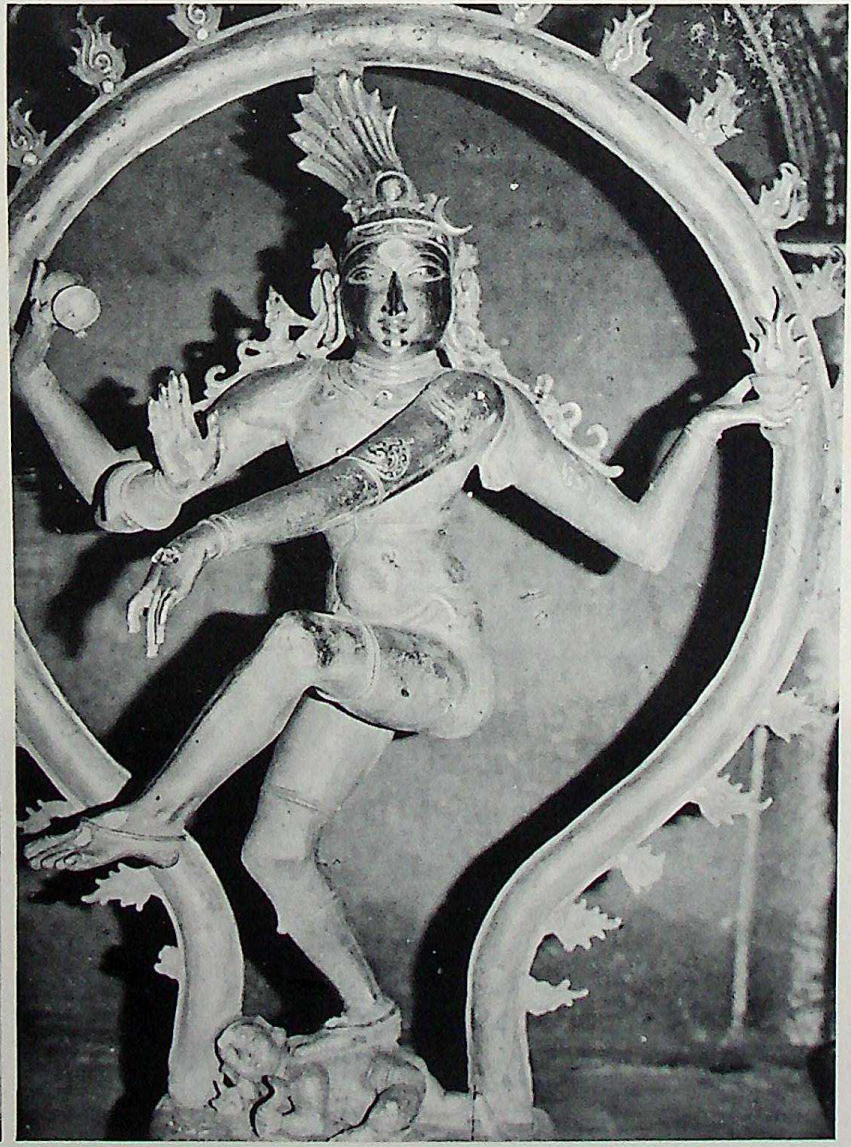
343. Inscription on the *adhishthanam* of the *garbhagriha* (W wall)

KUTTALAM

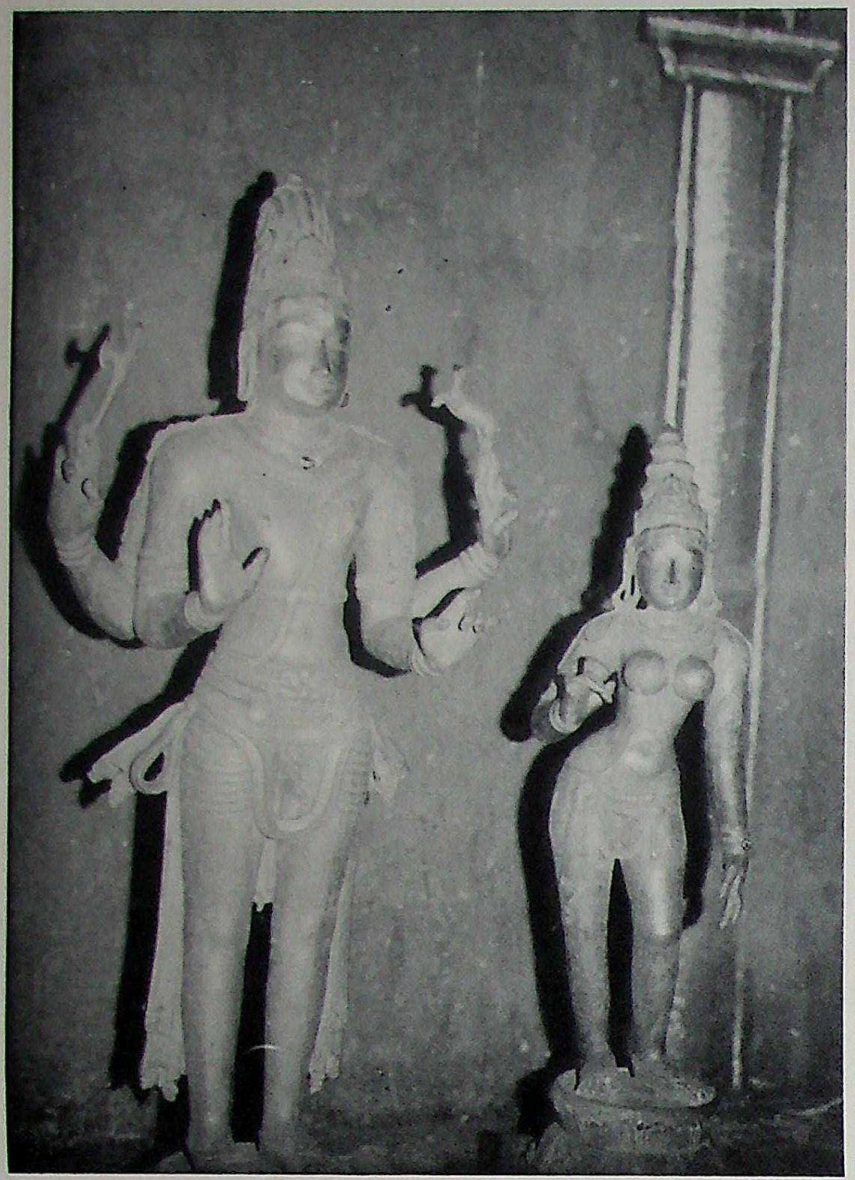
344. Durga

Omkarisvarar temple

345. Nataraja (bronze)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



346. Chandrasekharar

347. Parvati

KUTTALAM
Omkarisvarar temple

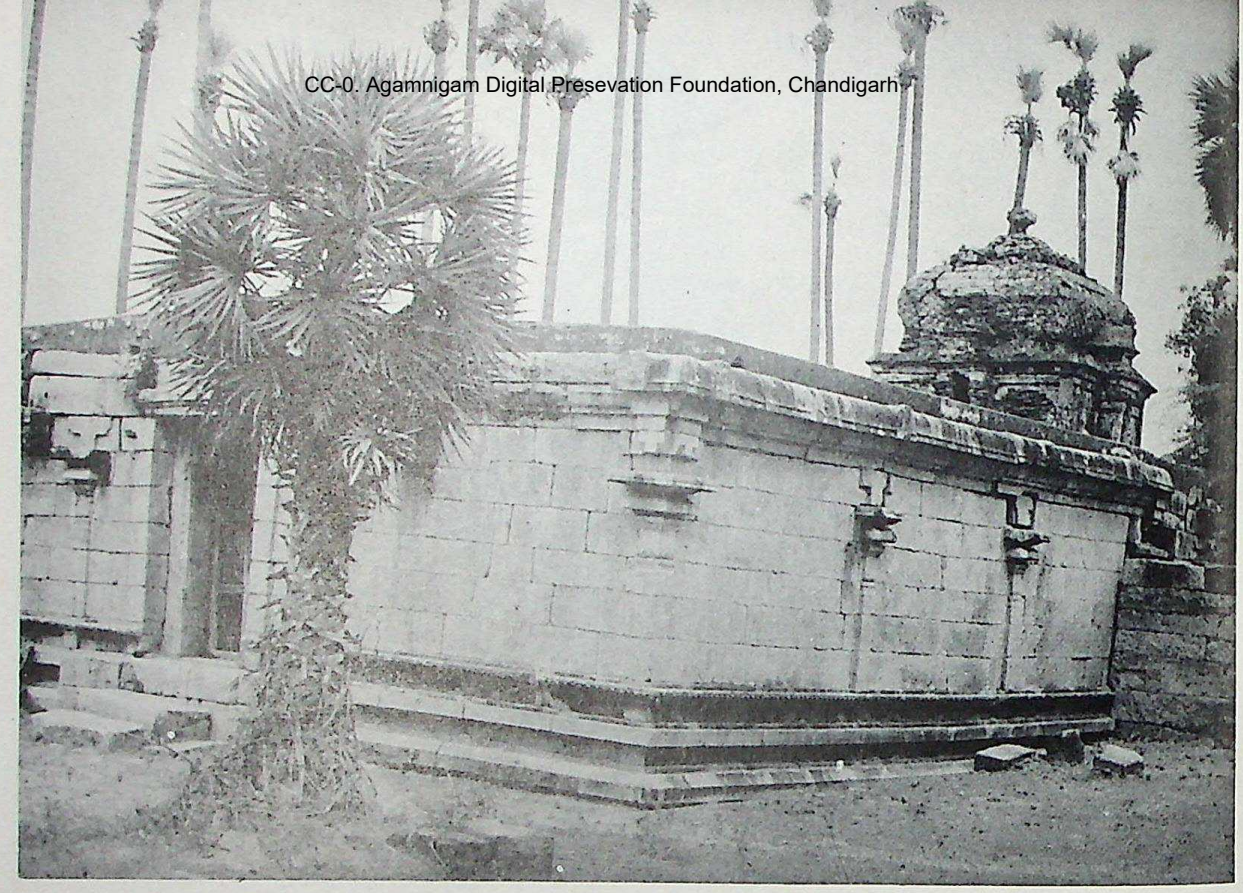
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

KUTTALAM, Omkarisvarar temple

348. Vishnu

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

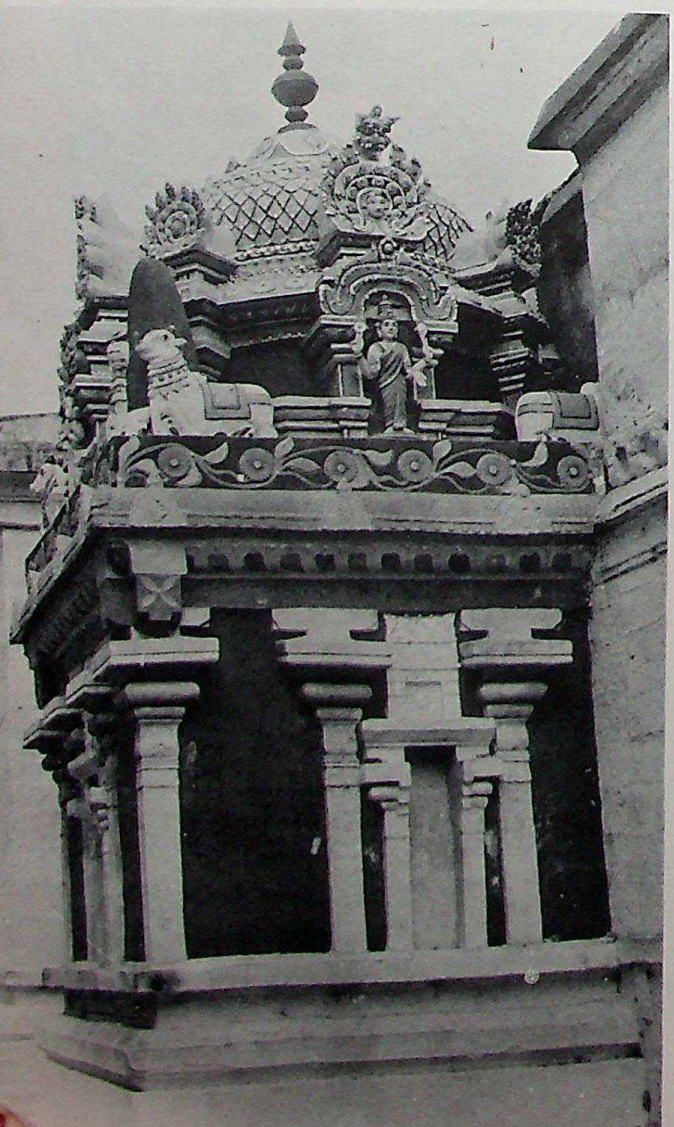


349. General view (NE)

SERANUR
Vamsoddharakanathar
temple

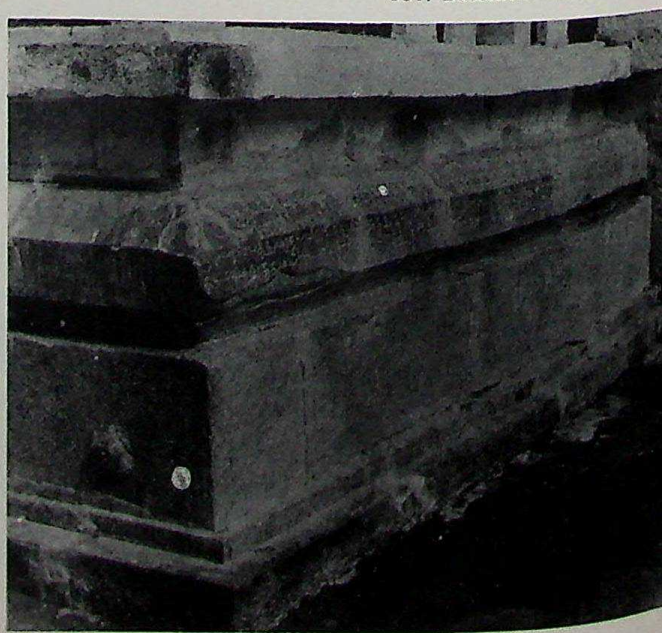
ALLUR
Panchanadisvarar
temple, Amman shrine

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology



350. Superstructure (renovated)

351. Basement mouldings

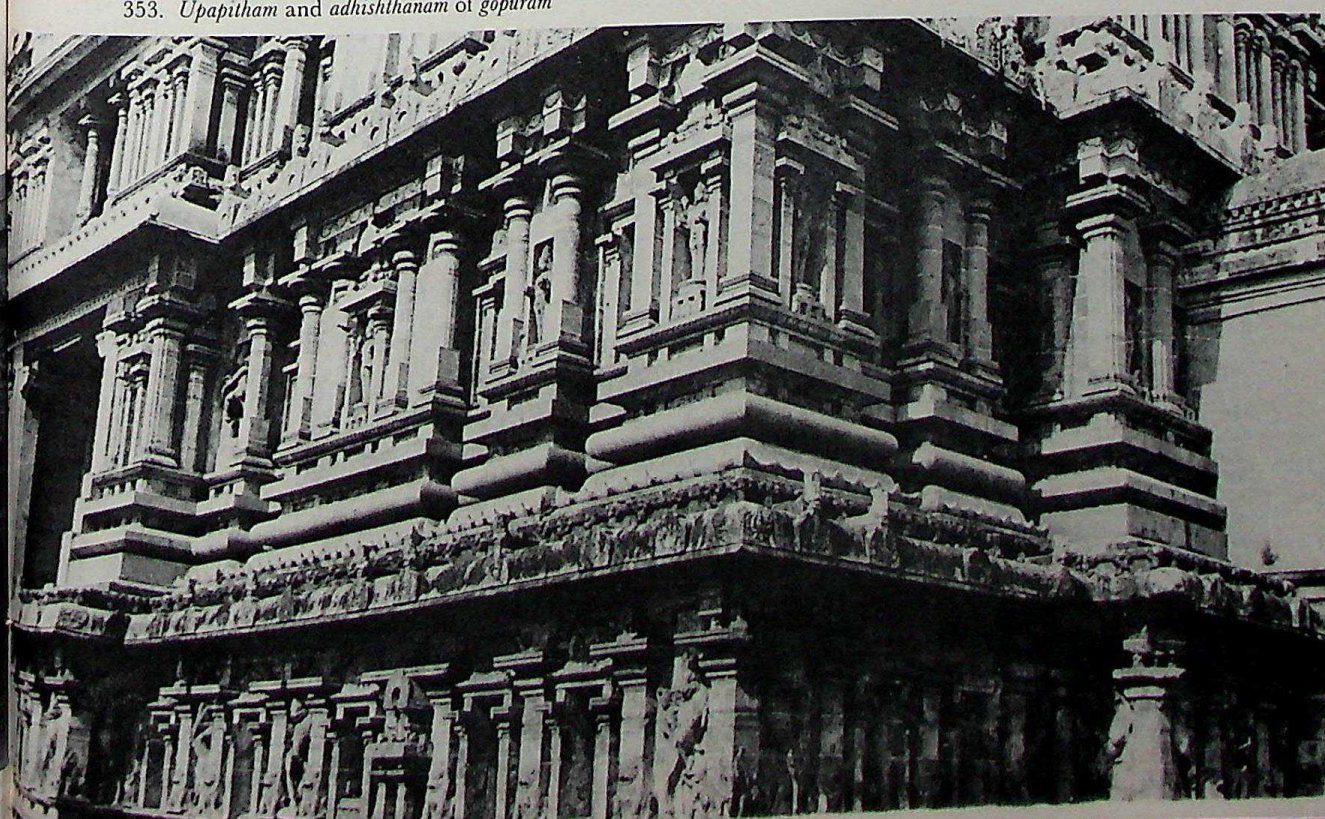


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

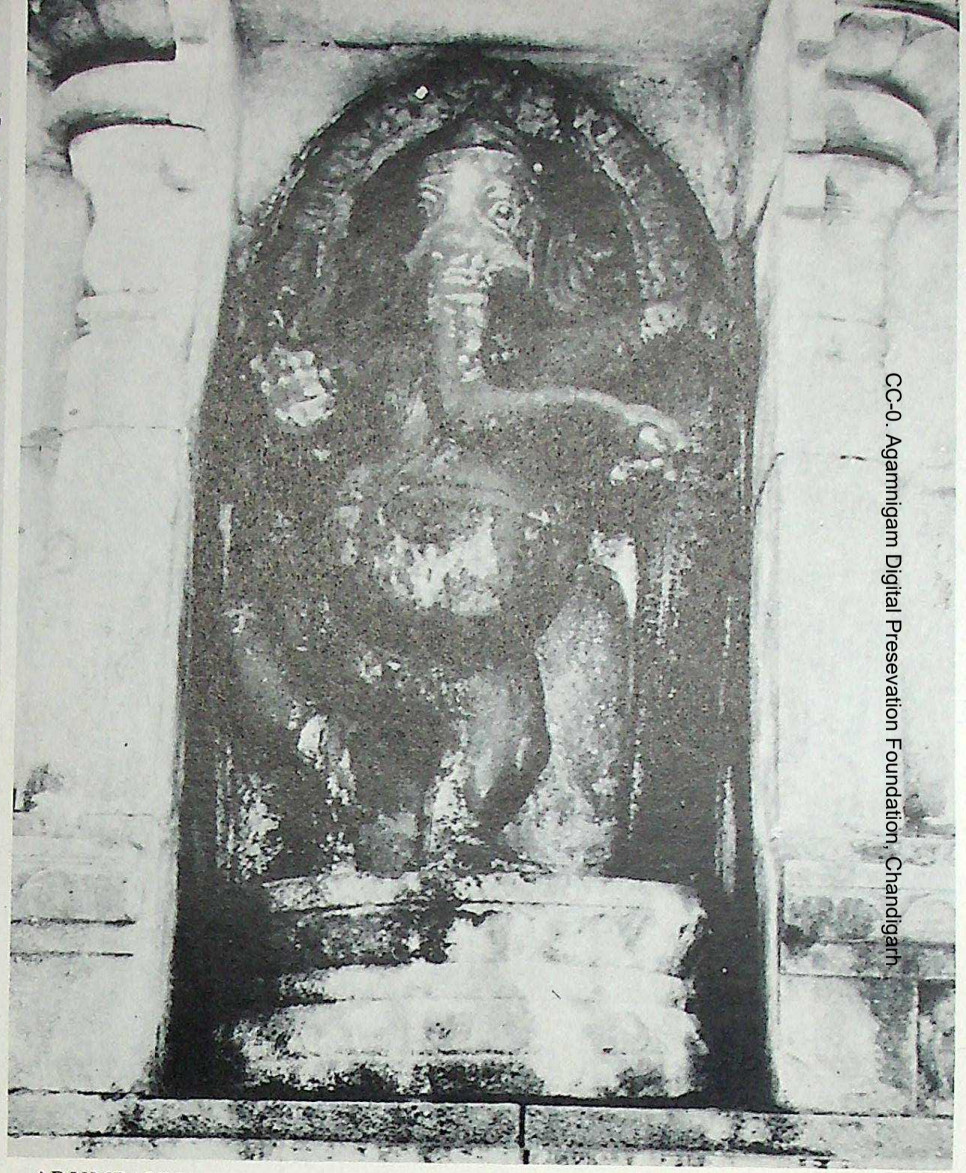
352. Main *gopuram* (E)

TIRUVARUR
Tyagarajasvamin temple

353. *Upapitham* and *adhishthanam* of *gopuram*



354. *Srivimana* (NW view)



ARUMBAVUR
Kailasanathar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

355. Ganapati

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

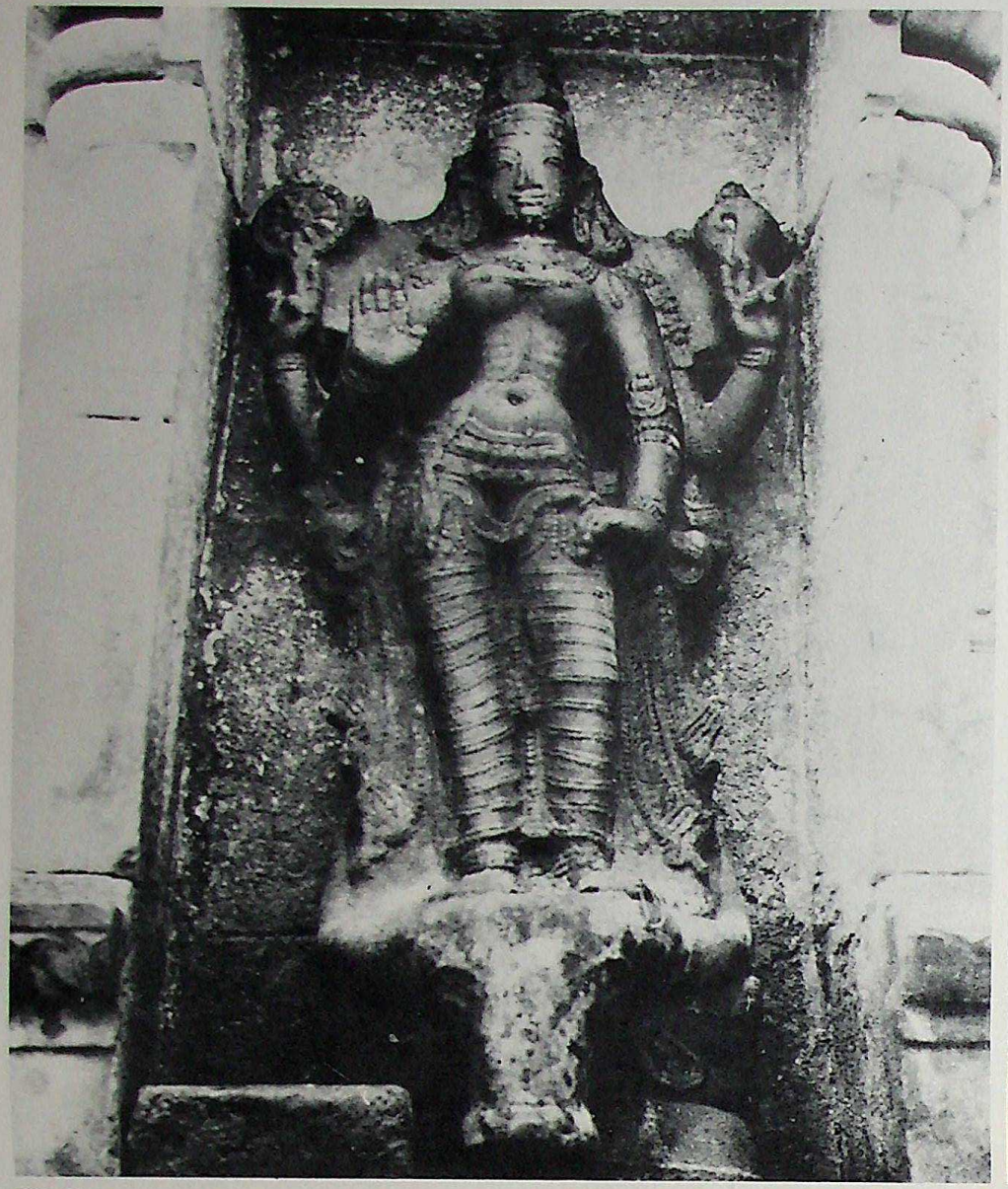
356. *Dakshinamurti*

357. Lingodbhavar

358. Brahma

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamigam Digital Preseyation Foundation, Chandigarh



359. Durga

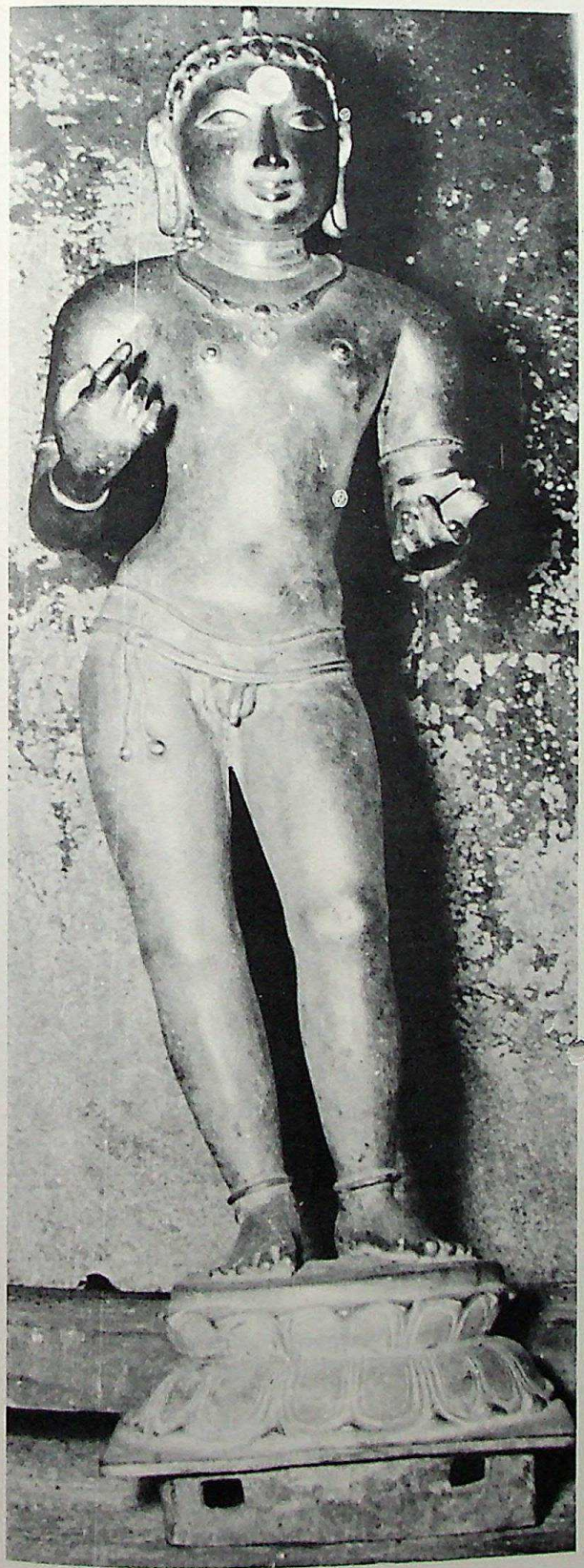
360. Chandesvarar

ARUMBAVUR
Kailasanathar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

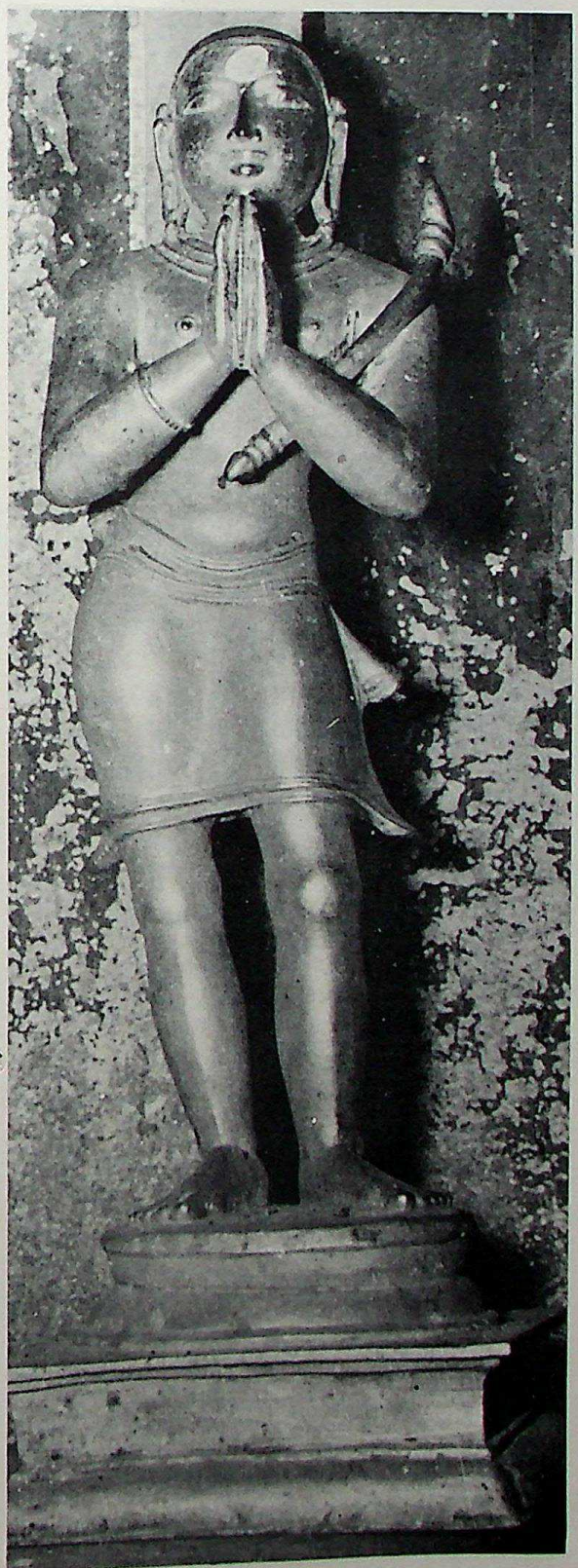
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KOVILUR
Mantrapurisvarar temple



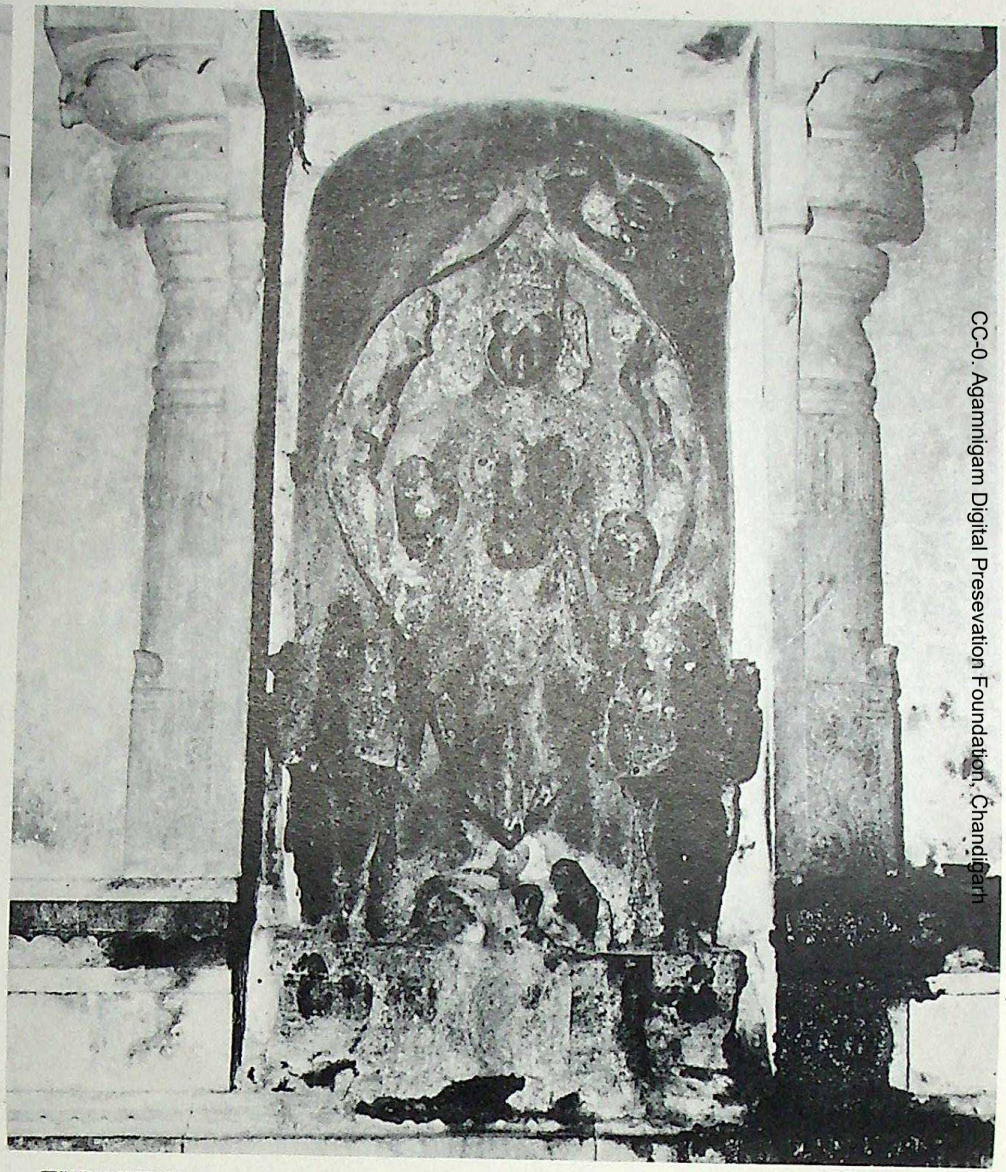
361. Sambandar (bronze)



362. Appar (bronze)

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

363. Brahma

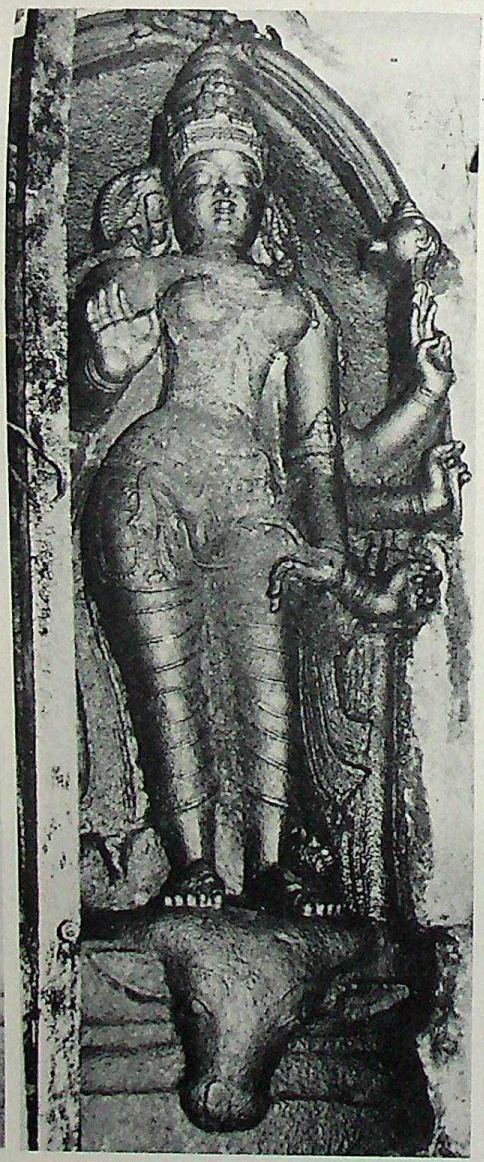


364. Lingodbhavar

TURAIYUR
Nandikesvarar temple,
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

365. Dakshinamurti

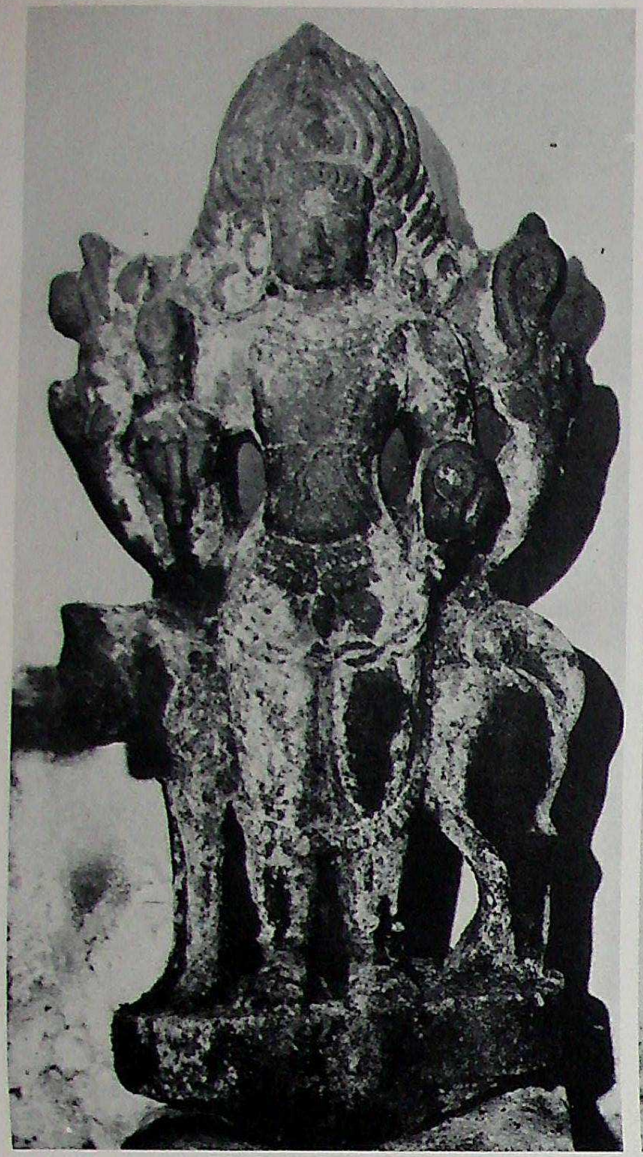


366. Durga

367. Sasta

TURAIYUR, Nandikesvarar temple,
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



368. Bhairavar

TURAIYUR
Nandikesvarar temple

369. Durga

TURAIYUR, . Nandikesvarar temple, Amman shrine
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

370. Brahmi

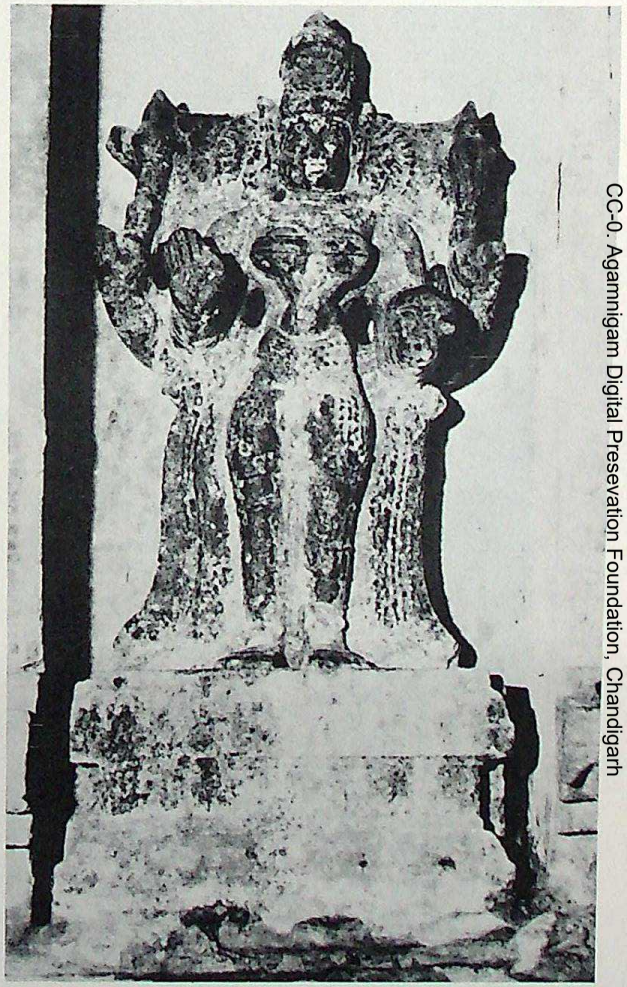
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TURAIYUR
Nandikesvarar temple
Amman shrine

371. Vaishnavi

372. Mahesvari

373. Ichchha sakti



(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRTHANAGARI
Jivankuresvarar temple

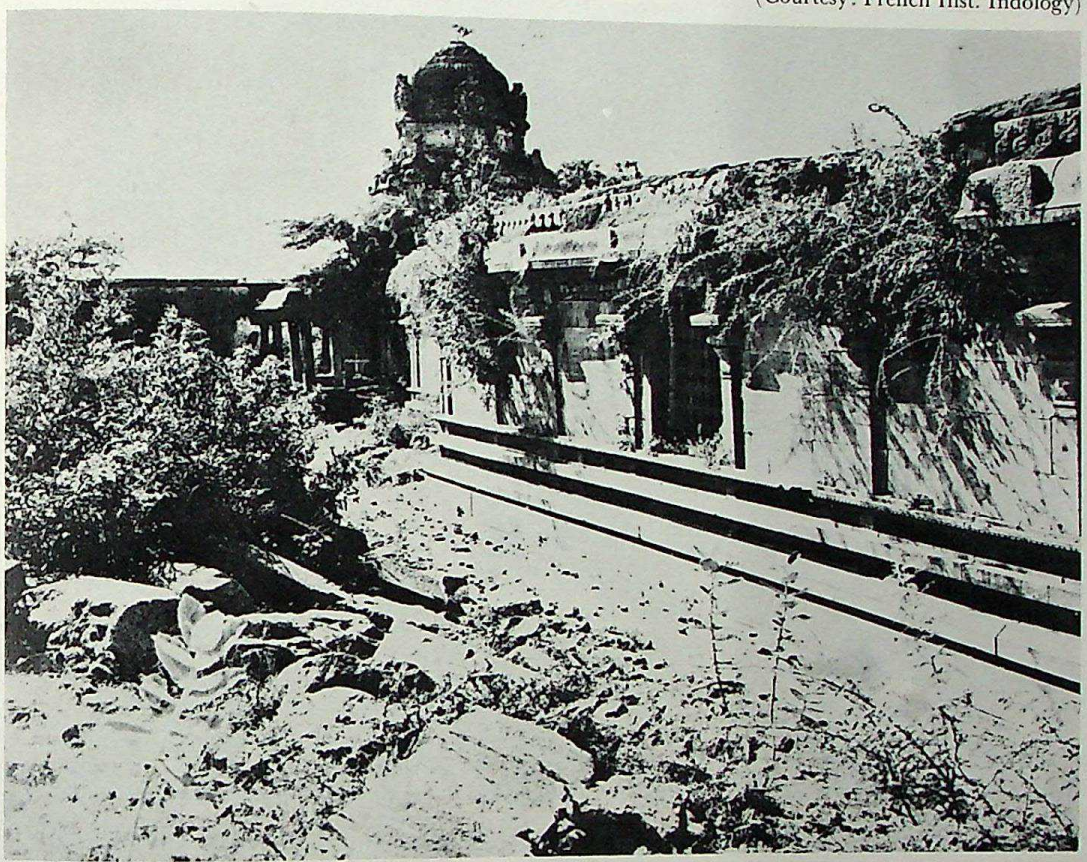
374 & 375. Pradosha Nayakar and Consort
(front and rear views)
(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

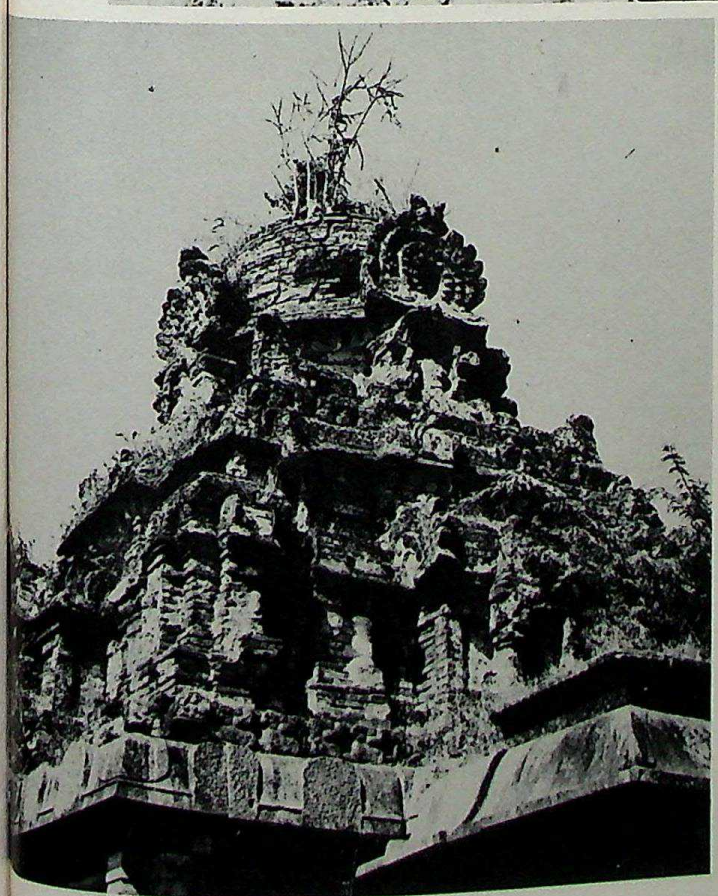
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

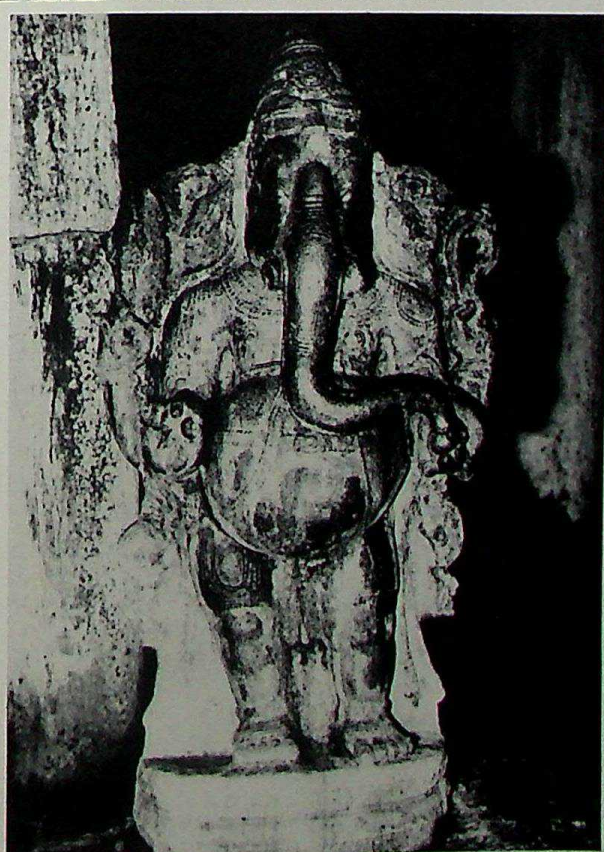
376. General view (S) of temple ruins

SENDAMANGALAM
Apatsahayesvarar temple
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)





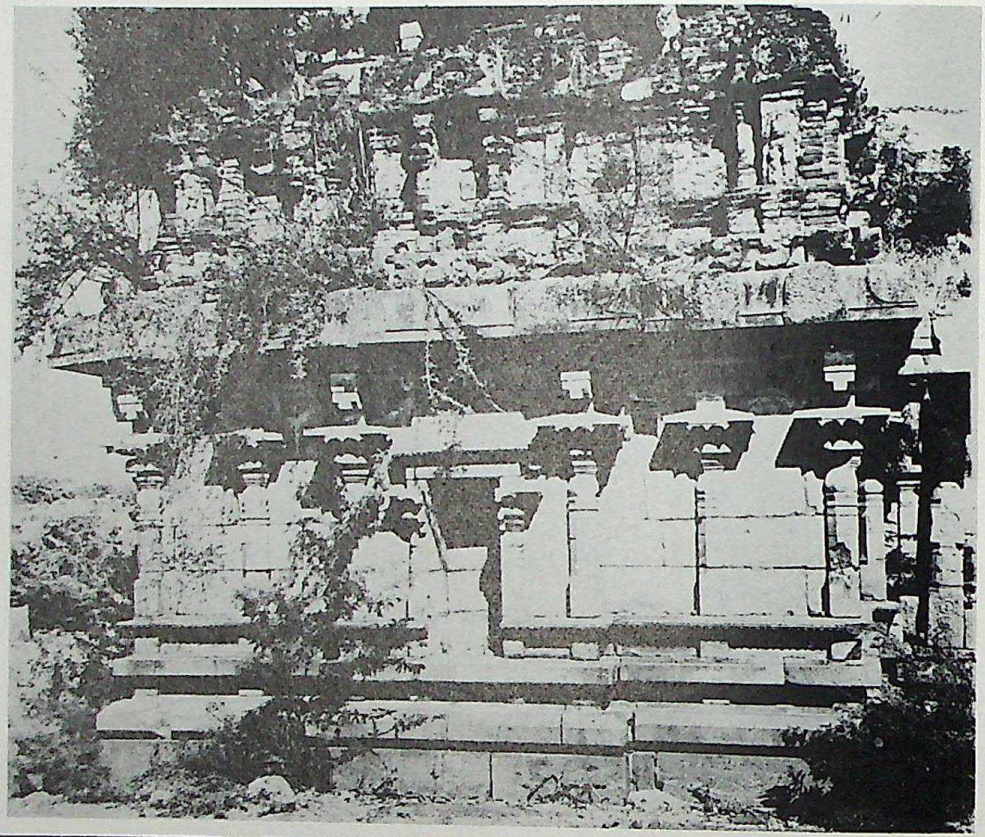
377. *Srivimana* (W face)



378. Ganapati (loose)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

379 *Garbhagriha* (W face)



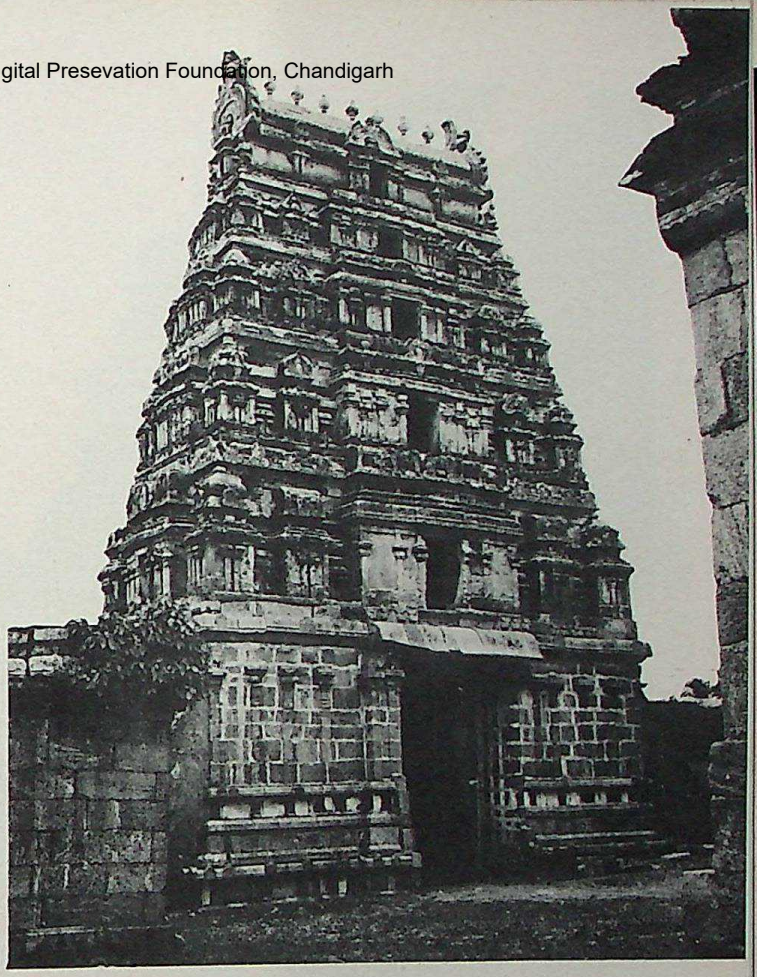
(Pls. 379-381. Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

380. Lingodbhavar (loose)

381. Gajalakshmi (loose)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

382. Main *gopuram* (E)

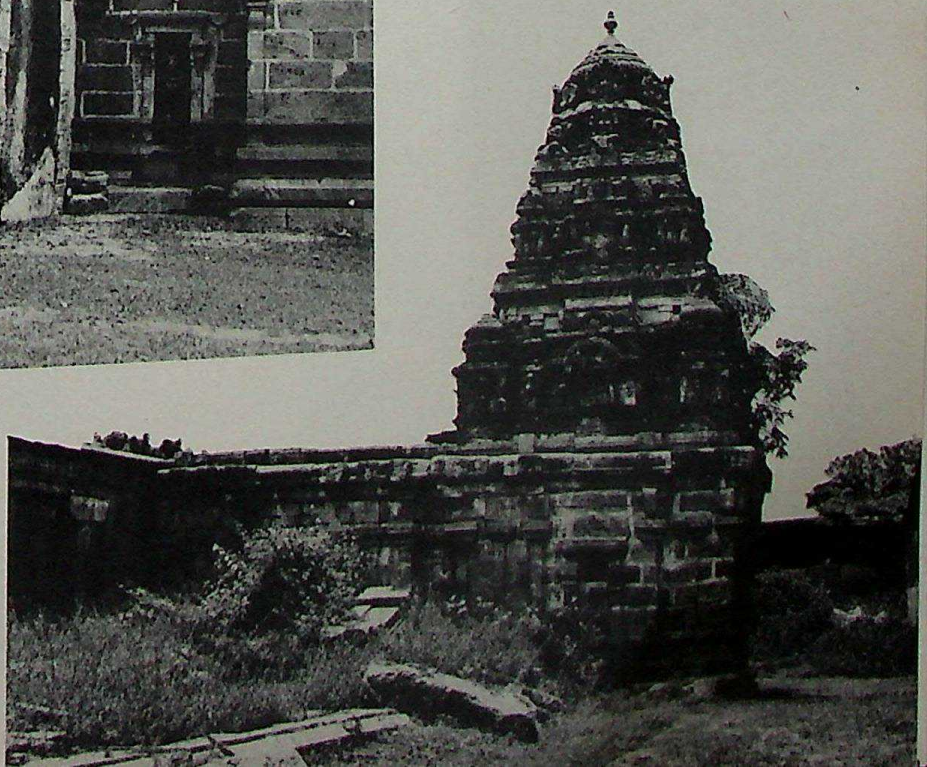


TIRUVENNAINALLUR
Vaikuntha Perumal temple

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

383. General view (S)

384. Tayar shrine



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUVENNAINALLUR
Vaikuntha Perumal temple

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

385. Andal shrine

386. Tayar (Consort)

387. Andal

KANNANUR KOPPAM
Posalesvarar temple

388. General view (SW)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

389. *Dvarapala*

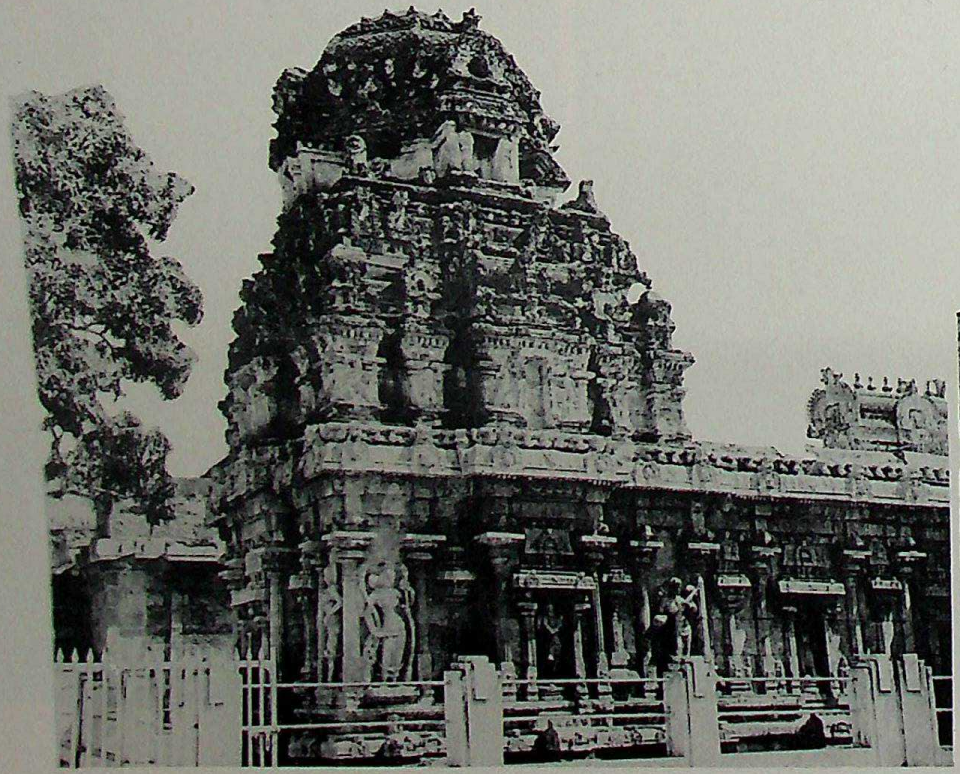
KANNANUR KOPPAM
Posalesvarar temple

390. *Dvarapala*

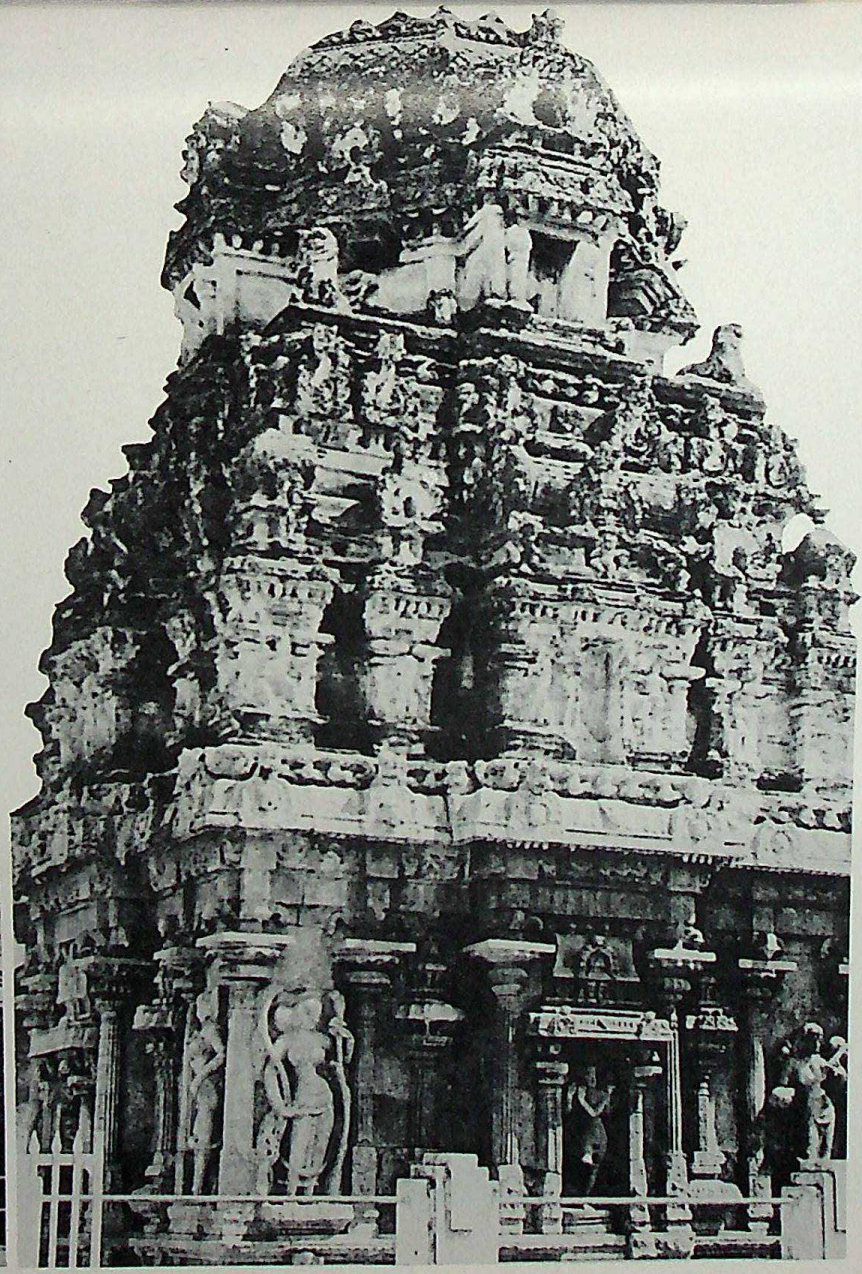
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

SRIRANGAM
Venugopalasvamin
temple

391. General view

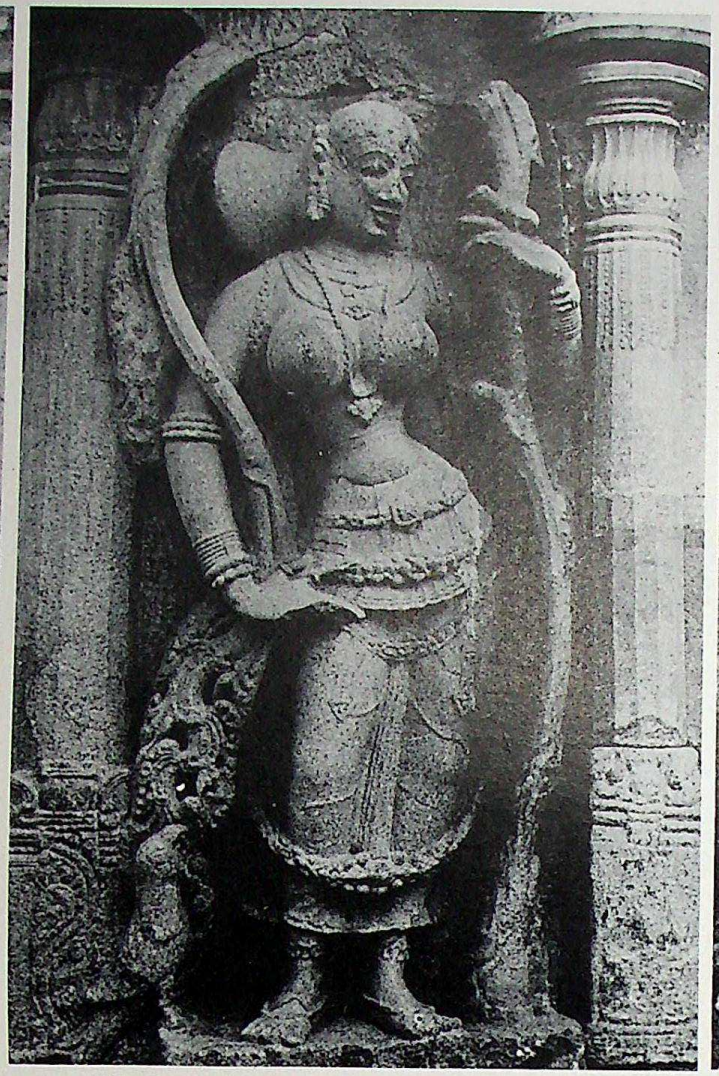


392. *Srivimana*



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

393. Venugopala



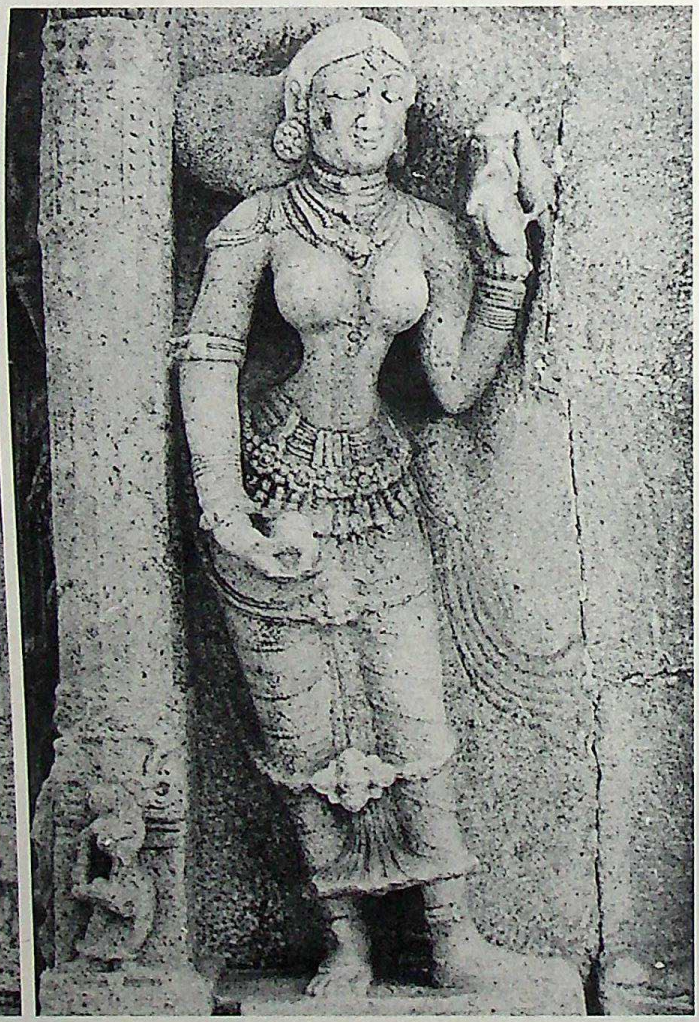
394. Decorative *kanya* figure

395. *Vadya kanya*

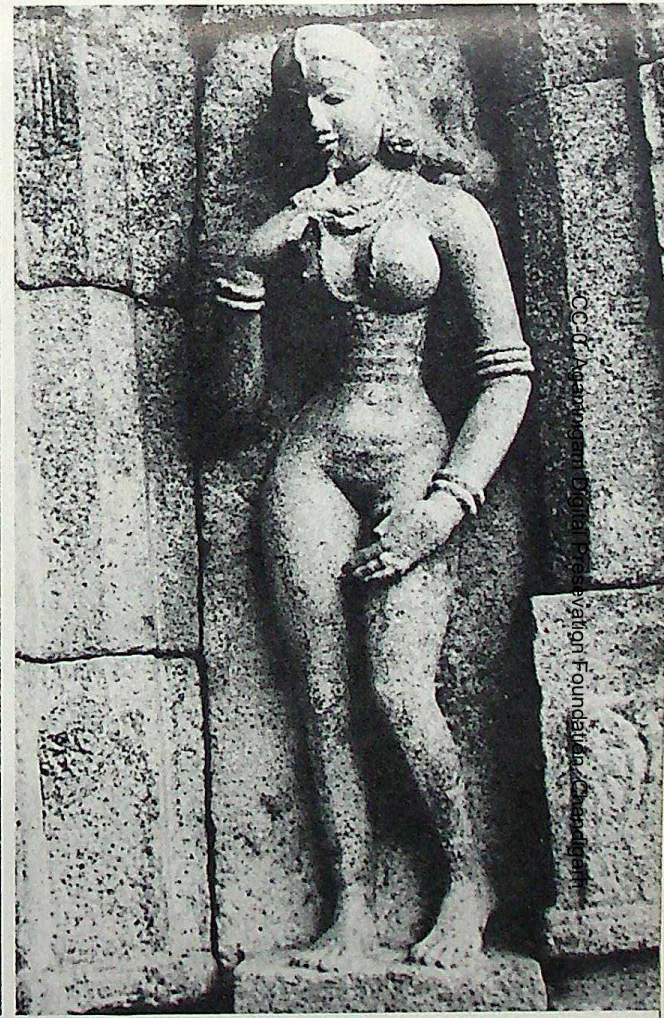
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

SRIRANGAM
Venugopalasvamin temple

396. *Vadya kanya*



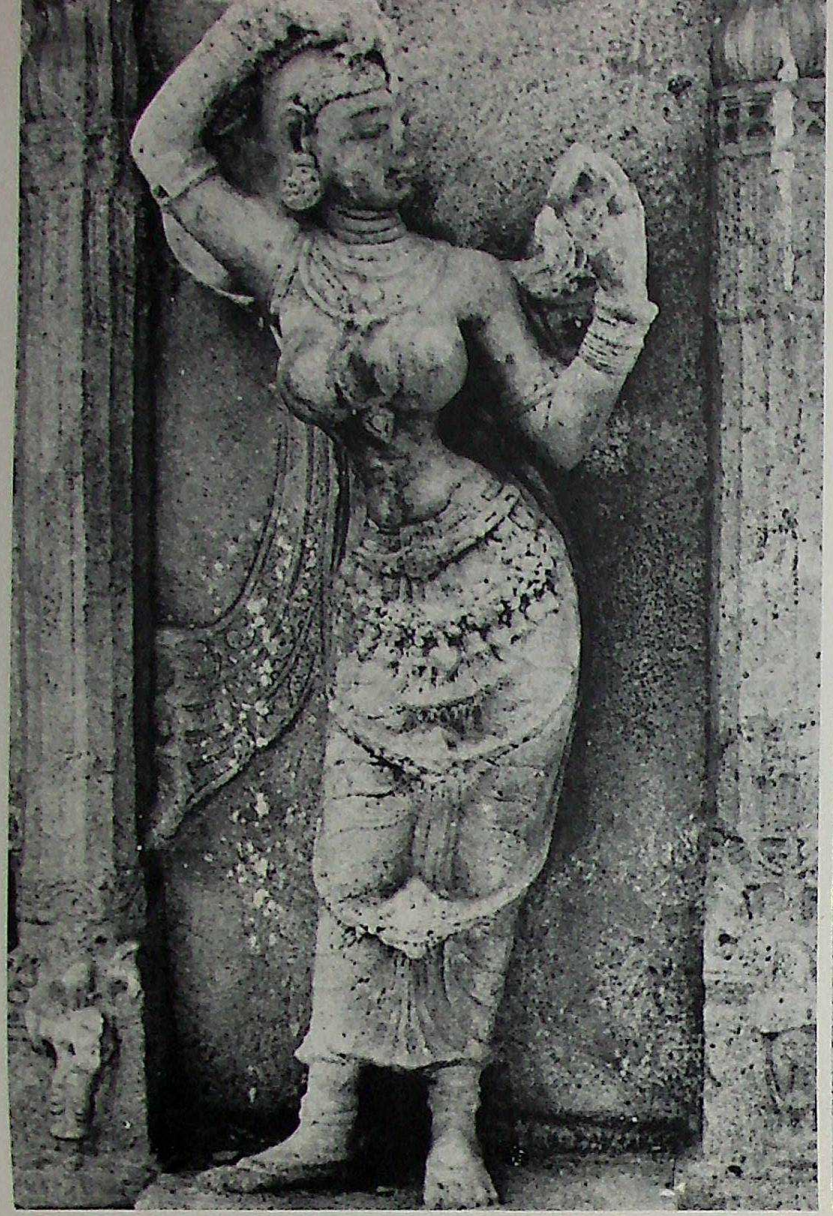
397. Damsel with parrot



398. Nude damsel

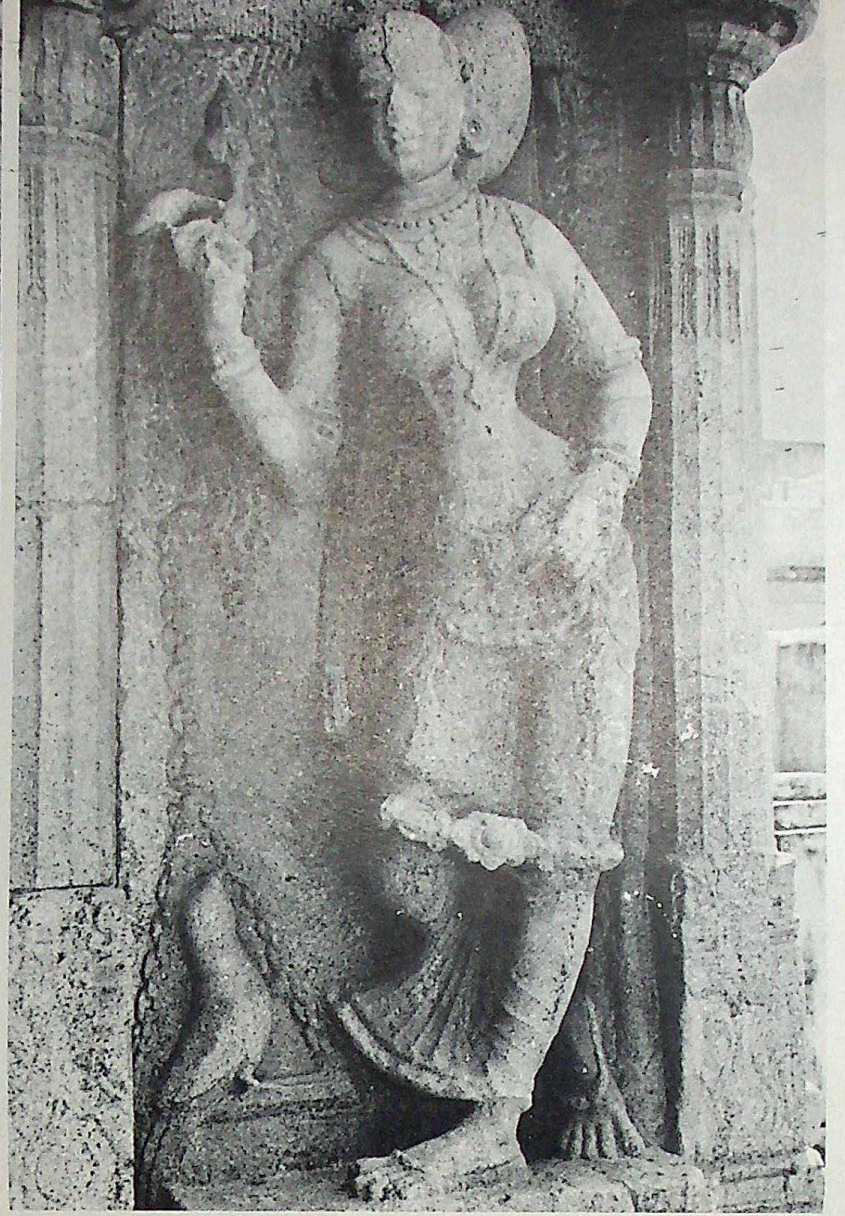
SRIRANGAM
Venugopalasvamin temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh



399. Damsel with mirror

SRIRANGAM
Venugopalasvamin temple



400. Damsel with parrot in swing

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

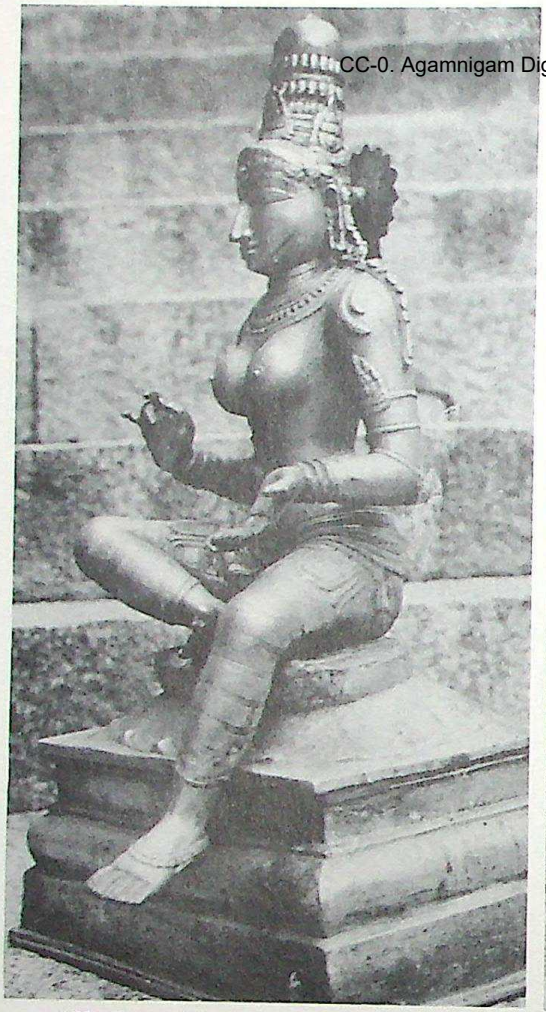
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

401. Hanuman (bronze) Victoria and Albert Museum

(Courtesy: Sri R. Nagaswamy)

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



402. Parvati (bronze)
NALLUR

403. GRAMAM, Sivalokanathar temple, Amman shrine

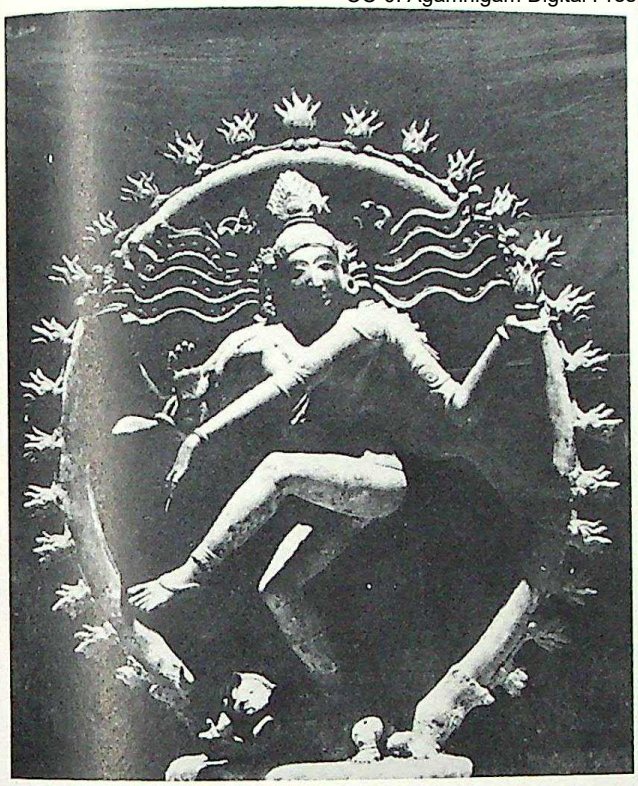
(Pls. 402 & 403. Courtesy : Dept. Arch., TN Govt.)

404. TIRUNEDUNGALAM
Nedungalanathar
temple, Amman shrine

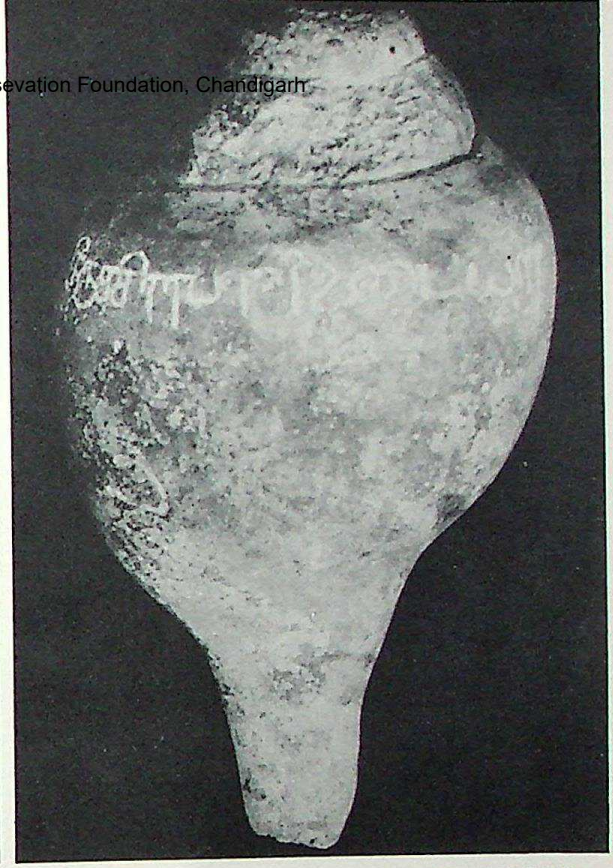
(Courtesy: French Inst.
Indology)

(Pls. 405-408. Courtesy: Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



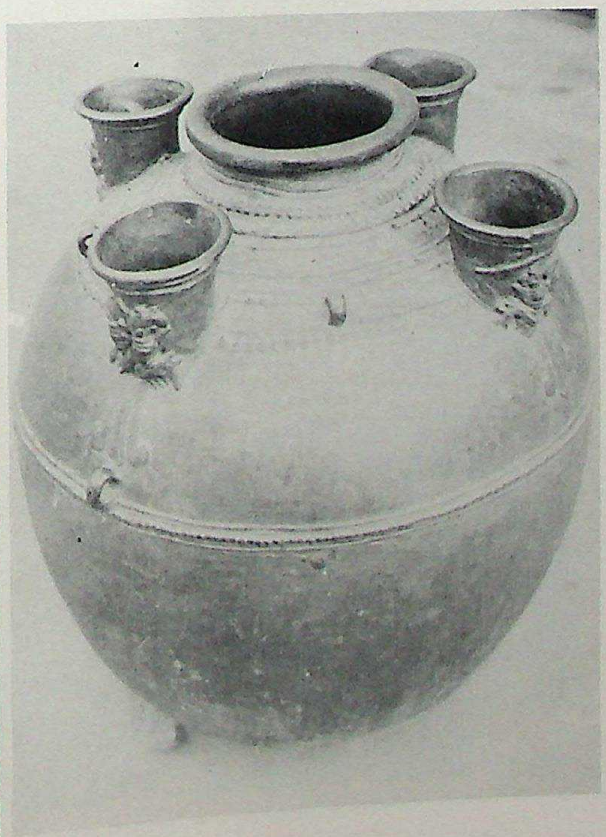
405. TIRUVADIGAI
Virattanesvarar temple, Nataraja (bronze)



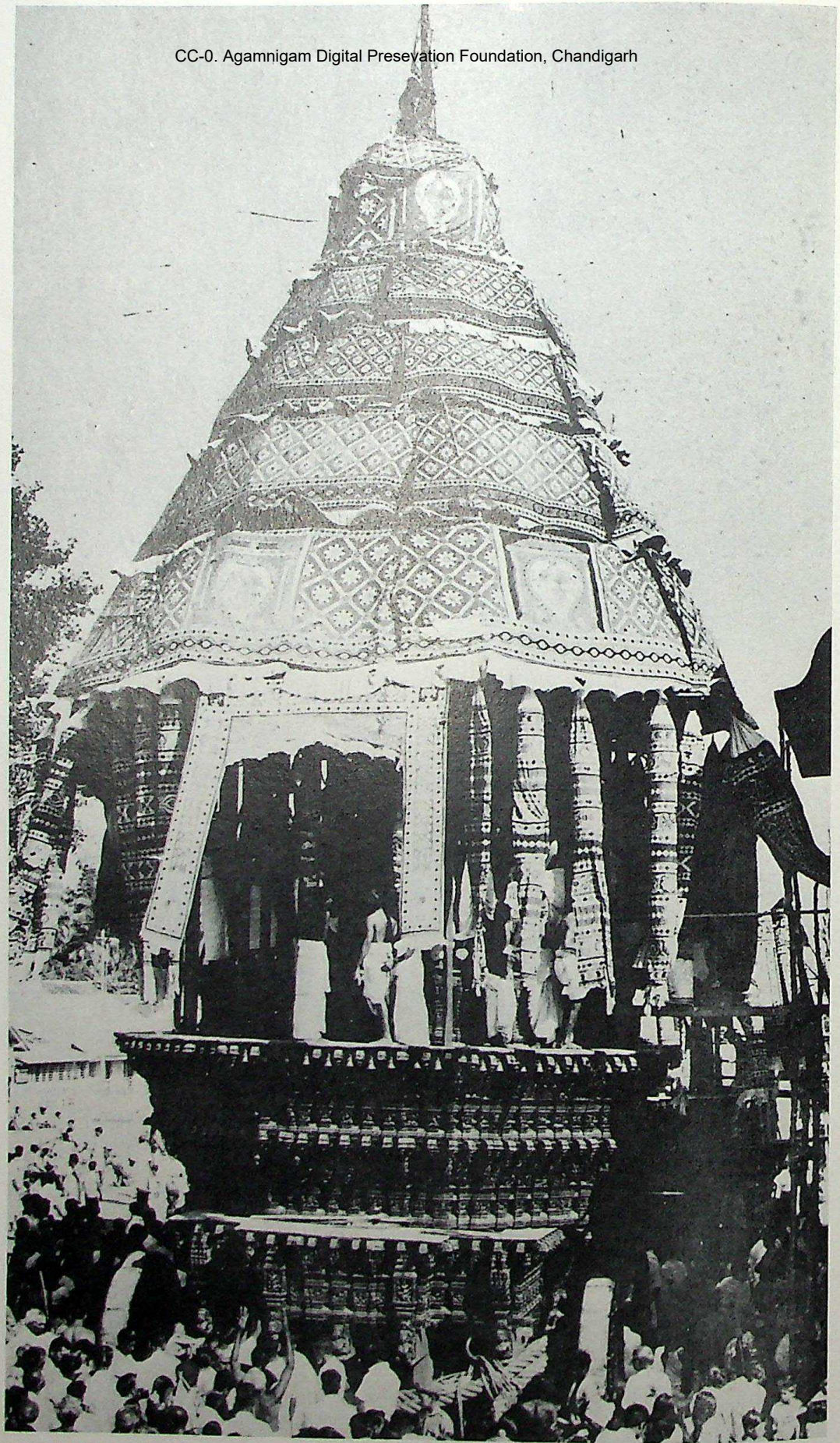
406. TIRUVADIGAI
Virattanesvarar temple, inscribed conch

407. Another inscribed conch

408. TIRUTTURAIPPUNDI
Inscribed *kudamula*



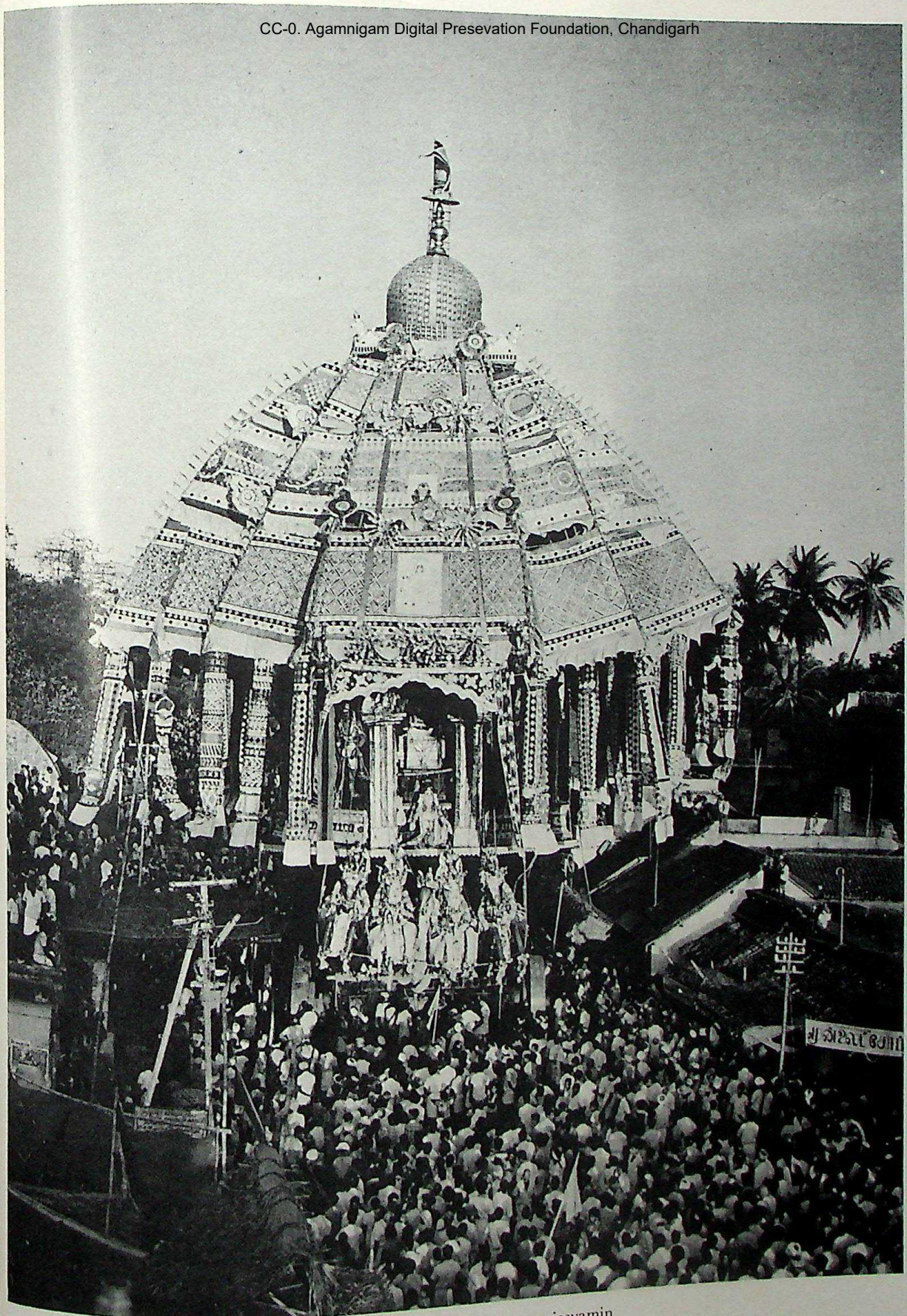
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



409. CHIDAMBARAM, Nataraja temple
Processional car

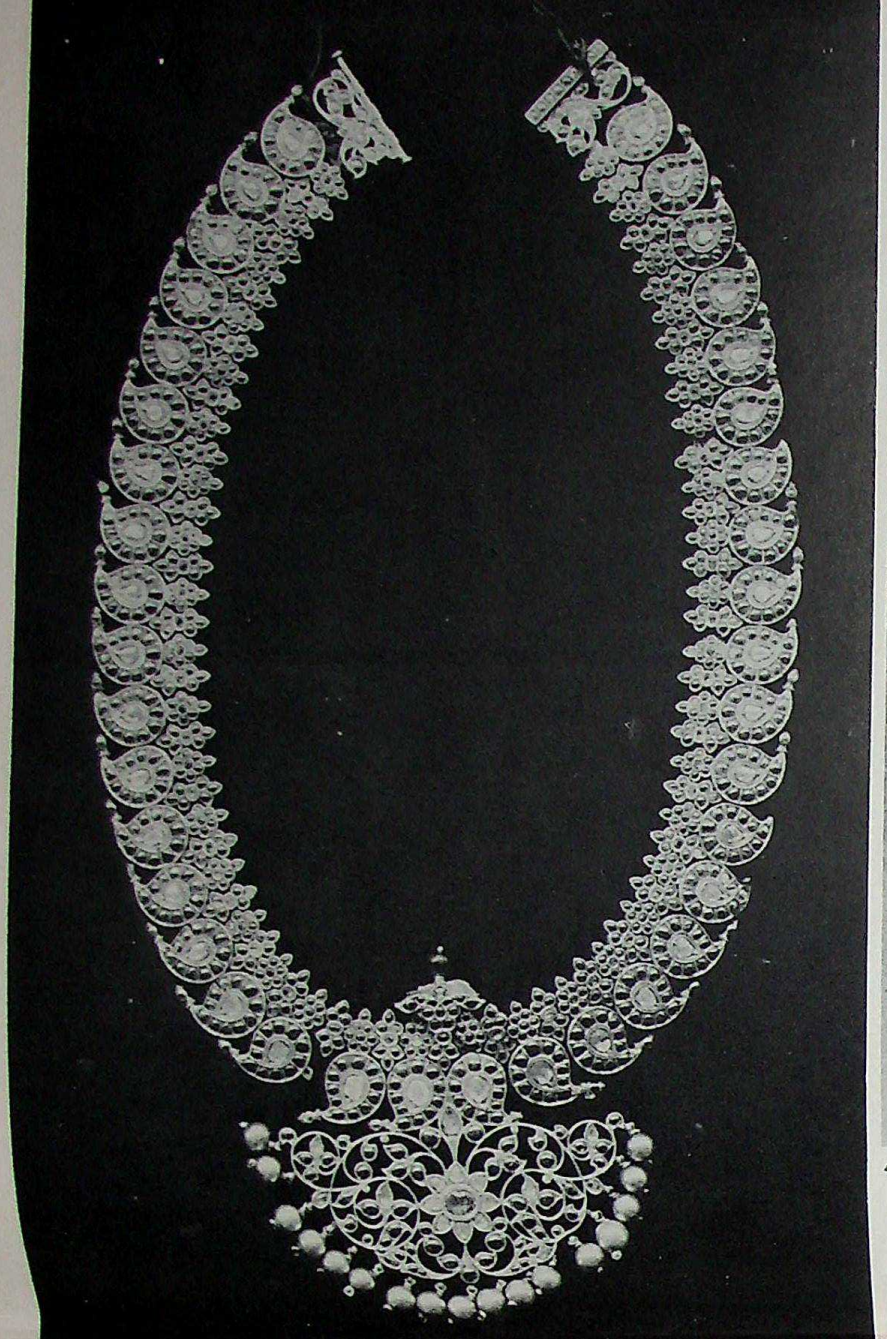
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



410. TIRUVARUR, Tyagarajasvamin temple Processional car

(Courtesy: Sri V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar)

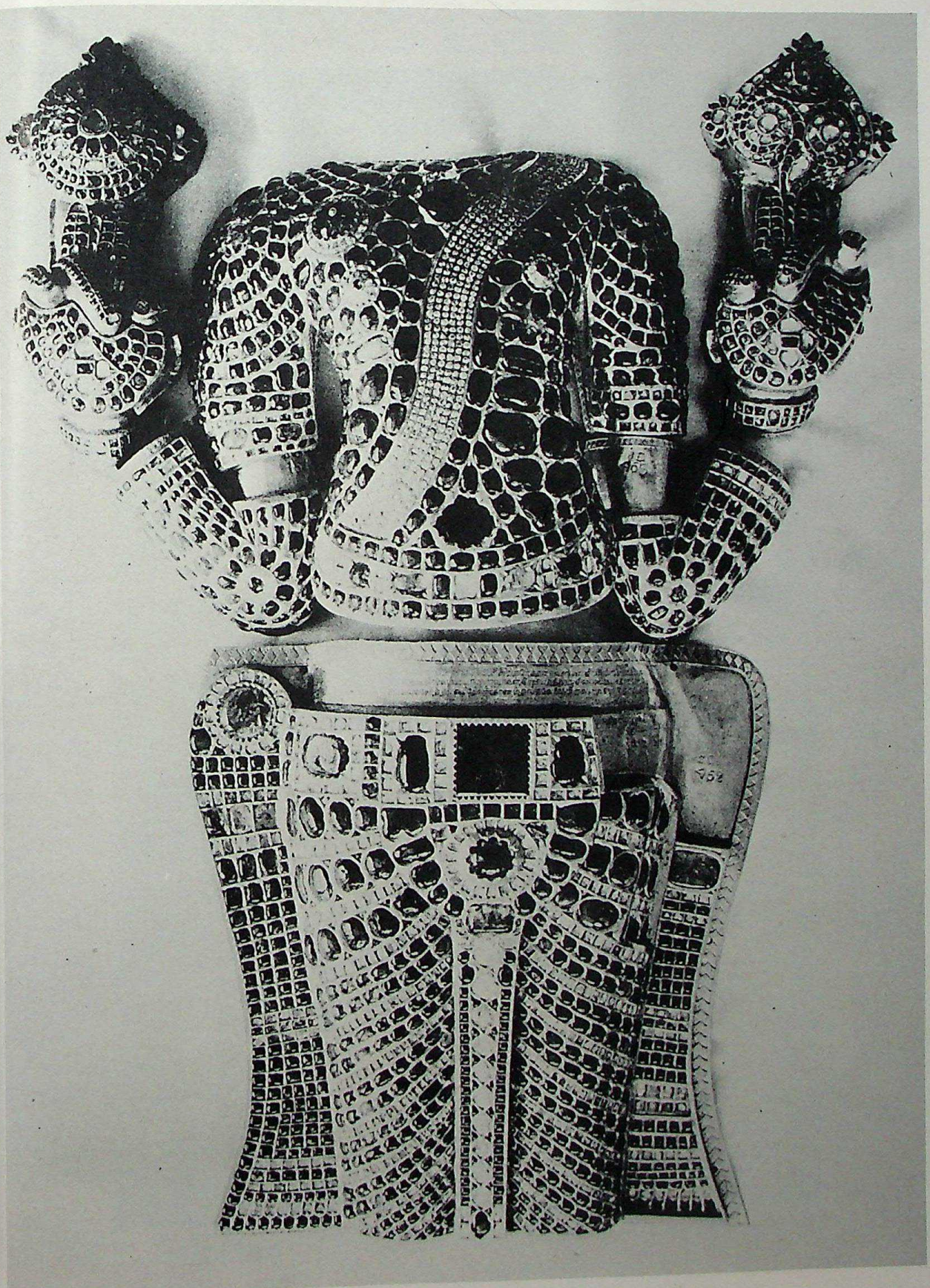


411. SIRKALI, Brahmapurisvarar temple, inlaid 'mango necklace'

412. SRIRANGAM, Ranganathasvamin temple, *ratna kavacham*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

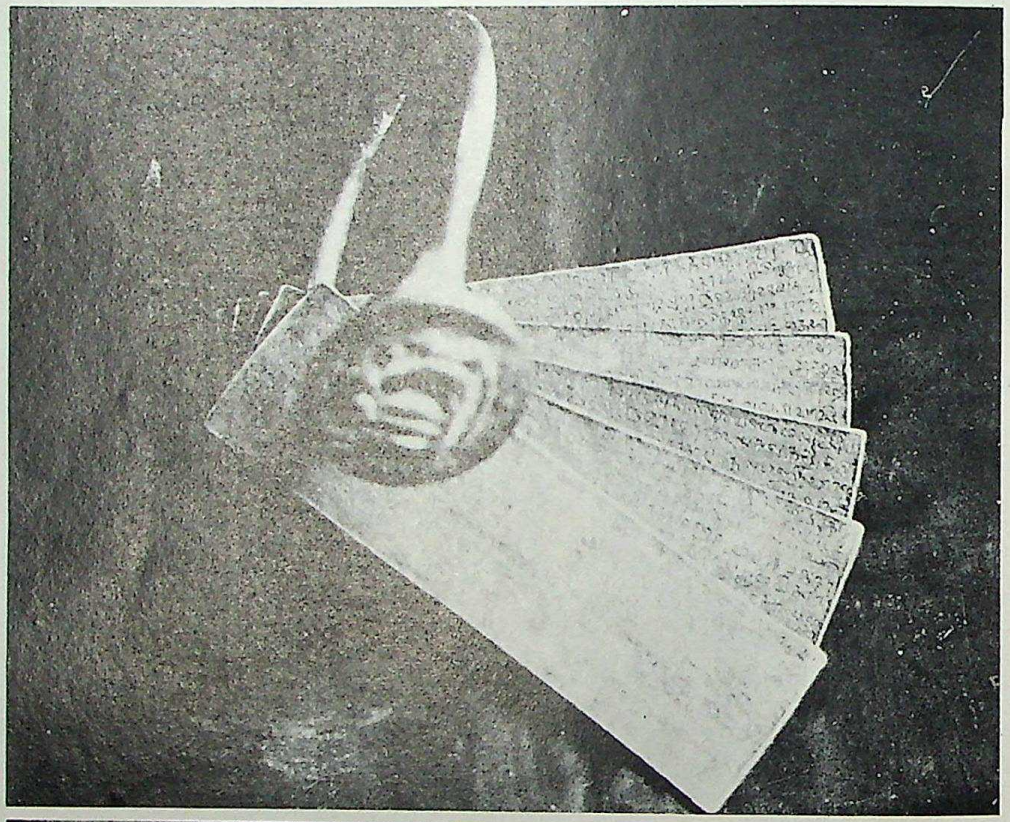
(Pls. 411-413, Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



413. SRINGERI, Sankaracharya
matham, makutam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

414. VELANJERI, Copper-plate grant of Parantaka I



415. VELANJERI, Seal of the above grant

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

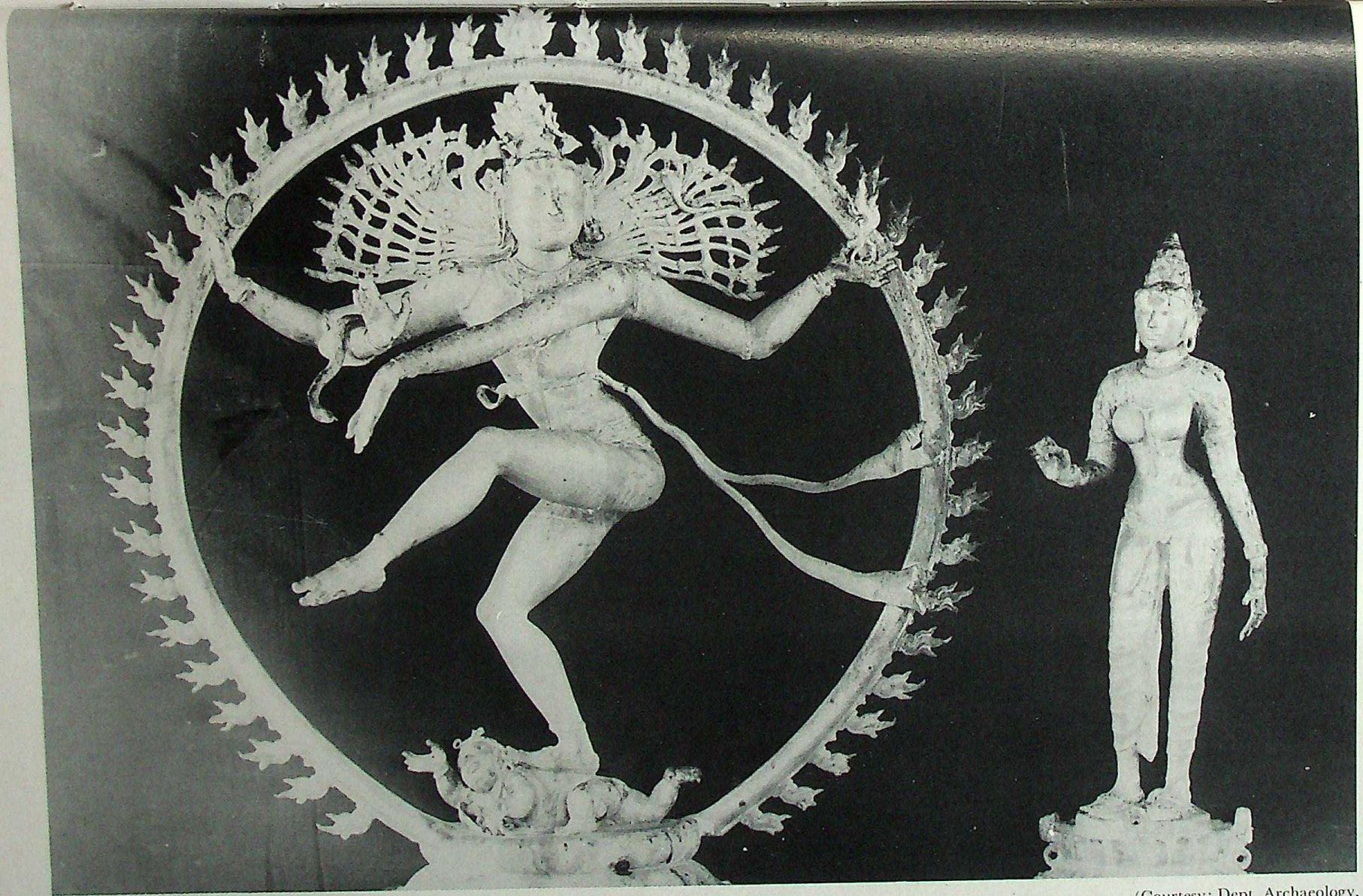
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

416. VELANJERI, Vrishabhantikar and Consort
(from treasure trove: Early Chola)

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

417. ANATANDAVAPURAM, Panchanadisvarar temple
Nataraja (bronze)
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

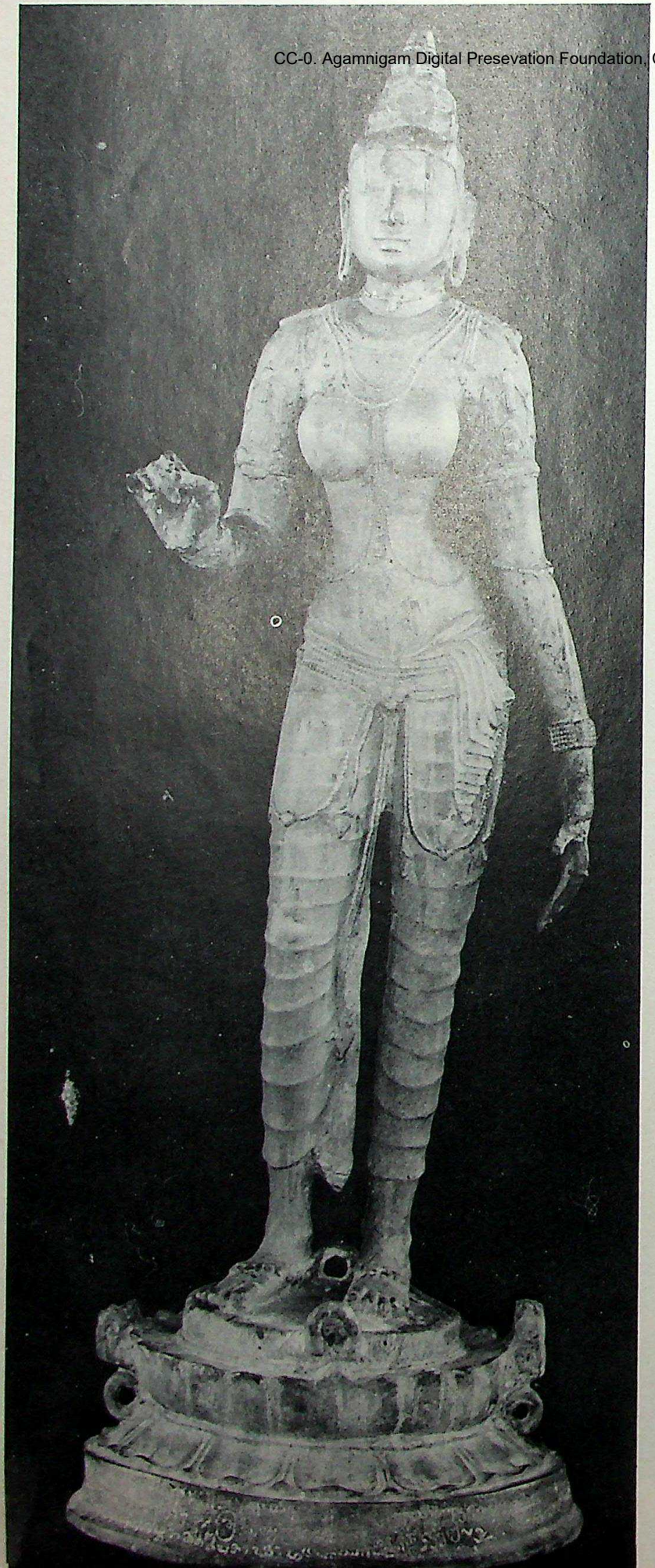


418. KARAIVIRAM, Karaiviresvarar temple, Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze): age of Parantaka I

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



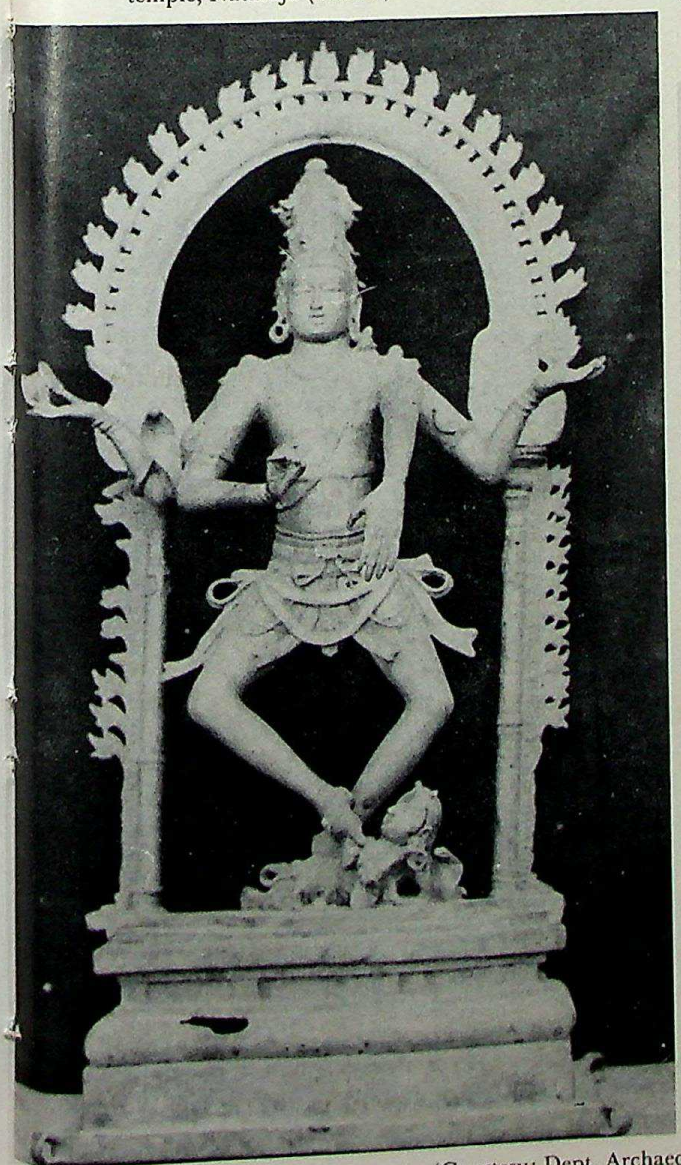
(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

419. KARAIVIRAM
Karaiviresvarar
temple, Sivakami,
with inscribed pedestal

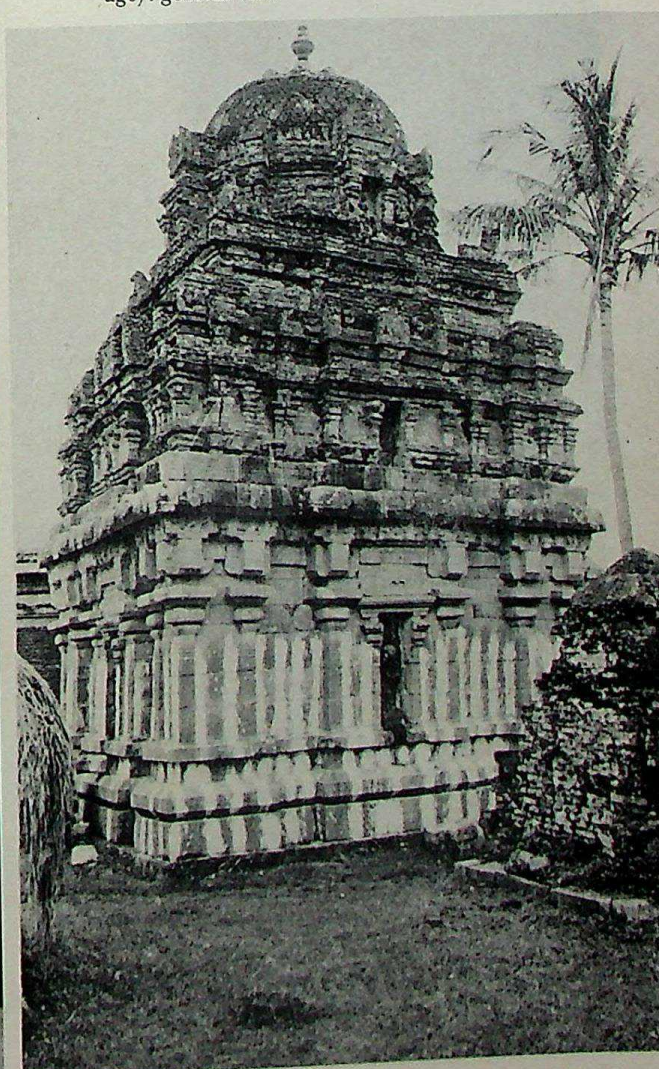
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

420. KARAIVIRAM, Karaiviresvarar temple
Inscription on pedestal of the
Sivakami icon of Pls. 418-9.

421. SOMANGALAM, Somanathesvarar
temple, Nataraja (bronze)



422. KOLLIMALAI, Arapallisvarar
temple (Sembiyan Mahadevi
age) : general view

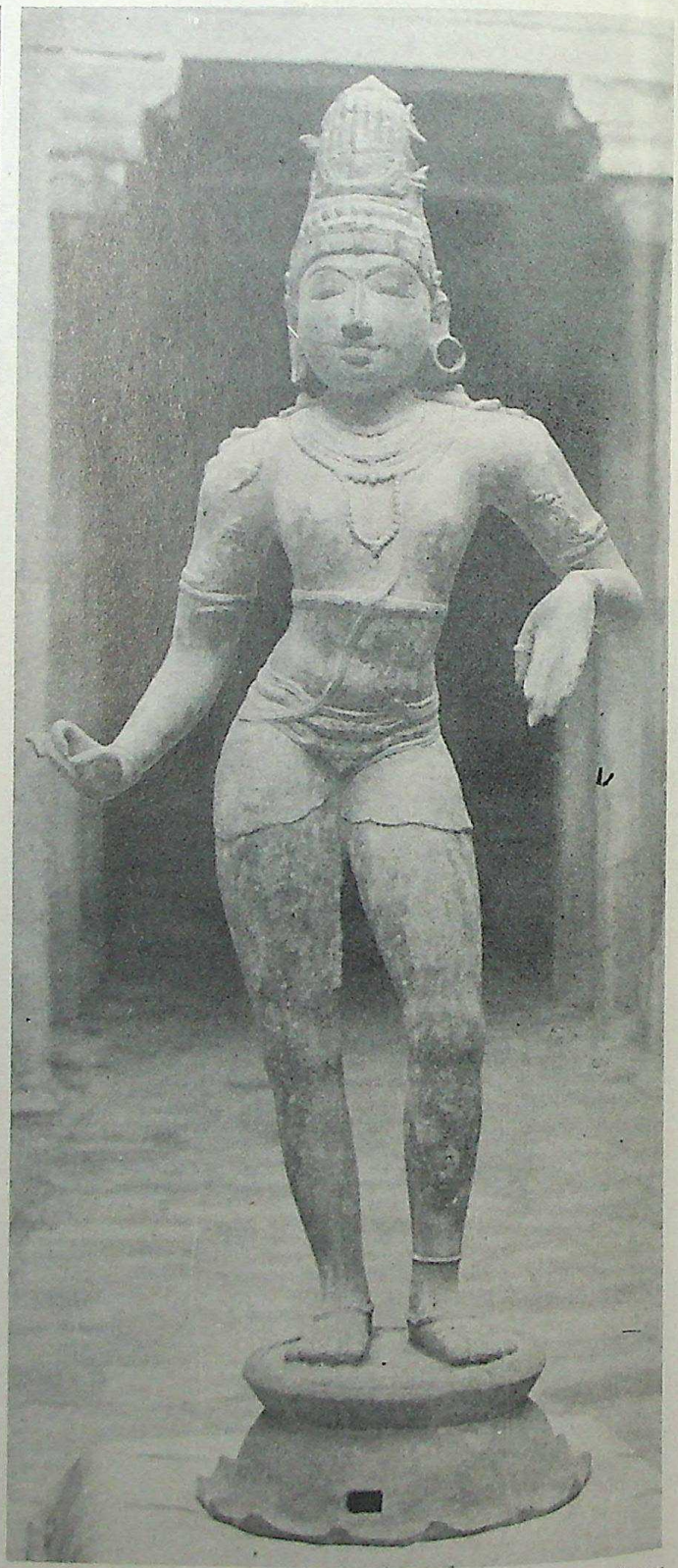


(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)

423. NALLUR, Kalyanasundarar temple, Uma Paramesvari



424. NALLUR, Kalyanasundarar temple, Vrishabha vahanar

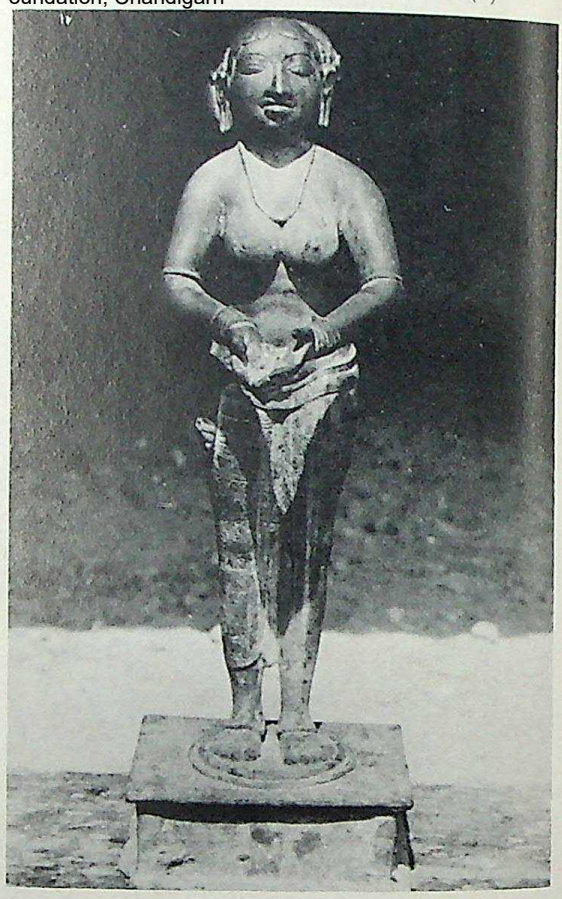
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

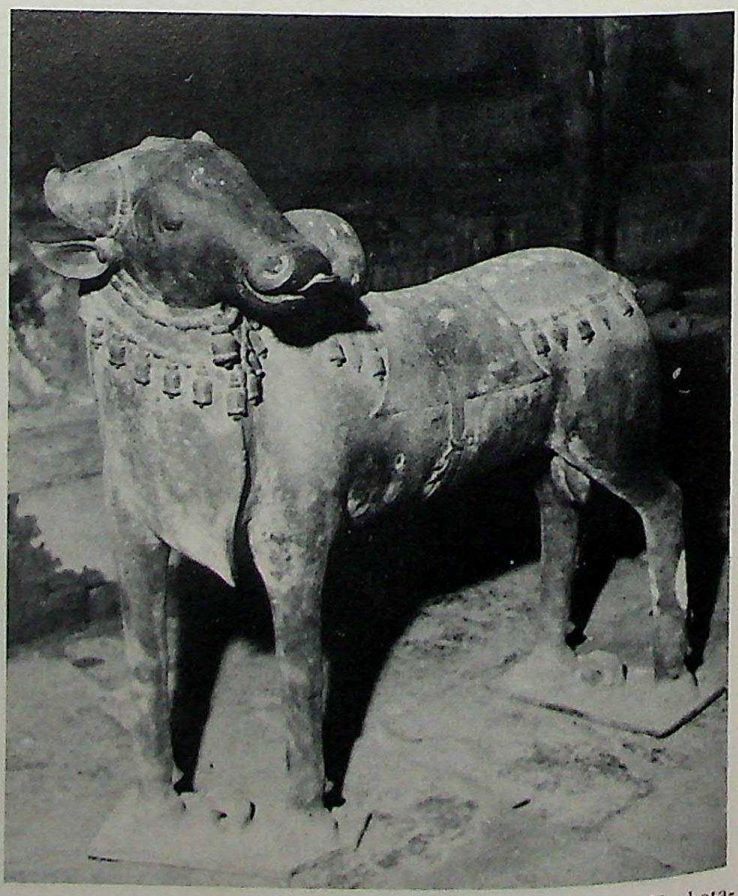
425. NALLUR, Kalyanasundarar temple (Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)
Sundarar and Paravai Nachchiyar

kesvarar temple
(Sembiyan Mahadevi age)
Vrishabhantikar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

427. KAMARASAVALLI, Karkota-
kesvarar temple
Sembiyan Mahadevi (?)

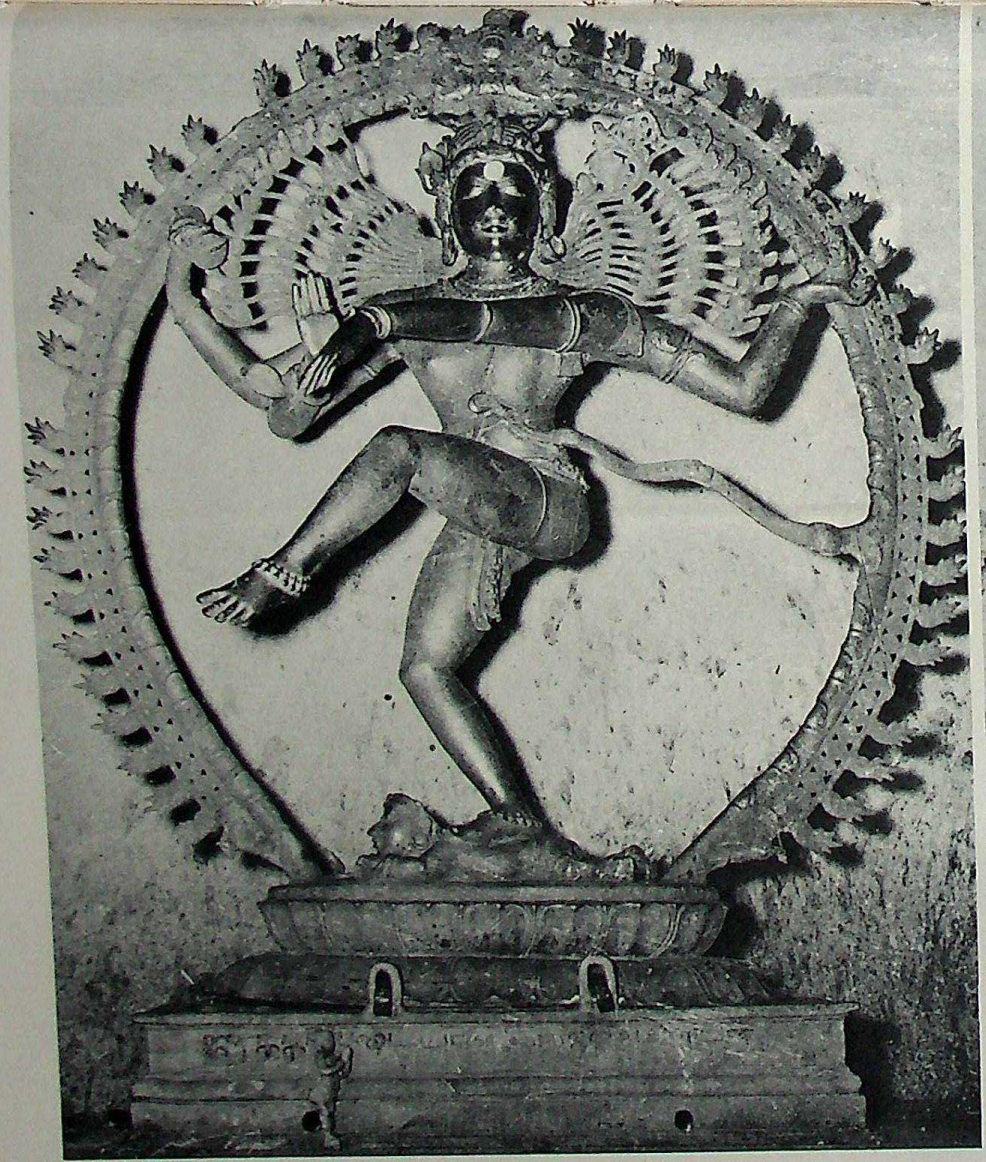




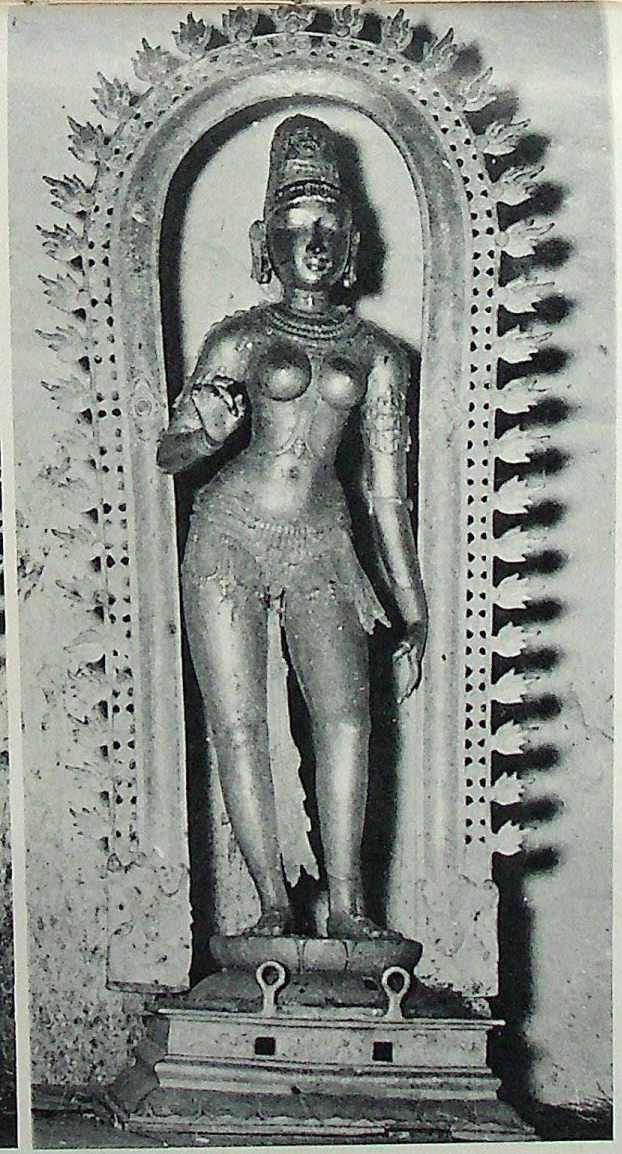
428. KAMARASAVALLI
Karkotakesvarar
temple, Vrishabhantikar

429. KAMARASAVALLI, Karkota-
kesvarar temple, Vrishabha

(Pls. 426-429. Courtesy: Dept. Arch., Govt. of Tamilnadu)



430. KODAVASAL, Konesvarasvamin temple, Nataraja (inscribed)



431. KODAVASAL, Konesvarasvamin temple, Sivakami

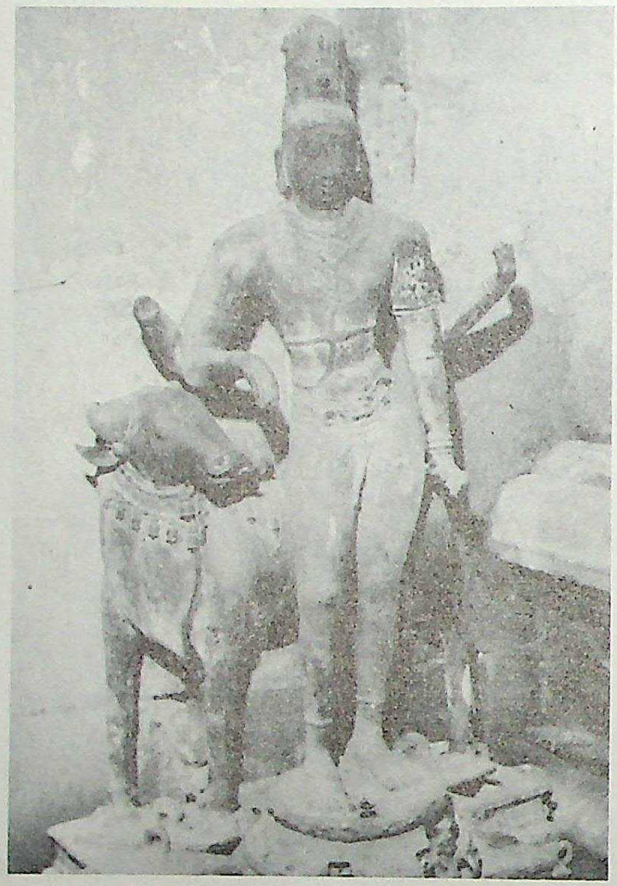
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

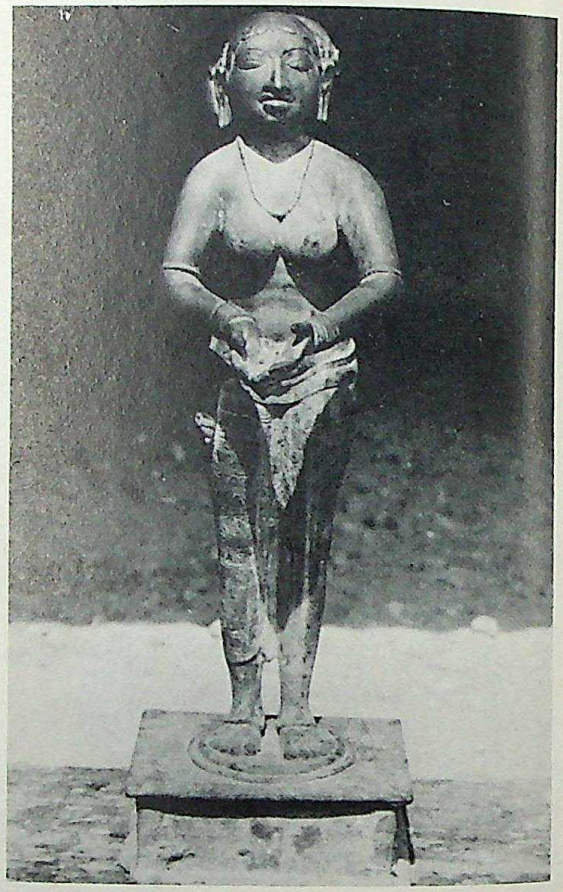
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

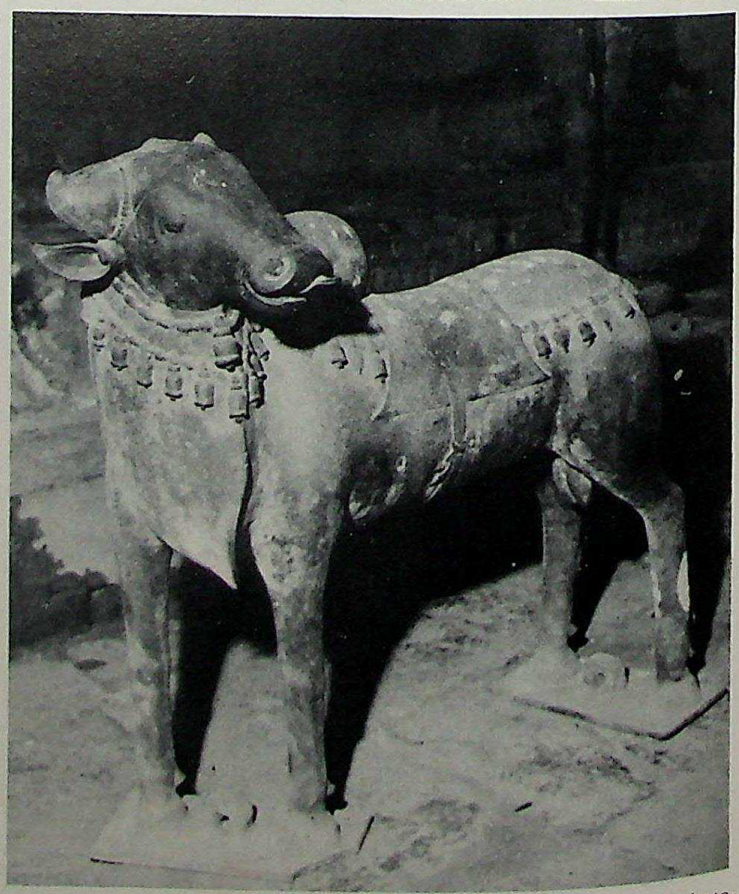
426. KAMARASAVALLI, Karkotakesvarar temple (Sembiyan Mahadevi ?) Vrishabhantikar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

427. KAMARASAVALLI, Karkotakesvarar temple Sembiyan Mahadevi (?)





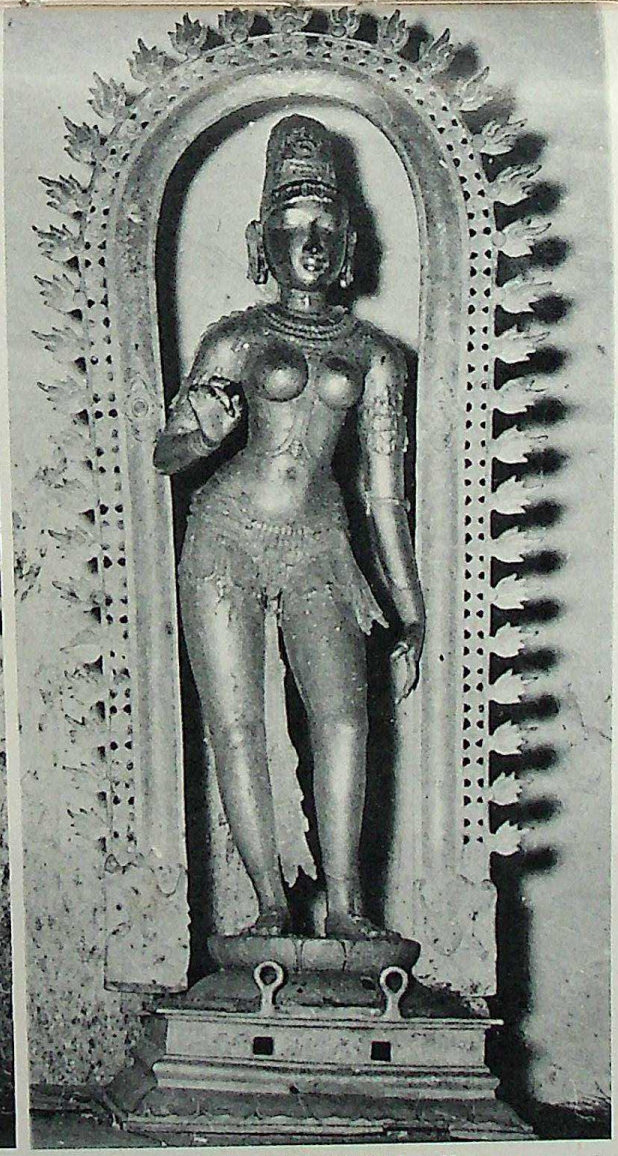


428. KAMARASAVALLI Karkotakesvarar temple, Vrishabhantikar

429. KAMARASAVALLI, Karkotakesvarar temple, Vrishabha

(Pls. 426-429. Courtesy: Dept. Arch., Govt. of Tamilnadu)

430. KODAVASAL, Konesvarasvamin temple, Nataraja (inscribed)

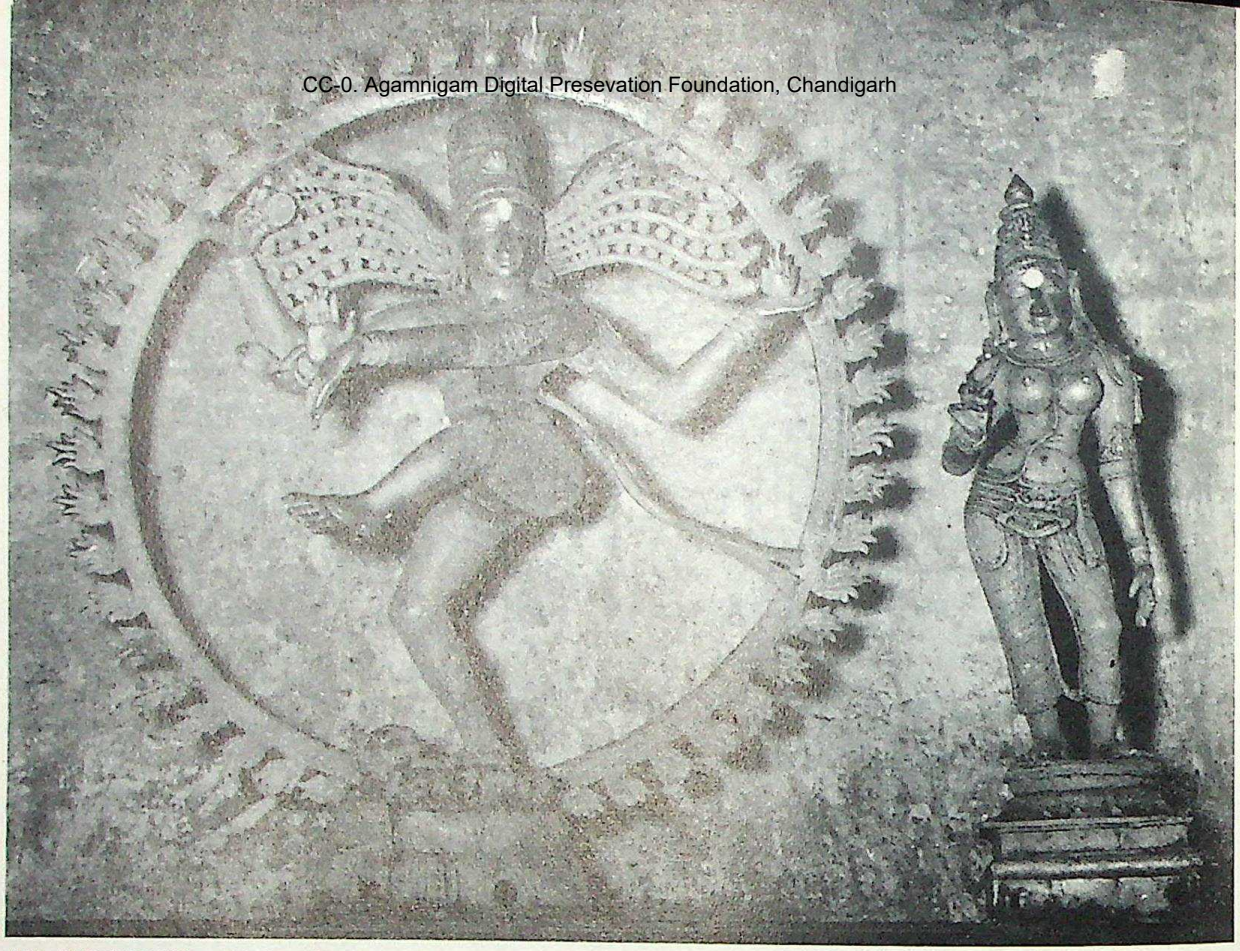


431. KODAVASAL, Konesvarasvamin temple, Sivakami

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

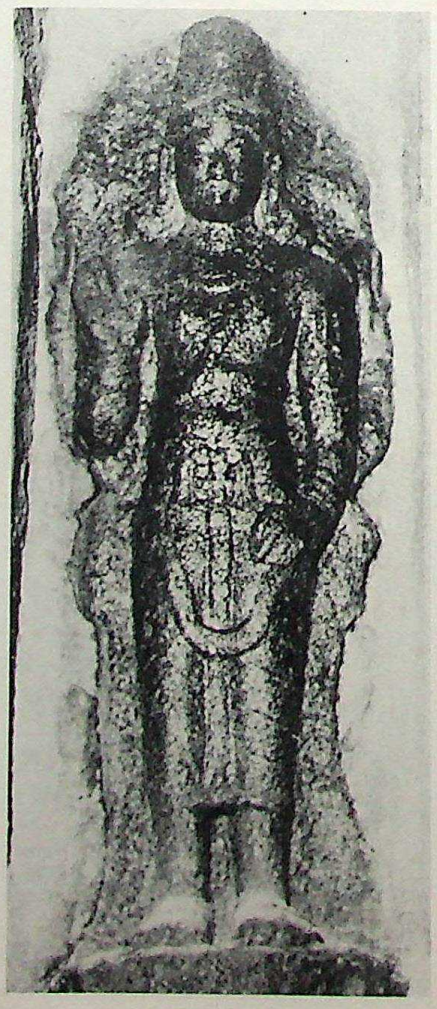
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



432. KILVELUR, Akshayalingasvamin temple, Nataraja and Sivakami

(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)



433. MELSEVUR Vrishabha nathesvarar temple Vishnu (left)

434. MELSEVUR Vrishabha nathesvarar temple Kamalamamunisvarar

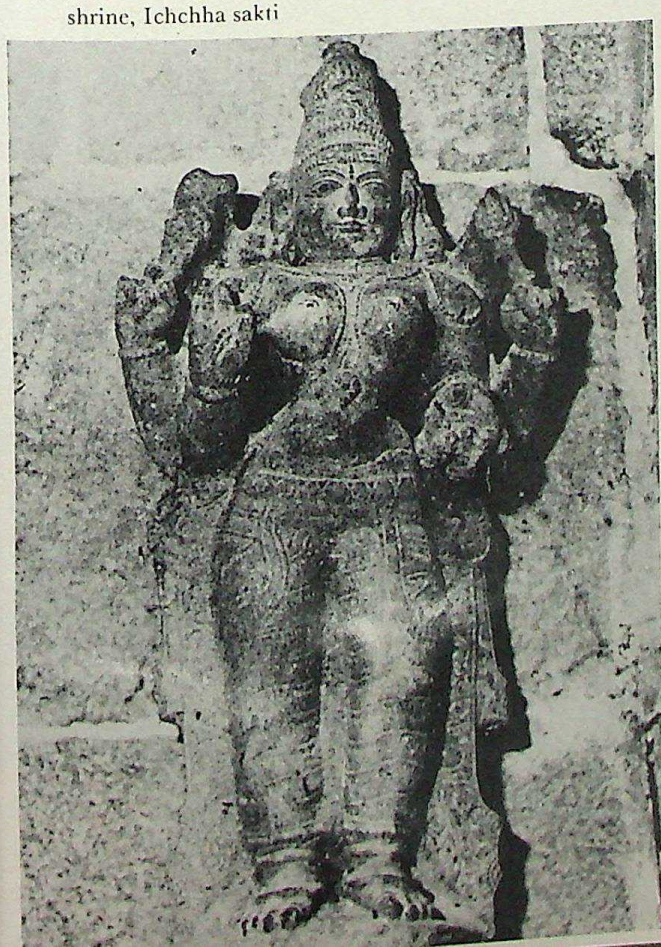
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

435. MELSEVUR
Vrishabha
nathesvarar temple
Surya (left)

436. MELSEVUR
Vrishabha
nathesvarar temple
(Chandra (right)

(Courtesy: French
Inst. Indology)

437. MELSEVUR, Vrishabha
nathesvarar temple, Amman
shrine, Ichchha sakti



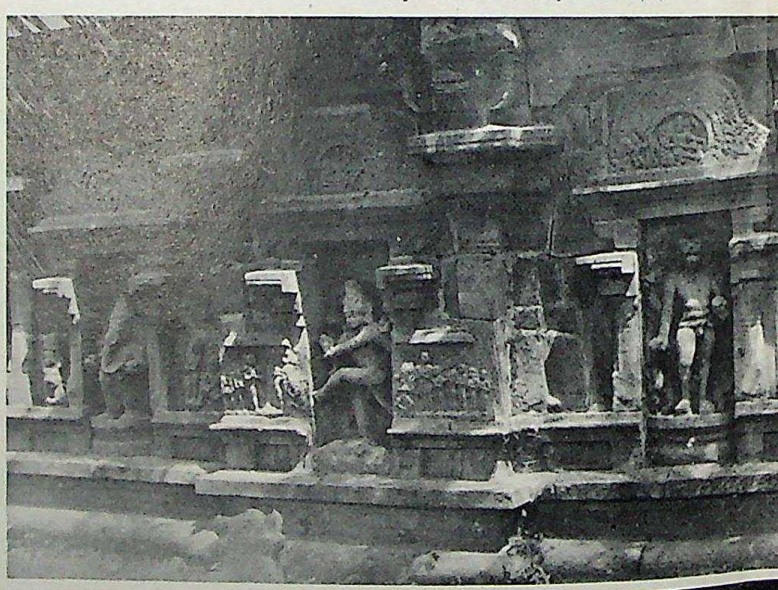
438. MELSEVUR, Vrishabha
nathesvarar temple, Amman
shrine, Kriya sakti

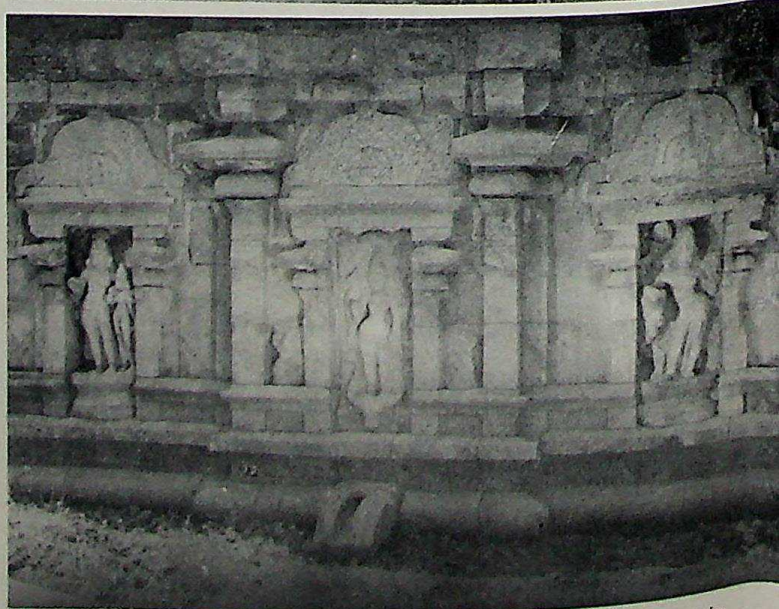
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

439. MANAMBADI, Naganathasvamin temple, general view
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

440. MANAMBADI, Naganatha-svamin temple
Lingodbhavar

441. MANAMBADI, Naganathasvamin temple, *ardhamandapa* wall (S)

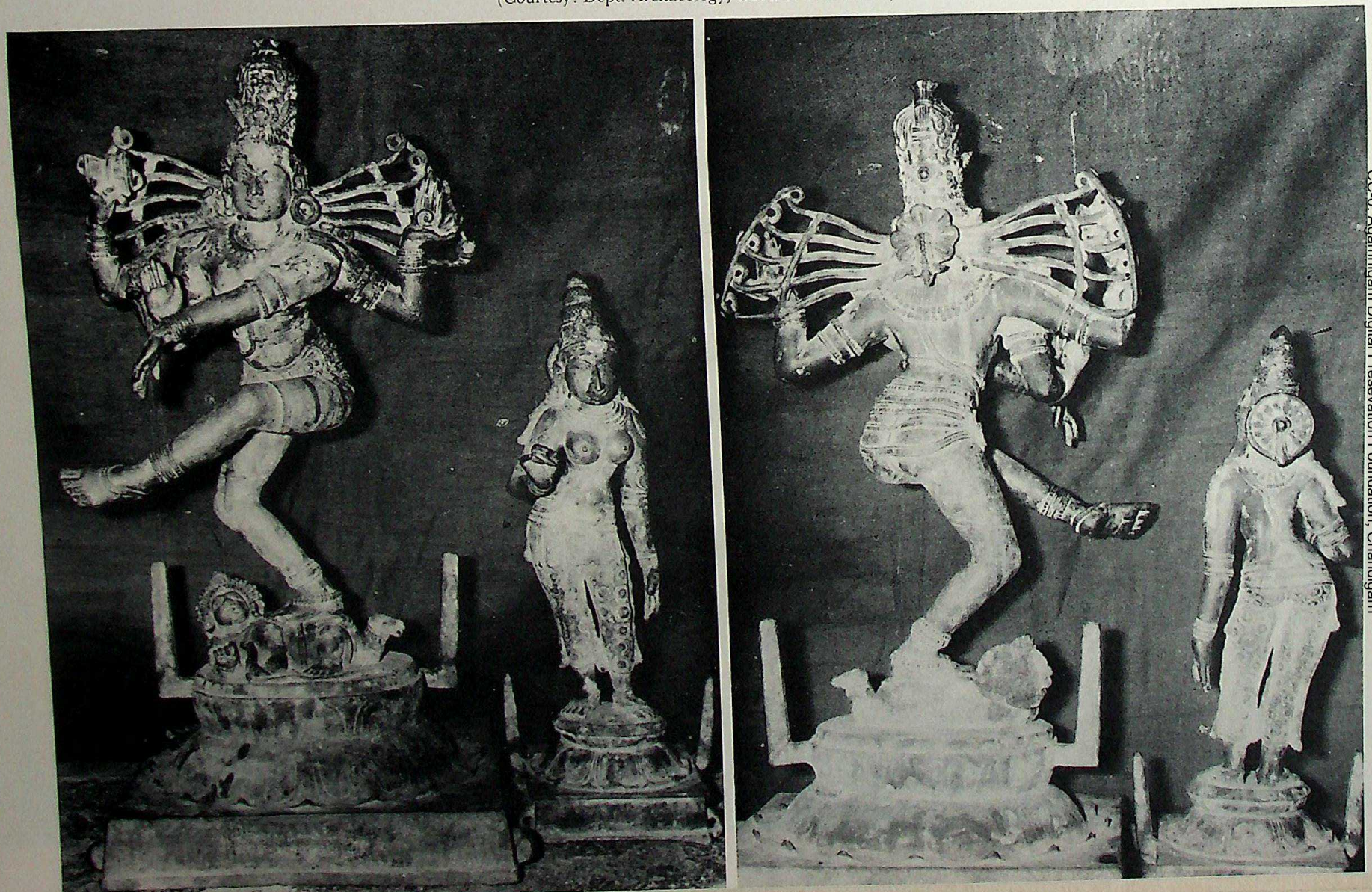




442. MANAMBADI, Naganathasvamin temple, *ardhamandapa* wall (N)

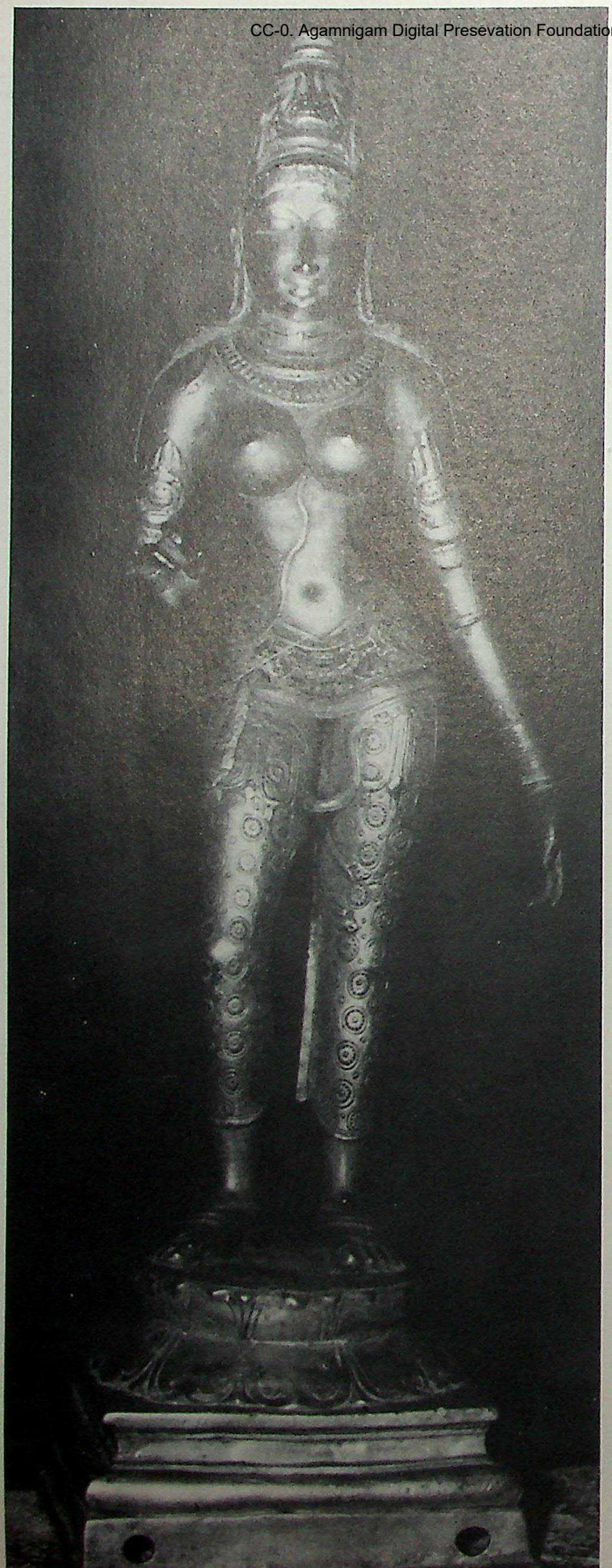
443 & 444. TIRUVENKADU, treasure trove, inscribed bronze of Nataraja and Sivakami: front and rear views

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



445. KORUKKAI
Virattanesvarar
temple, Parvati

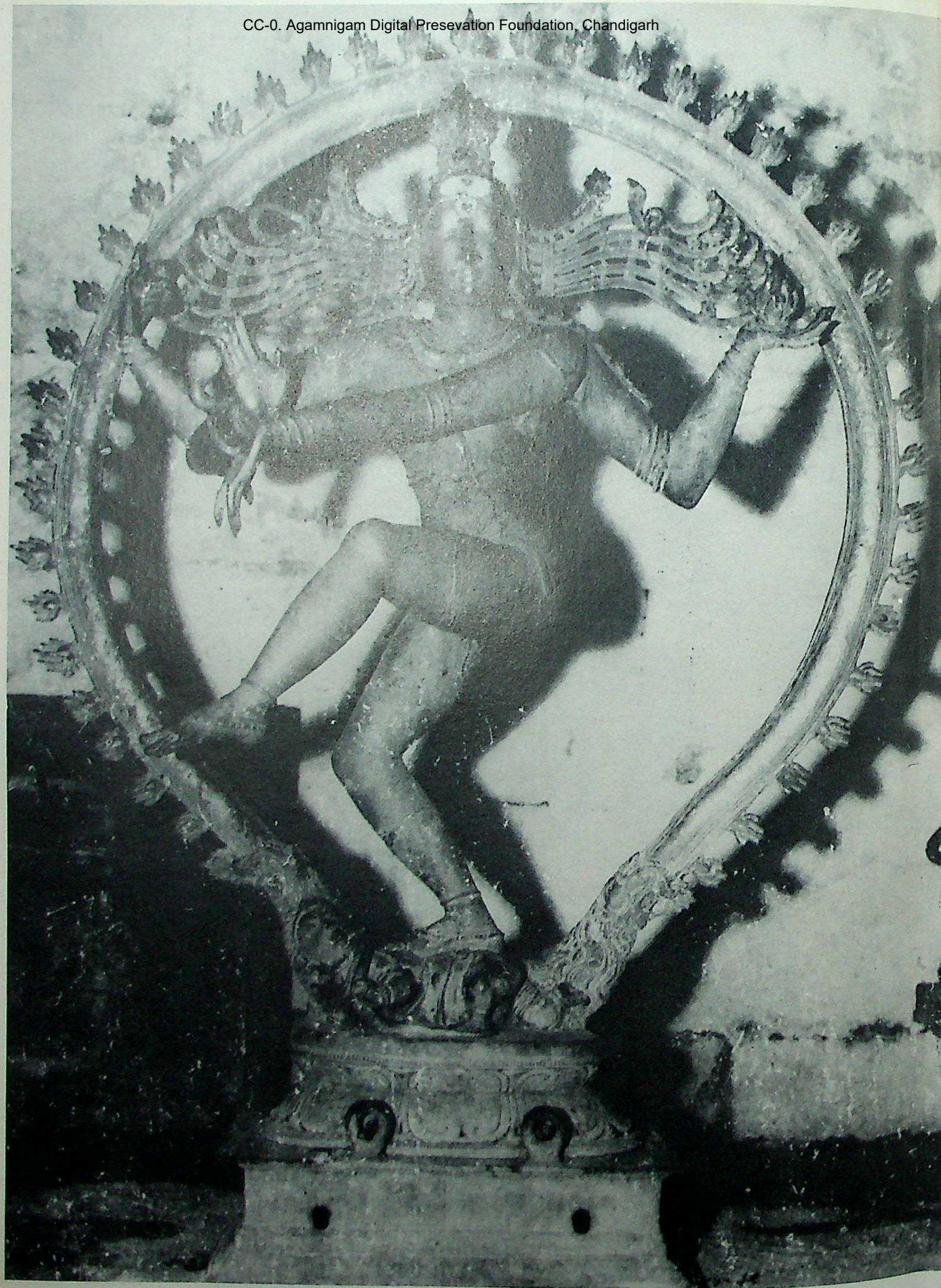
(Courtesy: French
Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

446. SAIKKADU
Chhayavanesvarar
temple, Subrahmanya

(Courtesy: Dept. Archaeology,
Govt. of Tamilnadu)

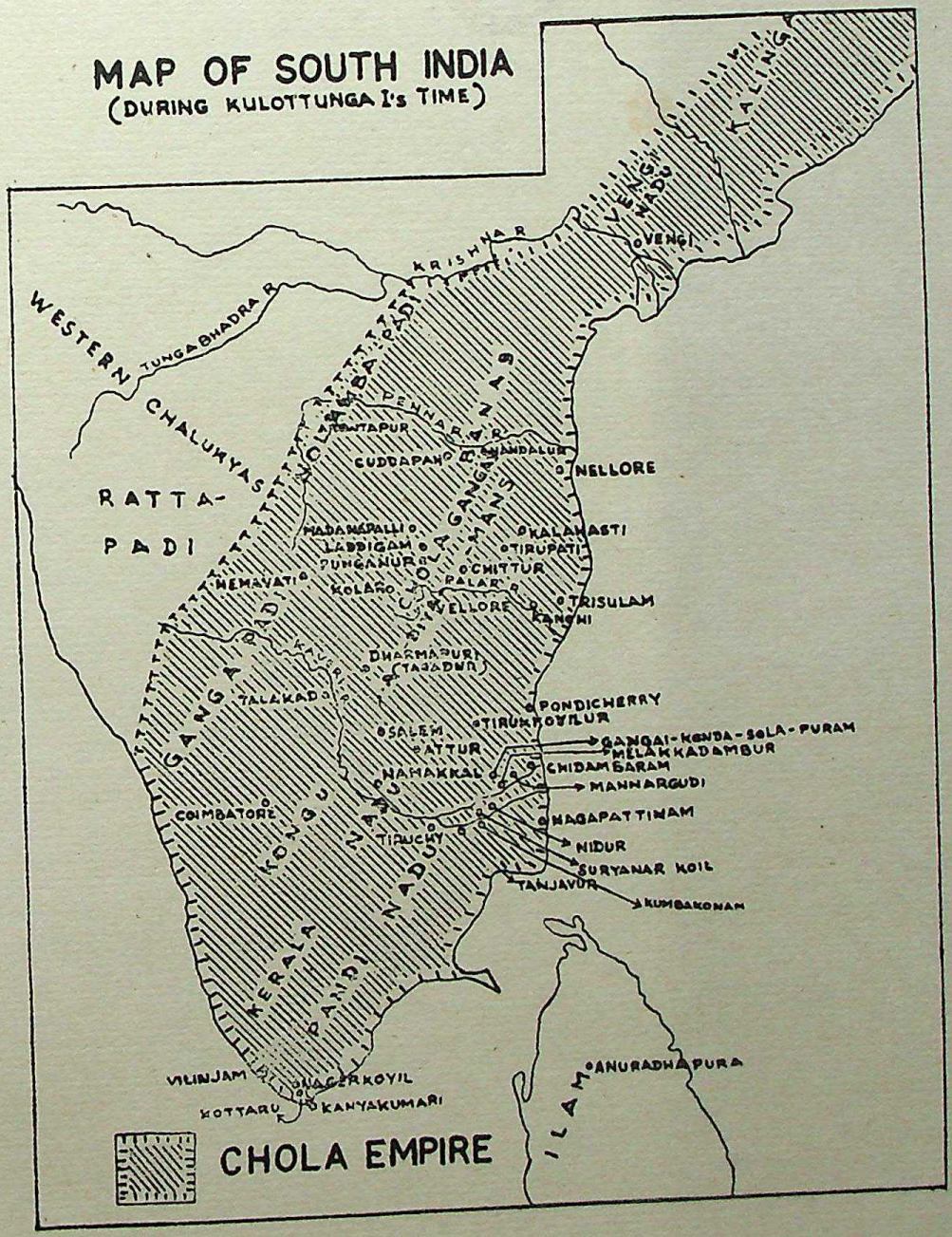
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



447. MANIMANGALAM, Dharmisvarar temple, Nataraja

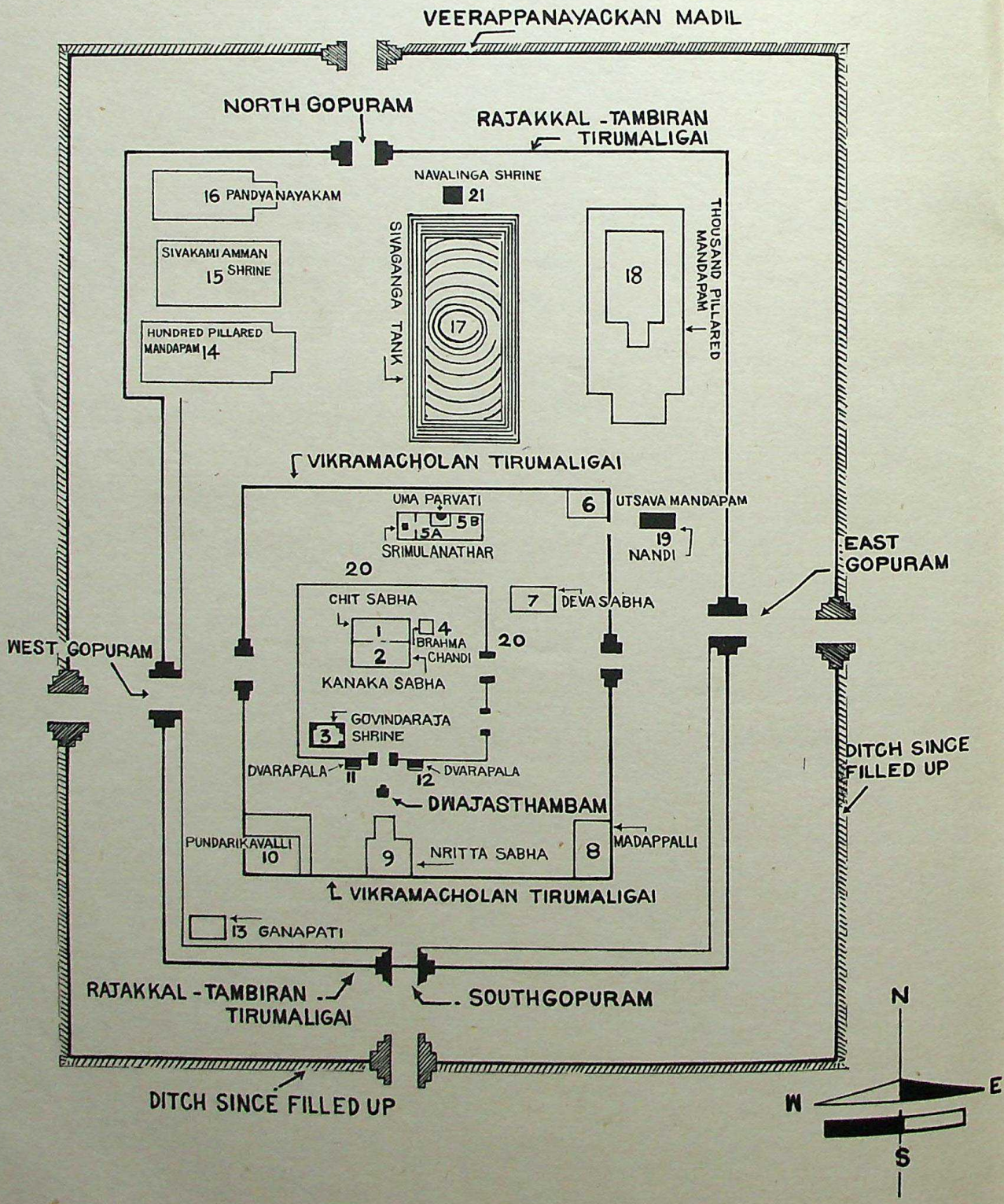
(Courtesy: French Inst. Indology)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



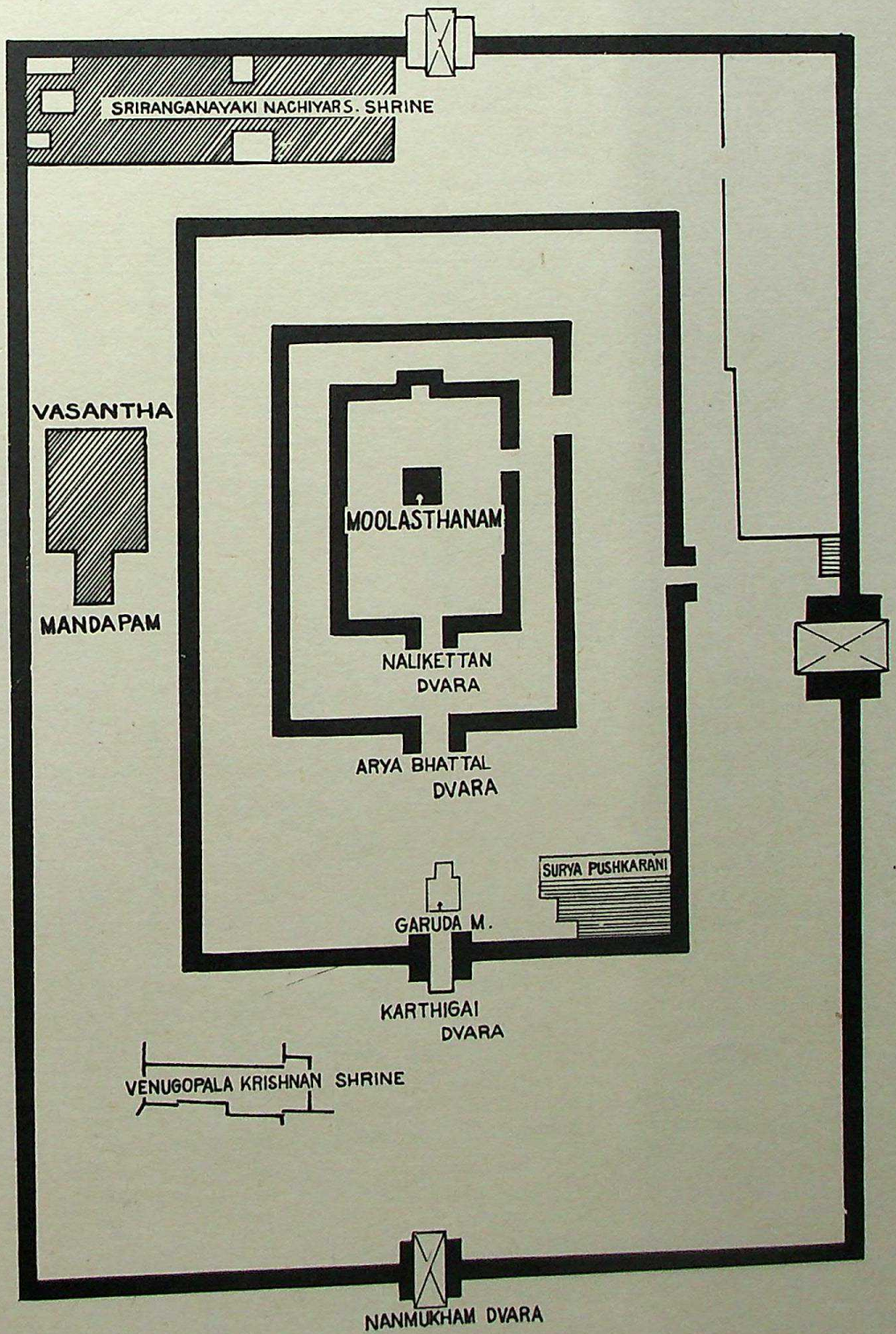
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

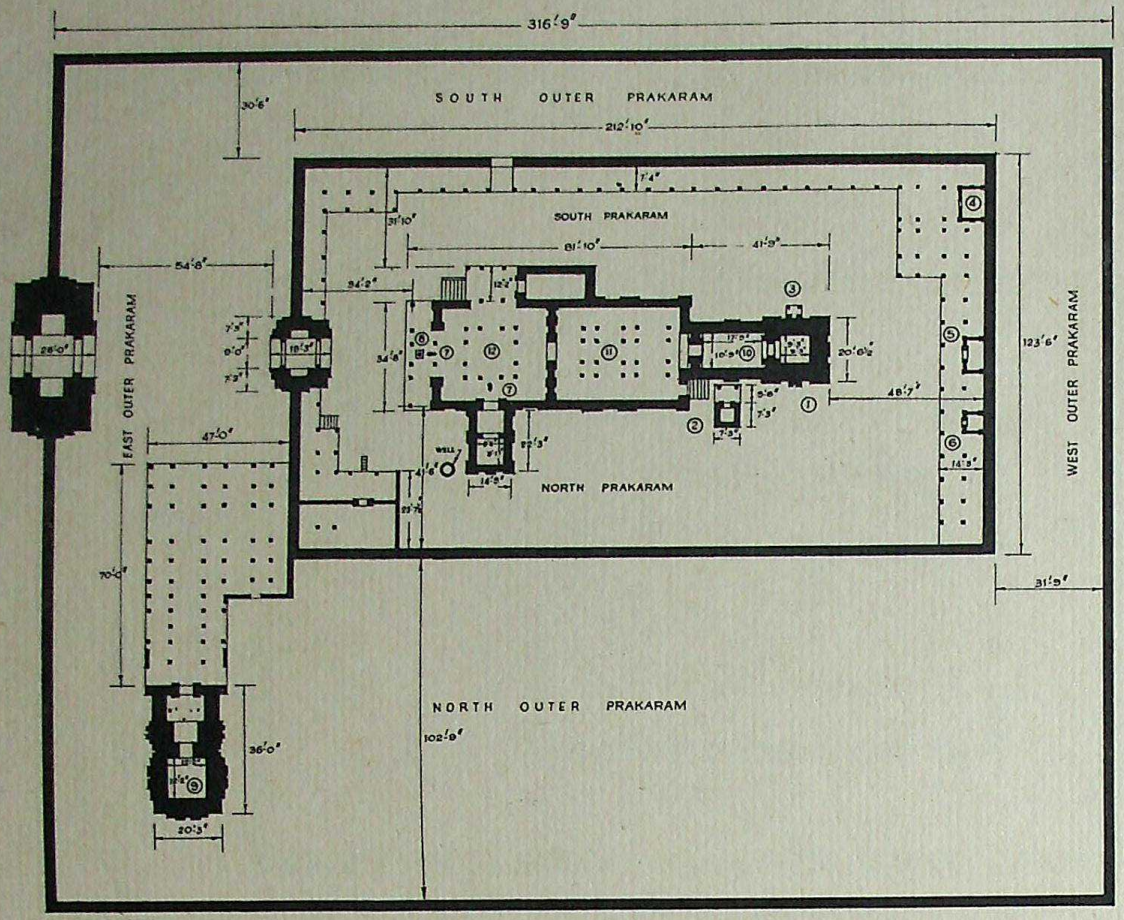
PLAN OF NATARAJA TEMPLE
CHIDAMBARAM



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

SRIRANGANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE SRIRANGAM





NORTH

LEGEND

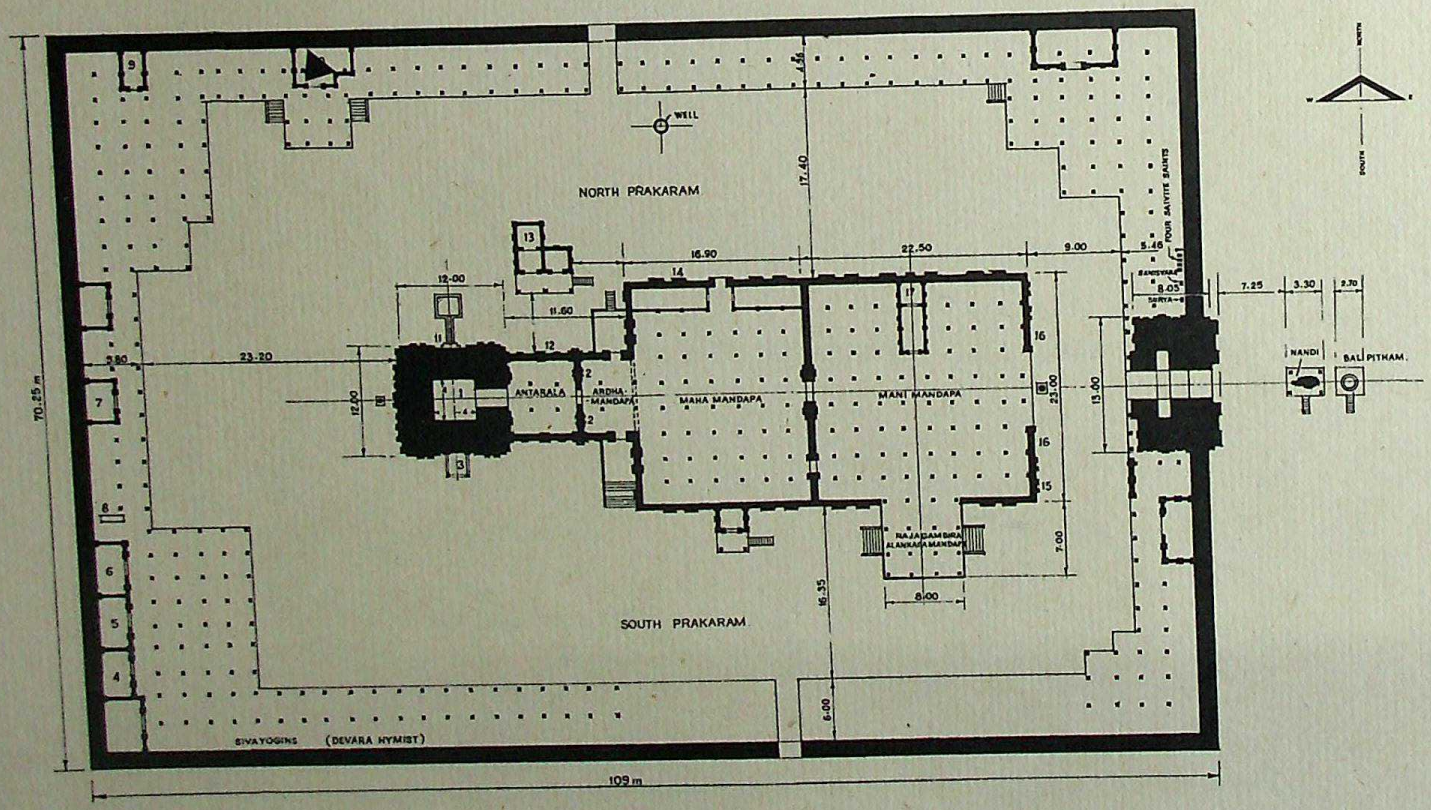
1. APATSAHAYESVARAR
2. CHANDESVARAR
3. DAKSHINAMURTI
4. GANAPATI
5. SUBRAHMANYAR
6. MAHALAKSHMI
7. NANDI
8. BALIPITHAM
9. SOWNDARYA NAYAKI AMMAN

SCALE : 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 FEET

TUKKACHCHI — APATSAHAYESVARAR TEMPLE

(VIKRAMACHOLISVARAM)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



LEGEND

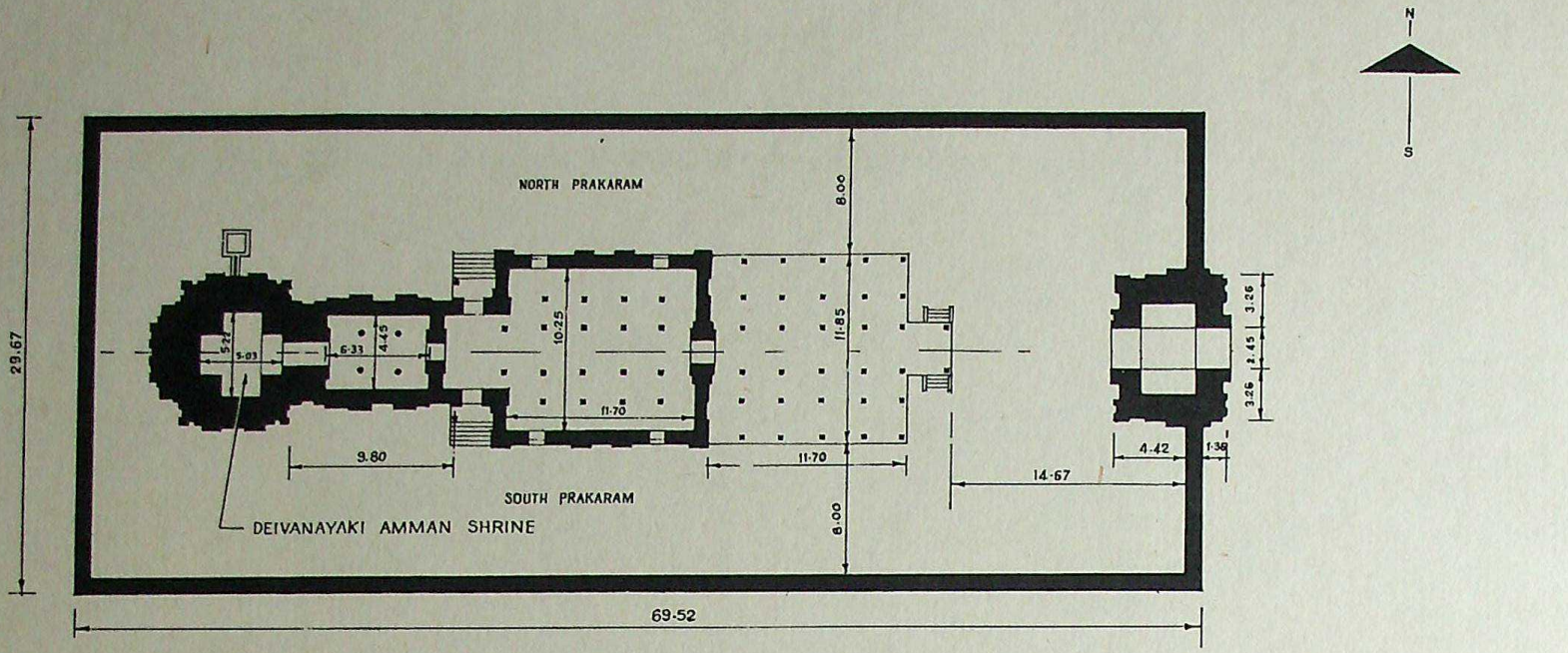
1. AIRAVATESVARAR
2. DVARAPALAKAS
3. DAKSHINAMURTI
4. GANAPATI
5. AIYANAR
6. KAVERI AMMAN
7. SUBRAHMANYAR SHRINE
8. SAPTARISHI PATHINI
9. YOGESVARI
10. TANDESVARAR
11. BHAIRAVAR SHRINE
12. DURGA
13. CHANDESVARAR
14. MANDAKINI
15. ARDHANARISVARAR
16. GUNDODARAR
17. DEIVANAYAKI AMMAN

AIRAVATESVARAR TEMPLE - DARASURAM

KUMBAKONAM TALUK - TANJAVUR DISTRICT

SCALE: 0 5 10 15 20 25 meters

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

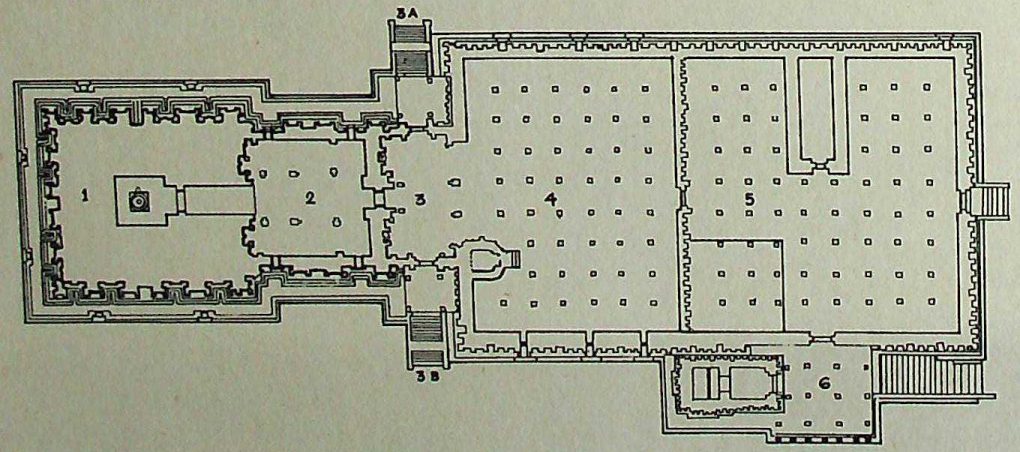


DEIVANAYAKI AMMAN TEMPLE - DARASURAM.

SCALE : 0 5 10 20 METERS.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TRIBHUVANAM
KAMPAHARESVARAR TEMPLE
(GROUND PLAN)



Scale - 1 c.m. = 25.50 mts.

LEGEND

1. GARBHAGRIHA.
2. ARDHAMANDAPA.
3. ANTARALA (idaikali).
3.A. } SOPANA.
3.B. } (Flanking Steps)
4. MAHAMANDAPA.
5. MUKHAMANDAPA.
6. RATHAMANDAPA.

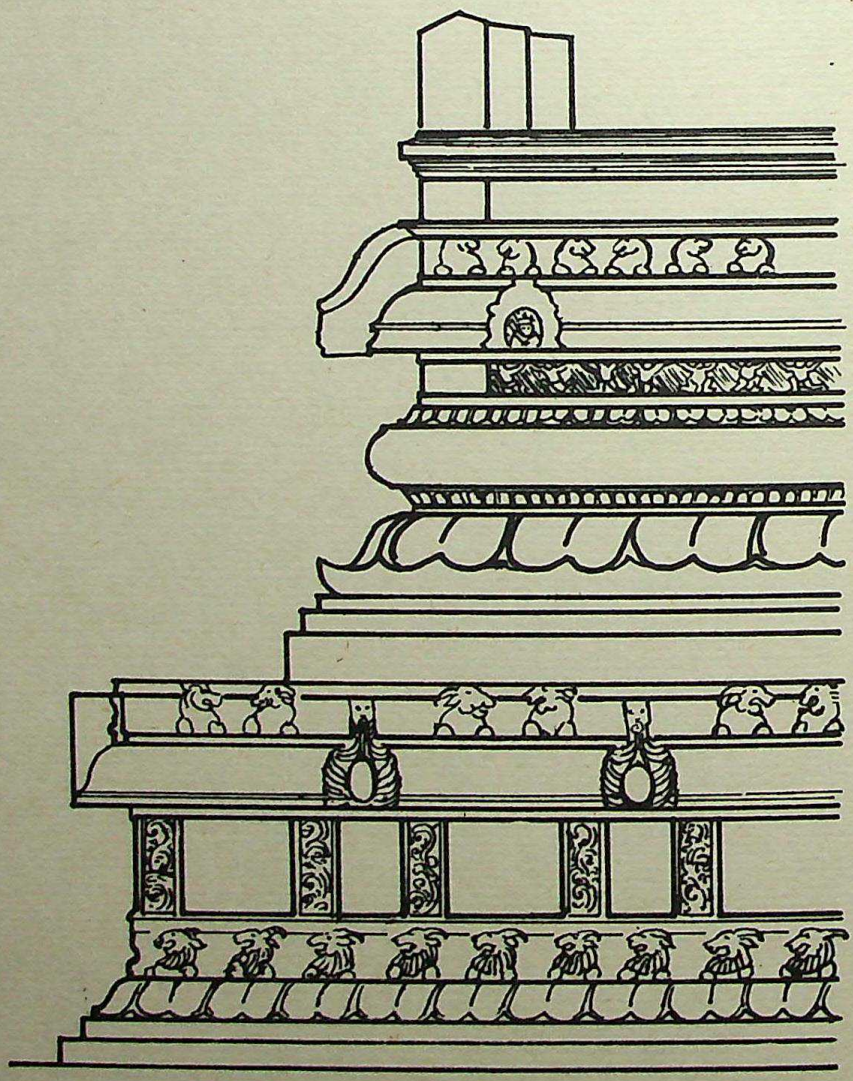
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KAMPAHARESVARA TEMPLE

ADHISHTHANA

MOULDINGS.



SCALE .. 1 C.M. = 1 FT.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Index*

A

Abaranadani, -cvm 321
Abhayan 14
Abhayanidhi 417
Abhimanatunga Sri Samanta 8
Abhiramesvarar t. 152
Achchapuram 27, 343
Achyuta 284
Achyutamangalam 308, 310, 311, 312
Achyutappa Raya 51
Achyuta-Vijayaraghavapuram 329
Adaivu-Tiruttandagam 305
Adaiya-valaindan tirumaligai (Magadesan wall), 46
Adamangalam 38
Adavallisvaram t. 215, 219, 220
Adavallakuttanallur 218
Adhirajendra 59, 300
Adigaiman 81, 82, 83, 297, 298, 366
Adikendra Vyamukta Sravanojjvala 83
Adi Kumbhesvarar 197
Adimula 345, 346
Adimulesvarar (Tiruppalturai) t. 284
Adimuttu Nayanar 347
Adi Sankara 26
Aditya I 23, 58, 79, 415
Adivaraha nallur 88
Adiyaman (Chief Adigaimans) 15, 79, 81, 85, 102
Adiyamangai nadu 416
Adiyan (Adiyaman) 79
Aduturai 189
Agambadi mudalis 314
Agambadi Vinayakappillaiyar 367
Agaram 280
Agastsyesvaram (Tiru-maalisvaram) 30, 214, 215
Agastisvaram (Edirili-solisvaram Udaiya Nayanar) 281
Agasthesvarar 215
Agnisvarar (Pugalur temple) 263
Agnitirtha 214, 215
Ahala bhatta 49
Ahamvira-Bhoga 219
Ahavamalla, -Devan 199, 427
Ahavamalla-kulakalapuram 199
Ahavamalla Somesvara I 229
Airavatesvarar t. 171, 223, 225
Ainjuvanna Vanigar 390
Ainnurruvan Tirukkavanam 391
Aiyanarkoyil 350
Aiyiru-nuru-kal-mani-mandapam (1000-pillared mandapa) 213
Akalankan 21, 160, 183, 383
Akalanka cvm 193
Akalanka Nadalvan 279
Akalankan Asari 388
Akalankan Brahmamarayan 44
Akalankan Nallur 189
Akalankan Siyagangan 84
Akalankan Tirumandapam 383
Akalankan Tiruvasal 186
Alagadriputtur 132
Alagapperumal Pillai 307
Alagiya Cholan 275
Alagiya Kulottungar 134

*I thank my daughter-in-law Smt. Leela Venkataraman and my grand-daughter Kum. Nandini for preparing this Index with meticulous care and devotion. S.R.B.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Alagiyanayan Aharasuran (*alias* Rajagambira chediyarayan) 97
Alagiya manavala (Manavala Mahamuni) 41, 45, 46
Alagiya Pallavan Sri Kopperunjinga 397, 403, 404
Alagiya Pallava Vinnagar(am) 397, 403, 404
Alagiya Pallava Virarayan (Kachchiyarayan) 218
Alagiya Perumal Vinnagara Emperuman 251
Alagiyasolan (Kulottunga Sambuvarayan) 281
Alagiya Solanallur 33
Alagiya Tiruch-chirrambalam Udaiyan 387, 77, 78
Alagiya Tiruch-chirrambalam Udaiyan tirumatham 283
Alagiya Vinayakap-Pillaiyar 191
Alalasundara 367, 301
Alambakkam 345, 346, 348
(Tiru) Alangadu 31, 32
Alangattu Adigal 325
Alangudi 172, 183, 184, 185, 370
Alappirandan Elisai mohan (Kulottungasola Kadavaraditan) 89, 209
Alappirandan Edirilisola Sambuvarayan 299
Alavandal 77
Alvandar 198
Alavely 154
Alangattu Amman 31
Alinadan (Tirumangai Mannan) 40
Alisupakkam 405
Allun-Tirukkalattideva 317, 323
Allur 348
Alpakkam 276
Aludaiya Pillaiyar (Sambandar) 24, 29, 344
Amangudi 419, 420
Amanpakkam 427
Amarkon 286
Ambadeva 398
Ambalappasvami (Mukkudaiyar) temple 141
Ambalavan Periya Peruman (Jagadekavira Acharya) 46
Amban 72
Ambarasuran 72
Ambarnagara 72
Ambarmakalam 72
Ambarnadu 67, 72, 73, 173, 374
Ambar Tirumangalam Udaiyar 73
Ambiradeva (Hamviradeva) 219
Amita (Amrita) Sagarar 136
Ammai-Appar 260
Ammaiyappan Gandara Suriyan Sambuvarayan 301
Ammaiyappan Siyan Pallavandan (Rajanarayana Sambhuvarayan) 217, 219, 222
Ammangadevi 2
Amritaghatesvarar t. 22, 67, 87, 118, 119, 171, 226, 331, 341
Anaikkattuputtur 127
Anaimangalam 8, 9, 17
Anantalvar, -shrine 146, 345
Anantanarayana Perumal t. 320, 322
Ananta Saras 145
Anantavarman Choda Ganga 6
Anapaya 20, 51, 102, 166, 208, 209, 211, 213
Anapaya Muvendavelan 208
Anapaya-nallur 208
Anapaya-puram 335
Andal 40, 197
Annan Pallavaraiyan (Palaiyanur Udaiyan Vedavanam Udaiyan Ammaiyappan) 266, 267, 289
Anupamambika 318
Aparajita Vikramavarman 37, 38
Apatsahayesvarar (Vikramasolisvaram) t. 167, 183, 370, 399
Apurvi-Mahesvaras 423
Apurvis 344
Apratisvarar (Piridivalichcharam Udaiyar) t. 278
Appar 28, 72, 101, 119, 127, 175, 189, 285, 305, 386, 404, 414
Aragalur 297, 318, 369
Araiyan Aludaiya Nayaganar 335
Araiyani nallur 91
Araisur 345
Aramudu Mahadevar 327
Arantangi 350
Arappallisvarar t. 268, 279
Arasalaru (r.) 167
Arasanarayanan Kudal Alappirandan (Virasekhara Kadavarayan) 395
Arasilaru (r.) 345
Arasukkudaiyan Tirunilakandan Seraman Solan 30
Ardhanarisvarar t. 148
Ariyappillai Dandanayaka 49
Arakandanallur 91, 95
Arkattuk-Kurram 306, 345
Arpakkam 266, 274, 275, 311
Arrur Kurram 312
Arulakaran 20, 24
Arulalap-Perumal 63, 216, 219, 288, 345
Arulalisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar 38

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Arulmolisvaram 195
Arul-turai Nayanar 302
Aru-Marundu-Ammai 138, 139
Aru-Marundu Devar 140
Arumarundu (Karkatakesvarar) t. 138
Aru-Marundu Udaiyar 139
Arumbakkam 19, 34, 366
Arumbakkilan Ponnambalakkuttan (Kalingarayan Naralokaviran) 55, 161
Arumbavur 369
Arunachalesvarar t. 296
Ashtabhujasvamin 145
Ashta-virattana Kshetra(s) 305
Atitisvarar (Vidugadalagisvaram Udaiyar) t. 366
Atiya 79
Atiyendra Vishnu Griham 79
Atkonda devar 304
Atkonda-nayakan,-Tiru-nattap-peruman 29, 73, 74
Atkondavilli 192
Atti 281, 282
Attiyur 145
Avarani (Abaranadani) 320, 322
Ayirattali (Ahavamalla-kula-kalapuram) 8, 14, 89, 199, 221, 223, 228, 252, 264, 288, 292, 360
Ayogava(s) 55
Ayya Nayanar 328
Ayyur Agaram 151, 152

B

Bahuda 61, 64
Balesvar 125
Ballala (I) 288, 296, 360, 406
Ballala II 296
Banadiraja 248
Bana(s) 79, 181, 248
Banavasa 406
Banavasi 135
Bangapadi 79
Basavanna t. 164
Beta 60, 296, 298
Bharadvaja (Kulatilakan Sri Rama Bhattan) 47
Bharata 199, 201
Bharatam vallan 399
Bharatanatya 399
Bhattacharya 25, 26
Bhima (Telinga Viman) 6
Bhogamattal *alias* Bhuvananayaki Manikkam 188
Bhrigu (Muni) 198
Bhuloka Kailasam 213
Bhuloka-manikka cvm. 336
Bhulokanathasvamin temple 187, 188
Bhumisvaram Udaiyar 276
Bhupala Kulavalli 73
Bhutattalvar 145, 197
Bhuvanamulududaiyal (Avanimulududaiyal) 8, 128, 151, 208
Bhuvanapati Nachchiyar 385
Bhuvaneswar 125, 231
Bilhana 5
Bilvanathesvarar temple 420
Bittideva 50
Bittiga Vishnuvardhana 81, 298
Bommanar Bappa Nayakar 94
Brahmadaraya Muttaraiyar 214
Brahmadesam 10, 121
Brahmapuram 27, 28
Brahmapurisvarar temple 23, 27, 28, 29, 72
Brahmasutra-bhashyam 383
Brihadambal 350, 351

C

Chakkarakotta(m) 13
Chakratirtham tank 280
Chakrakuta 4
Chalukki Narayana Yadavaraya (Ghattiyadeva) 180
Chalukya Vikramaditya II 51
Chamundesvara Halegondi 171
Chandragiri Rajya 103
Chandramallesvara 246
Chandramoulisvarar t. 300
Changadeva Singanna Dandanayaka 48
Channarayasvami temple 164
Chedi mandalam 380, 381
Chedipan 328
Chediraja (chediraya) 38, 297
Chelluru 116, 117, 207
Chengamma or Chengam(a) 84, 317
Chenna Gopala 389
Chennakesava 100
Chennakesava temple (Chennur) 389
Cheyyar(u) 59, 214, 274, 281
Chidambaram 11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 31, 32, 37, 40, 42, 43, 48, 51, 53, 86, 87, 88, 101, 118, 136, 146, 156, 160, 161, 162, 183, 184, 186, 195, 196, 199, 200, 201, 202, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 226, 228, 233,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

240, 260, 277, 289–320, 323, 333, 382, 383, 398, 401, 404
Chidambara-Purnam 148
Chikka Somaladevi 49
Chilakalanerpu 115, 130
Chinna Kanchi (puram) 345
Chintamani-Agaram 112, 113, 150, 151, 152, 155, 156, 425
Chirrambalam 210
Chitra Sabha 32
Chittrameli 389
Chittira-meli-nallur 218
Chittira vinnagaram (Kesavaperumal Koyil) 389
Cholakulattu Erppatta paribhavattai Nivarttitta vikkiraman 381
Cholakula-eka-rakshaka (Vira Narasimha) 40
Chola-kula-rakshaka 360
Chola mahadevi 360, 406
Cholamandala Pratishthacharya 363
Cholapandyanallur 174
Chola-Rajya-Pratishtacharya 360, 406
Chola-Sthapana (Vira Narasimha) 407
Chola-sthapanacharya 380
Cholendrasimha 223, 345
Chole(i)svaram 214, 352
Cholisvarar (Rajendrasolisvaram Udaiyar) t. 126, 213, 247, 248, 394
Cholisvarar (Vikramasolisvaram Udaiyar) t. 334, 335, 336
Chudamani vihara 8, 14
Chulamani-varman 8
Cranganore 294

D

Dadapuram 141
Dakshina-kailasam 315
Dakshina Lata 266, 275
Dakshinapurisvarar temple 172
Dakshinayana (gateway) 199
Dandanayaka Gangaraja 15, 298
Danarnava 2
Darasuram 18, 40, 171, 200, 201, 202, 203, 222, 223, 225, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 252, 283, 326, 332
Dasamurti(s) 50
Desinayakan Tirukkavanam 390
Devanahalli 428
Devagiri 5
Devanayakasvamin temple 280
Devapala 16
Devaram 20, 22, 24, 30, 35, 91, 95, 186, 198, 215, 227, 233, 283, 287, 404.
Deva sabha 211
Deivanayaki 228
Devara devar 416
Devaram Oduvar 388
Devasiva Pandita 118
Devendravarman 154
Dhanvantari, -Emperumal 42, 48
Dharmapuri 15, 79, 82, 298
Dharmasamvardhini (shrine) (Panchanadesvarar temple) 348
Dharme(i)svarar temple 426, 428
Dharavarsha 4, 13
Dharukavana 127
Dina-chintamani-nallur 151, 152, 217
Divyasuri-charitam 48
Draksharama 6, 116, 117, 154, 383, 398
Dvarapati (Dvarakapati) 426
Dvarasamudra (Dorasamudra) 288, 412

E

Edayar(rup)pakkam 64
Edirambalam 12, 211
Edirkolpadi (Mel-Tiru-mananjeri) 187, 301,
Edirilip-Perumal (Kulottungasola Kadambarayan) 66
Edirili-Solisvaram Udaiya(r) Nayanar (Agastisvaram) 281
Edirili-cholanallur 166
Edirilip-perumal 29, 30, 66, 263, 283
Edirilisola-puram 337
Edirilisola Sambuvarayar 58, 218, 266, 274, 275, 311
Edirilisola Vinnagar emperuman (Kariya perumal) 281
Eduttakai alagar 42
Eduttakai-alagiya nayinar 48
Eka-bhakta 333
Eka-dhiran 381
Ekamranathar t. 312
Eka-vachakan Ulagu-Kanvidutta Perumal 306, 307
Elavanasur (Iraivanaraiyur) 97, 148, 399
Elini 83
Elisai Mohan 395, 402
Elisai Sandhi 396
Ellore 5
Engalur 118
Emmandalamum Kondaruliya Kulasekhara devar 383

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Erasiddhi 60, 298
Ereyanga 296
Errakunte 115
Erukkur (Irukkaiyur) 185
Eyil kottam 215, 276
Eyil patna 165
Eyirk-kottam (same as Eyil kottam) 377

G

Gadilam (Varanavasi) 101, 363, 399
Gadya-Karnamrita 363
Gahad(a)wal 131
Gajapati 219
Gajaprishta 277
Gajendra 145
Gokarnesvarar 106, 409
Ganapati (Kakatiya) 296, 299
Gandagopala(n) (Tikka Nirupanan) 323, 374, 380, 382
Gandagopala cvm 36, 39, 374
Gandagopala manikka(m) madam 324, 371
Gandagopala Panaiyandi 371
Gandagopala pattinam (Kollitturai) 390, 391
Gandagopala Pichchan 375
Gandagopala Tirukkalatti devan 368
Gandagopala Vinnagar 371
Gandagopala Vinnagara Kalameghap-perumal 374
Gandan Madhurantakan (Uttama chola deva) 268
Gandaradittan Madhurantakan 173
Ganga (r.) 24
Ganga (dyn.) 19, 79, 82, 83, 85, 154, 208, 221, 246, 298
Gangadharesvarar (Gangaikonda-solisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar) 129
Gangaikondacholapuram 1, 4, 14, 22, 124, 131, 154, 155, 198, 200, 201, 207, 221, 225, 229, 230, 231, 233, 287, 288, 360
Gangaikondasola(n) 30, 176
Gangaikondasola nallur 81, 166
Gangaikondasola valanadu 35, 77, 114, 118
Gangaikondacholisvaram (same as Gangaikondasolisvaram) 11, 186, 201, 225, 230, 340.
Gangaikondasolisvara(m) Chaturalai 176
Gangaikondasolisvara Udaiyar 139
Gangaikondasolisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar 115, 130
Gangapadi (see Gangavadi) 15, 81, 161, 265, 297, 298
Gangavadi (same as Gangapadi)
Gangapuri (same as Gangaikondasolapuram) 14, 207, 221
Gangarayar 328
Gangesvaram Udaiya Nayanar, -Udaiyar 129
Gangeyaraya(n) 46, 218, 351
Ganitach-chakravarti 187
Garuda vahana Bhatta, -Pandita 48
Gauda desa 16, 266, 275
Ghattiya deva (Chalukki Narayana Yadavaraya) 180, 316
Gidangil (Tindivanam) 168
Godavari 5, 290
Gokarnesvarar 106, 409
Gomadam 280
Gonka I 161
Gopayya Deva Maharaya 286
Gopinatha Rao, T. A. 333
Gosvami Misra 309
Govinda chandra 131
Govinda Dikshitar 196, 284
Govinda raya 19, 288
Grama-ardhanarisvarar 148, 149
Grama-ardhanathesvarar (Ur-bhagam-kondaruliya nayanar) 148, 149
Grama-sikhamani cvm 427
Gudimallam 179
Gudur 389, 390
Gurukularayar 337
Guttupalli 182

H

Hallavura (Vijayasamudra) 406, 408
Hamviradeva (Ambiradeva) 219
Hampi 125, 233
Hanungal 135
Haragoudi 125
Haratirthesvarar 350, 351
Harihara 382
Hari-vamsa-sara-charitam 285
Hastigiri 145
Heddore 406
Hema (rishi) 198
Hiranyakasipu 42
Holeranalli 246
Hose Hadangili 408
Hoskote 428
Hosapete 164
Hoysala(s) 15, 42, 47, 49, 81, 129, 137, 146, 168, 246, 296, 359, 360, 361, 363, 365, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 394, 398, 399, 406, 407,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

408, 409, 411, 412, 413, 429.
Hoysala Ereyanga 5
Hoysalisvaram (Posalisvaram) Udaiyar t. 411
Huligere 406

I

Ichchha Sakti 332
Idaiyarruppakkam 64
Idangai 99
Idavandurai 317
Ilaiyakka nadu 130
Ilam 90, 99, 268, 287, 291, 294, 307, 329, 334, 343, 346, 372, 383
Ilambayam Kottur (see Ilambayangottur) 103, 281
Ilambayangottur 33, 280, 281
Ilambayangottur Udaiya-Nayanar 281
Ingaikkudaiyar Karunakara devar 337
Innambur nadu 99
Iraivanaraiyur (Elavanasur) 148
Irajaraja tirumangalam 187
Iramairama Siddharasan 62
Irattaippadikondasola mandalam 100
Irattaippadikondasola nallur 126
Irayiravan pallavayan (*alias* Uttamasola pallavaraiyan) 421
Irukkaiyur (Erukkur) 185
Irukongu 382
Irul-Nikkian 127
Irumadi Tiruk-kalattidevar 390
Iru-marabilum-tuyya-perumal-mangalam 325
Irumbulai (Tiruvirumpulai) (Tiru-Irumpulai) 184
Irumpulai (Alangudi) (see Irumbulai) 184
Iru Mudigalai Munru andugal Irasarasanai sudum padi seyda viran (Rajendra III) 379
Irungolar(s) 80
Irungolappadi 88, 89
Irungolisvara(r) (m) 78
Irungolisvaram Udaiya nayanar 80, 81, 82
Irungolisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar 80, 81, 82
"*Iruvar Pandiyar muditttalai kondarulina*" (Rajendra III) 379
Isanur (Paramesvarar temple) 191
Isvara temple (Ulagisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar) 181
Isvarar (Vaidisvarar) t. 151
Isvarar temple 112, 150, 156
Isvara Siva 333, 337

J

Jagadekaviran 381
Jagadippadai 304, 346
Jagannatha t. 231
Jaina Kanchi 144
Jamadagni 66
Jambukesvara(r)(m) 23, 47, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412
Jambukesvarasvamin 409, 410, 411
Jananatha cvm 184, 185, 370, 402
Jananatha saruppedimangalam 183
Jananatha valanadu 35, 76, 149, 173, 312, 314, 350
Jata Choda Bhima 59
Jatavarman Kulasekhara 249, 250, 288, 289, 290, 291
Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I 46, 66, 215–16, 323, 378, 382
Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II 134, 281, 380, 385
Jatavarman Sundarapandya deva 260, 307
Jatavarman Vira Pandya I 133, 134, 218, 219
Jatavarman Vira Pandya II 383
Jayadhrata 266
Jayadhrata Dandanayaka 275
Jayadhara(n) 13, 14, 75
Jayadhara Pallavaraiyar 334, 335
Jayangondar 5, 6
Jayangondasola Brahmadiraja 427
Jayangondasola cvm 368
Jayangondasola kidarattaraiyan 322
Jayangondasola valanadu 17, 68, 172, 175, 177, 305, 329
Jayangondasola Vanakkovaraiyan 428
Jayasimha 14
Jayasinga Kulakala valanadu 134, 173
Jayatunga Mangalam 362
Jnana Sakti 332
Jnana Siva (Umapati deva) 275

K

Kachchiyarayan 218
Kadagodi 428
Kadamba 144
Kadamba Jayakesari 5
Kadambarkoyil 214
Kadambattur 177, 280
Kadambur-Ilangoyil 119
Kadapperi 82, 83
Kadaram (Kedaram, Kataha, Kedah) 7, 8, 9, 16, 294

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kadarangondasolapuram 102, 103
Kadava 82, 83, 136, 137, 209, 222, 295, 297, 361, 362, 363, 382, 395, 399
Kadavaraya Disapatta 361
Kaduvetti 221
Kaikola Mudali(s) 268
Kailasanathar temple 106, 107, 142, 313, 346, 348, 349, 426.
Kailasanathasvamin temple 369, 394
Kaivara nadu 45, 130, 164
Kakatiya 63, 290, 299, 338, 359, 382, 383, 398
Kakku nayakan (Kanakarayan) 165
Kakku Nayakar 55
Kalahasti 60, 79, 168, 170, 288, 298, 314
Kalahastisvarar t. 314, 315, 337
Kalakala Devar 68
Kalala deviyar 411
Kalameghapperumal (Gandagopala vinnagar) temple 374
Kalesvara temple 164
Kalikkottai 290, 338
Kalinga 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, 15, 59, 154, 231
Kalinga mandalam 6
Kalinganagara 6
Kalingaraja(n) 8, 75
Kalingarayan 20, 55
Kalingattupparani 5, 6, 231
Kaliyarkon (Kalingarayan) 20
Kaliyur kottam 36, 37, 276, 375
Kallakkurichchi 147
Kallaperumbur 142
Kalikadinda solan 209
Kalumalam 27
Kalyanapuram 229
Kalyanasundaranar 321, 322
Kalyanasundaresvarar 285
Kalyani 1, 229, 233
Kamantaka 234
Kamakoti vinnagar 426
Kambar 41
Kambayanallur 298
Kambhoja(n) 12, 13
Kamikagama 332
Kampaharesvarar t. 330
Kanaka-solisvarar temple 147
Kana nadu (alias Virudaraja-bhayankara nadu) 351, 365, 379, 407
Kanauj 131
Kanchi (puram) 14, 37, 59, 76, 85, 90, 140, 144, 146, 188, 210, 214, 222, 274, 288, 290, 345, 361, 365, 372, 380, 384, 36, 47, 51, 56, 246, 381, 396, 407.
Kanchi Kanchana Kadava Kulantaka 361
Kandan Madavan 135, 136
Kandalur salai 10
Kandaraviruppettai (Gandagopala cvm) 374
Kaniyalan 368
Kaniyamur 147
Kannagondisvara 134
Kannamangalam Udayan Vimappillai 367, 301
Kannanur 411
Kannanur koppam 382, 407, 408, 411
Kannappa nayanar 40, 123, 315
Kannara deva 37, 38, 58, 76, 418
Kannudaiya Perumal (Pinatti alvar) 350
Kanvesvara (Kannesvara) temple 134, 135
Kanyakumari, -inscription 11, 3
Karaikkal Ammai(yar) 16, 31, 324
Karakkoyil 22, 119
Karandai Tamil Sangam 378
Kilp-palaru 378
Karigai-kulattur,-Pallavaraiyar 136, 222, 251, 252, 223
Karikala Aditya II 344
Karikala Chola 60, 344
Karikala devar 68
Karikalasola Adaiyur Madevan 318
Karimanikkap-Perumal 146
Kariya Perumal (Edirili sola vinnagar Emperumal) t. 281, 282
Karkatakesvarar (Aru-Marundu-Isar) t. 138
Karralip-perumanadigal 300
Karumanikkap-Perumal temple 368
Karu Manikka varadar (Vikramasola vinnagar Alvar)t. 188
Karunakara Alvi 329
Karunakara Tondaiman 6, 20, 161
Karur (Vanji) 79, 83, 348, 349
Karuvur 288, 290, 291, 293, 307, 338, 341, 343, 346, 352
Kasi Visvanathar (Karohana) t. 197
Kasi Visvanathar temple (Kulottungasolisvaram) 106, 107, 108, 110, 378
Kasi Visvanathasvamin temple 377
Kasi Visvesvara 428
Kataha (see Kadaram) 7, 16
Kattumannarkoyil (Kattumannargudi) 118
Kaveri 79, 84, 109, 167, 199, 200, 348, 379, 381, 384, 397, 411.
Kaveripattinam 172
Kaverip-pum-pattinam 414, 398
Kaveri Vallabha 246

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kaviri-nallur 335
Kayyamayil mandapa 328
Kedah 294
Kendatti 246
Kerala-Kulasani cvm 372
Keralantaka cvm 419
Keralantaka Nallur 281, 282
Keralantaka vinnagaram 281
Keralasinga valanadu 94
Khadgamallan 396
Khadgaviran 381
Kidarattaraiyan (Aranan) 268
Kilaiyur 297
Kilaperumballam 172
Kilinjalur 218
Kiliyanallur 281
Kiliyur 35, 76, 77, 78, 96, 93
Kilkudi 320, 321
Kil-Palaiyaru 422, 425
Kil-Tirumananjeri 187
Kilur 35, 208, 297
Kilvalluvappadi nadu 46
Kilvelur 72
Kiranur 71, 218, 301
Kiratamurti 174, 175, 196
Kirttinarayana vinnagar Alvar 252
Kitty 7
Kochchola 300
Kochchenganan 72, 199, 300
Kodairavivarman 45
Kodavasal 86
Kodumbalur 60
Kondungunram, -Udaiyar (Nishadaraja) 248, 350
Kolair 5, 6
Kolala 81
Kolanu (Kolair, *alias* Kulam) 5, 6
Kolaru 117
Koli-ma-Nagar 382
Kollidam 98, 363, 381, 404
Kollimalai 45, 268, 279
Kollitturai (Gandagopalap-Pattinam) 390, 391
Konark 125, 132, 226, 231, 233
Konulan Amudalvan Mangai Nayakan Malavarayan 316
Kongu 15, 54, 79, 80, 156, 298, 338.
Koppam 382
Kopperunjinga 36, 93, 136, 146, 150, 166, 168, 209, 212, 213, 218, 248, 282, 298, 361, 362, 363, 380, 382, 383, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405
Kopperunjingan 337
Koranadu 336
Korgara 11
Korukkai 328, 329
Kottaru 10, 11, 264
Kottattal perumal Igaiyamandal 376
Kottur 33, 103, 281, 347
Koval 369, 314
Kovilangulam 141
Kovilur (Usattanam) 372, 385
Koyarrur 80, 81, 82, 84, 156
Koyilolugu 44
Koyilur 133
Kripanamalla 398
Krimikanthan 50
Kripapurisvarar t. 302
Krishna (Vennaikkadaiyarulina) 282
Krishna III 58, 75, 76, 78
Krishnadevaraya 21, 131, 212, 282
Krishnan Raman 419
Krishnapatnam 371, 390
Krishnarajapet 134
Krishnarayapuram 281
Kriya Sakti 332
Kshatriyanatha cvm 163
Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu 319
Kshetrak-kovai 305
Kshetrapaladevar (Pillaiyar) 77, 78
Kshiravanesvarar (Palaivananathar) 127
Kudal 360, 375
Kudal (Mohan) Arasanarayanan Alappirandan (Kadavarayan) 304, 396
Kudal Alappirandan Alagiya Pallavan (Kadavarayan) 218, 396, 400
Kudal Alvar 396
Kudal Elisai Mohan Manavalap Perumal Vanilaikandar (Kadavarayan) 402
Kudamukku 198
Kudandai 197
Kugaiyur 297, 313, 314
Kudumiyamalai 291, 338
Kuladhipa sikhamani valanadu 346
Kulambandal 155, 202
Kulasekhara Alvar 51, 40
Kulasekhara (Pandya) 253, 263, 265, 266, 267, 274, 275, 289
Kulasekhara Udaiyar t. 319
Kulattur 135, 136, 251, 252, 329
Kulikkarai 337
Kulottunga Sambuvarayan 299
Kulottungasola Atimurkkachchengirai 129
Kulottungasola Kongarayan 143
Kulottunga chola (Panchanadivanam Paran-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

takan) 143
Kulottungasolisvaram 27, 108, 109, 112, 329
Kulottungasolisvaram (Vamsoddharakanathar t.) 133, 338, 339
Kulottungasolisvaram Udaiyar 63, 87, 88, 126, 143, 328, 329
Kulottungasolisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar (Cholisvarar) 126, 127, 142, 144, 151
Kulottungasola Chedirayan 93, 96
Kulottungasola cvm 61, 62, 344
Kulottungasola gamundan 115
Kulottungasola Kadavarayan 89, 209
Kulottungasola Kadavan Adittan 209
Kulottungasola Kidarattaraiyan 273
Kulottungasola(n) Kurralam 335, 336
Kulottungasola marttandalayam 131
Kulottungasola Nallur 168, 170, 215, 217
Kulottungasola Nanadesi vinnagar (*alias* Chennakesava t.) 100
Kulottungasolap-pattinam 388
Kulottungasola Sambuvarayan (Alagiyasolan) 281
Kulottungasola Sauvarnadhiraja 89
Kulottungasola tirumaligai 23
Kulottungasola valanadu 74, 104, 281, 285, 329, 427
Kulottungasola Vanakkovaraiyar 44, 312, 319, 369
Kulottungasola vinnagara alvar 61
Kulottungasola vinnagara emperuman 62, 370
Kulottungasolan Ula 209, 210
Kumaranayyan 329
Kumbakonam 18, 86, 98, 106, 107, 130, 142, 154, 167, 183, 171, 189, 196, 197, 200, 260, 284, 327, 328, 330, 340, 344, 370, 421.
Kundavai 2, 3
Kundavai Pirattiyar 141, 199
Kundavai Jinalaya 141
Kundavai Nallur 327
Kunganur 78
Kunkiliyakkalaya Nayanar 124
Kuram Plates 426
Kunrattur 68
Kuntala 362, 13
Kuram-erinda-perumal 313
Kuranelli 182
Kurichchi 143
Kurukkai 35, 73, 76, 188, 200, 253, 301, 329, 350.
Kurumbur 17, 176
Kuttadum Devar (Nataraja) 172, 173, 174, 175, 133
Kuttadu Nayanar 321
Kuttalam 187, 301, 334, 335, 336
Kuttattuk-kani 422
Kuvalala nadu 246, 130
Kulam (Kolair, Kolanu) 6
Kuvam 33, 102, 280
Kuvam-Tyagasamudra-nallur 103

L

Laddigam 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 97, 156, 298, 318
Lalgudi 268, 278, 345
Lakshmi Narasimha perumal temple 102, 103, 104
Lankapuri Dandanayaka 266, 275
Leyden grant 9, 16
Lingaraj temple 125, 131
Loboe Toeva 16
Lokamahadevi cvm 426

M

Maaliyur 129, 130
Madakkoyil 285
Madam 299, 396
Madanapala 131
Madamangalam 80, 81
Madanapalli 79, 156
Madarvelur 171, 193
Madapattiyam 176
Madattukkoyil (Tirup-peruman anda Nayanar Koyil) 65
Maddalaperumal 188
Madivala 129, 130
Madhurakavi 40
Madhurantaka-Pottapi-chola 298, 323
Madhyanesvarar 187, 301
Madivala Bechirak 181
Madiyanna 134
Madurai 29, 196, 327, 329, 330, 338, 343, 379, 382, 383
Magadai 295, 297, 298
Magara 363
Magadesan (Adaiya Valaindan Tirumaligai) 46, 370, Ponparappina M-, 297
Magaral (nadu) 214, 215, 276, 376, 377
Magilavanam 135
Mahabali Banaraya 181
Mahamakha tank 196, 284
Mahadoorvipala nirmulaka 407

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mahamandalesvara Bettarasu 60
Mahamunisvarar (Vyakkirapada Mamunisvaram Udaiyar) 375
Maharajasinha (Kopperum Singan) 402
Mahavali Banarasa 79
Mahavamsa 248, 265
Mahendragiri 5, 59
Mahendradiraja Nolamba 80
Mailala Devi 135
Mailamba 296
Makalanathar 72, 74
Maladu 314
Malai mandalam 391
Malaimannar 12, 20
Malai nadu 45, 382, 383, 62, 161
Malaiyaman 35, 77, 93, 148, 208, 297
Malaiyaman Attinathan sokkapperumal (Rajagambhira Chediyarayan) 77
Malaiyanur 82
Malaiyan Vanarayan 370
Malanadu 272, 279
Malaparolugonda 410
Malavanur 279
Malayaman Raman Surriyan 77
Mallikarjuna 317, 327
Malur 16, 129
Mamallapuram 85, 398
Manalur 13
Manambadi 107, 112, 113, 421, 424, 425
Manamtavirtta-puttur 302
Manapakkam 328
Manavala 361
Manavala Mahamuni 41
Manavalap-perumal 282, 360, 395, 400, 401, 402, 403
Manavatara 20, 23, 75
Manavil 19, 37, 55, 76, 102, 281
Manayil kottam 37
Mandahappattu 274
Mandikere 428
Mangalam 399
Mangalesvarar 72, 73
Mangudi (Tyagasamudra-nallur) 346
Mani-kantesvarar t. 314, 316
Manikkavachakar 124, 148, 150, 260
Manikka Varadar (Vamanapurisvaram temple) 101
Manik-kengai Mahadevar 316
Manimangalam 426, 427
Manma Siddha (Mamma Siddha) 62, 63, 298
Mannargudi 394, 404
Mantrapurisvarar (Usattanam Udaiya Nayanar) temple 284, 372, 385
Manu-kulam-Edutta-perumal 385
Manukulattai Uyarttiyavan 381
Manumasiddhi II 380, 381
Manumasiddharasa II (Viragandagopala) 389, 390
Manumasiddhisvaram Udaiyar temple 371, 390, 391
Manumasiddhisvaram Udaiya Nayanar temple 324, 390
Manur 394
Maragatavalli Nachchiyar 178
Marakkanam 165
Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandya 39, 104, 279, 383, 407
Maravarman Parakrama Pandya (Deva) 12, 20
Maravarman Sundara Pandya I 248, 251, 289, 291, 293, 351, 360, 406, 407
Maravarman Sundara Pandya II 381, 379
Maravarman Vikrama Pandya 166
Maravijayottungavarman 17
Manavir kottam 33, 65, 126
Marayan Cholakulasundari 420
Marudur 78
Marudavur 66
Masavadi 406
Mattival 266
Mattiyur 290, 338
Matottam 266, 267
Mattur 73
Matulisvaram Udaiyar 193
Matuli Velur (Akalanka cvm) 193
Mavilangai 381
Mayuram 67, 135, 172, 176, 251, 324, 329, 336, 368
Mayuranathasvamin temple 336, 368
Mayurasarman 144
Medamarya (Guna-ratha-bhashana) 117
Mekkattuk-Kadambur 119
Medava Mahadevi 2
Melakkadambur 22, 40, 87, 118, 119, 124, 125, 156, 171, 197, 198, 226, 231, 233, 341, 331, 400.
Melamalai 32
Melaperumballam 172, 175, 176
Mel-Gangapadi 312
Melkote 50
Mel-Sevur 418
Mel-Tirumananjeri 187
Menmalaip-Palaiyanur (nadu) 29, 173, 175

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Merkaa nadu 405, 415
Metalisvarasvami temple 193
Merpakkai nadu 61
Miladu 35, 149, 312, 350
Muduvur 33
Milalai 109, 135, 136, 139, 301, 367, 421, 422, 423
Mimalai nadu 279
Minavanai-venkonda solapuram 89
Minavan Muvendavelan 38, 218, 388
Mindan Siyan 398
Mohan Alkolli (Kulottungasola Kadavarayan) 209
Mrityunjayesvarar t. 316
Mudikonda Cholapuram 73, 139, 199, 292, 351, 360, 362
Mudikondasola mandalam 114, 118
Mudikondasola nallur 88, 89
Mudikondasolap-pereri 163
Mudikondasola Muvendavelan 77
Mudikondasola valanadu 183, 306, 307, 370
Mudittalai-konda-solapuram 291
Mudivalangusola 288
Mugandanur 293
Mukkarasar (Rajendrasola Pallavaradittan) 246
Mukkudaiyar 141
Mukyachalesvarar temple 165
Mulapaurushai 173
Mulasthanam Udaiyar temple 114, 217
Mulasthanam Udaiya Mahadevar 216
Mummudisola Brahma Marayan Vaykkal 420
Mummudisola chaturvedimangalam 48
Mummudisolan Perambalam 173
Mummudisolapuram 386, 387
Mummudisola vinnagara alvar 43
Munaiyadaraiyan (Arayan Rajarajadevan) 168
Munjikudi 17
Munnalur 105
Munniyur 30
Munnam Namakku mudi valangum sevadikkil 362
Munnur 77, 288
Munnur(u) (Rajarajanarayana cvm) 216, 218, 219, 220, 396
Munnurruvan Kulam 420
Mut-tamilukkut-talaivan 223

N

Nachchiyar tiruk-koyil 329, 388
Nadu Nadu 219, 395
Naduvil Nadu 29, 53, 217
Nagala Mahadevi 410
Naganathasvamin temple 421, 425, 10
Naganpadi 421, 422, 424
Nagapattana(m) (Nagapattinam) 8, 9, 10, 16
Nagar 217, 278, 279, 280
Nagarattars 109, 368
Nagarattar-malai 388
Nakulesvarar shrine 420
Nagaswamy, R. 175, 231
Nagesvarar temple 197
Nalanda 16, 144
Nallanayaki Amman shrine 377, 378
Nalla Siddha(i) 60, 298
Nallan Siddharajan 62
Nallasiddharasa 46, 298, 317
Nallur (nadu) 46, 164, 327
Nallur Nataraja 285
Nallur (Tirumanam) 27, 367
Nallur Valangaiman 142
Namakkal 79, 268
Nambirattiyar Nariyan Mahadeviyar 160
Nambi-andar Nambi 186, 198, 211
Nambi-Nangai 424
Nammalvar (Sadagopan) 197, 251
Nammudaiya Peyaral Ugandarulappanni 404
Nandalur 59, 60, 61, 64, 268, 298, 384
Nandavana 100
Nandikesvarar temple 378
Nandikesvarasvamin (temple) 377
Nandivarman Pallavamalla 36, 98, 100
Nandivarma (Nandipanma) 199
Nandan-koyil (Tiru-Aru-Marundu-Devar) 138
Nandipuram (Nandipanma-puram) 199, 252
Nandi-Panma-Mangalam 346, 348
Nangur (nadu) 173, 183, 414, 416, 422
Nanjangud(u) 114
Nannilam 43, 52, 163, 420
Nangupatti 65
Naralokavira(n),-sandhi,-mandapa 11, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 145, 161, 163, 170, 177, 184, 185, 207, 383
Narasingapuram 102, 103
Narasimha I 231, 79, 125, 427
Narasimhavarman I 426
(Vira) Narasimha II 168, 365
Narendra (Rajaraja) 2
Narppattennayiravan Tirukkavanam 279
Narttamalai 388
Nathamuni 197

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Nattamangudi 345, 346, 348
Natya Sastra 199, 201
Nayanmar(s) 138, 143, 148, 197, 227, 260, 387
Nayidaraiyar 90
Neela Gangaraiyan 128
Nelandaluru 61
Nellore 60, 61, 146, 268, 298, 324, 359, 368, 371, 380, 383, 389, 390
Neriyudaich-chola 288
Neriudai-Perumal 253, 263
Nerkunram 343
Nerkuppai 375
Nettur 289
Neyvennai 35
Neyyadippakkam (Naiyadapakkam) 375, 376
Nidur 135, 137
Nidur-kuttan 135
Nigarilisolan Mandalam 164, 181, 182, 221, 246
Nigarilisolapuram (Nallur) 343
Nikkamma Devi(yar) 323
Nilakantha Dikshitar 284
Nilakanthesvarar temple 78, 84, 156, 340
Nilamalar-Kan-Ammai 35
Nirait-Tavan-Jeydal 77
Nirantanur 61
Nirantarapura 61
Nirvachanottara Ramayana 381
Nishadaraja(s) (Tirukkodungunram udaiyan Alagiya devan) 248, 249, 250, 350, 351
Nittavinoda Isvaram Udaiyar 99
Nittavinoda Kalyanasundara devar 99
Nittavinoda Valanadu 43, 46, 128, 327, 421
Nittavinoda Sambuvarayan 222
Nityesvarar t. 88
Niyamam 60, 252
Nonambavadi (see Nolambavadi) 406
Nolambavadi (Nolambapadi) 231
Nolamba(s) 79
Nolambi 80
Nripakama 296
Nripatunga(n) 152, 398
Nripatunga Jayatangi cvm 152
Nrpatunga pallava 32, 180, 395
Nulambarajan 73
Nungama 60, 323
Nunkama Mahadevi 46

O

Olagapuram 425
Omampuliyur,—Udaiya Vada-tali 118, 404, 405
Omkarisvarar t. (Omkarisvaram Udaiya Paramasvamin) 334, 335
Oppilamanisvarar temple 91
Oppillada Nayanar 94
Opporuvarumillada Nayanar 91, 92, 93, 94
Oromaya Maharishi (Romapada) 120
Orugallu 290, 338
Osia 132
Ottakkudi 337
Ottakkuttan(r) 161, 208, 210, 221, 223, 232, 232
Oymanadu 168, 217, 219, 220

P

Pachisvarar temple 177
Pachchur 363
Padalur 213
Padaividu 166
Padinenbhumi-Samasta Paradesis 390
Padumaladevi 406
Padumalisvaram 408, 412
Pala 124
Palangur 349, 350
Palaikkurichchi 320, 322
Palaivananathar (temple) 127, 371
Palaiyanur (Nili) 31, 32, 33
Palaiyanur 286
Palaiyanur Udaiyan Vedavanam Udaiyan Ammaiyappan 253, 266
Palaiyanur-Udaiyan (Vedavanam Udaiyan) 29, 33
Palayarai 14, 112, 199, 200, 203, 221, 252, 330
Palayarai-Malapadi (Pattisvaram) 283
Palaiyaru 222
Pala-Pani-Nivandakkarar 367
Palaiyur 90
Pallakku-Sokkar 169
Pallapuram (Vanavan Mahadevi cvm) 104
Pallava 6, 98, 199, 209
Pallava Kopperunjinga (see also Kopperunjinga under *K*) 251, 382
Pallavan Madevisuram,-Udaiya Nayanar 387
Pallavamalla Nandivarman 36
Pallavaraiya Karunakara Tondaiman 154
Pallavaraiyar (Pallavaraiyan) 222, 252
Pallavaram 104
Pallavarayan, (-pettai,-madam) 18, 29, 41, 222, 223, 224, 251, 252, 253, 263, 264, 266, 268, 275
Pallavanisvaram Udaiya Nayanar 373
Pallichchandam 8
Pallikondar 198

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Palur,-kottam 89, 149
Paluvettaraiyar 60
Paluvur 60
Pancha-bhuta(s) 315
Panchaksharesvarar t. 313
Pan-Mahesvara(s) 10
Panchanadesvarar temple 336, 348
Panchavan Brahmadarayan 346
Panchavan Ma (ha)devi,-isvaram 112, 113, 200, 343, 344, 422, 425
Pandilanda Solapati 248
Pandimandalam 92, 94, 266
Pandiyanai-Irumadi-venkandasola cvm 426
Pandiyanai-ven-kanda-solapuram 199
Pandya-gajakesari 293, 360, 407
Pandya Khandana 407
Panaiyandai (Gandagopala Manikkam) 371
Panpadaikka Aduvar 343
Papanasam 43, 44, 98, 127, 183, 327, 328, 370
Pardesi Sevasi 49
Parakrama Bahu 222, 265, 266, 267, 289
Parakrama Pandya 177, 289
Parantaka I 23, 37, 38, 41, 42, 58, 65, 70, 71, 75, 78, 79, 80, 118, 181, 186, 247, 272, 274, 340, 344, 347, 348, 418
Parantakan Madevadigal 268
Parantakapuram 374
Parasis 11
Parasuramisuramudaiya Nayanar 180
Paravai Sangiliyar 303
Paripurna Sivacharya 387
Parvatisvarar t. 320, 321
Pasai 190
Pasalapundi 116
Pasi 275
Pasindipuram 216
Pasupata Astra 40
Pataliputra 101
Patangesvar temple 89, 90
Palar (r.) 19, 56, 84, 274, 381
Pattanasvami 92
Patti 283
Pattinattar 414
Pattisvaram 200, 283, 284
Pattisvaranathar temple 283
Pattuppattu 145
Paundarikapuram 154, 155
Pauraniyadevar 53
Pennagadam 128, 402
Pennai 76, 84, 91, 298, 396
Pennai Vadagarai 92
Pennar (same as Pennai) 59, 82
Peralam 72
Perambalam 20, 25, 208, 210, 211, 322
Perambala nadu 370
Percy Brown 230
Periyapuliyur (*alias* Narasimhapuram) 103
Periya puranam (Taduttatkonda Puranam) 101, 211–13, 227
Periya Udaiyar Iraiyuran Sarrukkudadan 93, 96
Perumarudur 405
Perumbakkam 126
Perumbalur 382
Perumbanappadi 78, 79, 84, 179
Perumbanarruppadai 145
Perumbarrappuliyur 183, 185, 195, 215, 260
Perumparrapuliyur (same as Perumbarrappuliyur) 14, 21
Perum Peyar Vila 186
Perumukkil (Perumukkal Palamukkil) 165, 166
Perumur 33, 34
Perumur Udaiya Nayanar 30
Perun Toluvur 341
Perunarkkilli Solar 415
Perungalur (Perungoliyur) 133, 134
Perunguri Sabha 190, 191, 192, 279
Perunjingadevar 39
Perun-tandalam 316
Peruntottam 416
Peruvalandan Peruman cvm. 373
Peruvalvutanda (Peruvalandan) cvm 373
Peyalvar 197
Pillai Pallavarayan 266, 311
Pillait-Tamil 209
Piranmalai (Kodungunram) 248
Pirantakan Adittan 344
Piratti Alvar 350
Piridi Valichcharam Udaiyar (Apratisvarar) 278, 279
Piriduvali Isvaram Udaiyar 279
Pirudi Gangaraiyan 343
Pithapuram 117
Polur Tirumalai 141
Ponnamarapadi (same as Ponnamaravati) 251, 350
Ponnamaravati 247, 248, 292, 294, 351, 352, 361
Ponnambalakkuttan 20, 37, 177, 386
Ponnambalam 20, 185
Ponparappina Isvaram Udaiya Nayanar t. 313, 314
Ponparappina Magadesan 297
Ponparappina-nallur 314
Ponparappina-solisvaram 319

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Ponparappina Vanakkovaraiyar 319
Pon-Veynda-Perumal 208
Poondamalli 105
Porkkoyil tondaiman 20
Porkudamkuduttu Aruliya Nayanar 36
Posaviramana Devar 129
Posala-vira-somisvara cvm 280
Posala Narasimha 410
Posalisvaram 408, 411
Posalisvaram Udaiyar temple 411
Pottappi,-chola; (Manumasittaraisar) 60, 61, 62, 146, 298, 380, 389
Poysala Iramana devar 182
Poysala nadu 45
Pradhani(s) 266
Pranava Vyaghrapurisvarar temple 404
Pranesvarar temple (Mahadevar) 344
Prasanna-vadana-perumal t. 315
Prasannisvaram 408, 410
Pratapa Devaraya 327, 328
Prataparudra I, II 296
Praudadevaraya Maharaya 286
Poreru Seman (Akalankan Asari) 388
Prithvi-valisvaram Udaiya Nayanar 279, 280
Prola 296
Pudukkottai 47, 65, 167, 247, 272, 291, 350, 362, 365, 381, 388, 407
Puduvai 328
Pugali 27, 28
Pugalivendar 367, 301
Puhar (Kaverippumpattinam) 398
Pulaichcheri 266, 267
Pulakesin II 426
Puli 164
Pulivay 375
Pullampet 59, 60, 298
Punavayil 346
Pundi 301, 367, 374
Punganur (Kunganur) 78, 79, 80
Punjai (Nanipalli) 27
Punnai 276
Puntottam 167
Purakkudi 343
Puravuvari Vilagam 73
Puravuvari Vinnagar 426
Purisaikkudi 408, 409
Purushottama Nallur (Sittarameli Vinnagar Emperuman) 219
Purosakkudaiyar (Prince) 373
Purvadesam 4
Puttur 302, 312

R

Radha (country) 309, 311
Radhanarasimhapuram 174
Raghunatha Nayak 284
Rajadhiraja Bhangisvaram Udaiyar (or Wadiyar) 428
Rajadhiraja valanadu 29, 30, 193, 251, 416, 136, 173
Rajakesari cvm 327
Rajakkal Tambiran Tirumaligai 23, 211, 212
Rajagopala Perumal t. 426
Rajamahendra 1, 2, 43
Rajamahendra cvm 43
Rajamarttandan 37, 38
Rajanarayana Pallavaraiyar 320, 321
Rajanarayana Perumal t. 313
Rajanarayana Puram 328, 329
Rajanarayana Sambuvarayan 38
Rajaraja (of Kalinga) 4
Rajaraja cvm. 327
Rajaraja Chediyarayan 327
Rajaraja Cholaganga 5
Rajaraja Deva Ponparappinan (*alias* Kulottunga Vanakkovaraiyan) 297, 319
Rajaraja Gandagopala (devar) 323
Rajaraja Kadavarayan (Kudal Alappirandan Mohan) 150, 222
Rajaraja Kovalarayan 314
Rajaraja Kulottungasolan 129
Rajaraja Mandalam 329
Rajaraja Mummadi 5
Rajaraja Muvendavelan 140
Rajaraja Nallur 369
Rajaraja Narendra 3
Rajaraja Palaiyanur 33
Rajaraja Pandi nadu or mandalam 53, 249, 350
Rajaraja Pereri 76
Rajaraja Perumballi 9, 10, 16
Rajaraja Pichchan 176
Rajaraja Puram 46, 225, 252, 283, 284, 285
Rajaraja Puri 221, 222, 229, 232
Rajaraja Purisvarar 223
Rajaraja Sambuvarayan (Sengeni Ammaiyappan) 217, 419
Rajaraja Solan Ula 210, 221, 223
Rajaraja-Tirumangalam 187, 188
Rajaraja Uttamasetti 45
Rajaraja valanadu 29, 98, 151, 152, 279, 351,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

409, 411
Rajaraja Villupparaiyan 375
Rajarajesvaram 113, 114, 132, 154, 200, 201, 202, 222, 223, 225, 227, 229, 230, 231, 251, 254, 263, 325, 331, 340, 419, 420, 421
Rajasabha 212
Rajasrayan 8
Rajasundari 2
Rajasundari cvm. 142
Rajata Sabha 32
Raja Vidyadhara Sri Samanta 8
Rajendra Muvenda Velan 368
Rajendrasinga Muvendavelan 9, 368
Rajendrasola Brahma Marayan 428
Rajendrasola cvm 36, 37, 38
Rajendrasola Chediyarayan 35, 76, 78, 93
Rajendrasolagan 87
Rajendrasola-keralan 250
Rajendrasola Malaiyaman 35, 76
Rajendrasola Malayakularayan 77
Rajendrasola-nallur 90
Rajendrasolan Madai 43
Rajendrasolan Vaykkal 420
Rajendrasolap-Peralam 176
Rajendrasolap-Perumpalli 8
Rajendrasolap-Pettai 100
Rajendrasolapuram 90
Rajendrasola-valanadu 76, 190, 329, 350, 372, 373, 374, 386, 387
Rajendrasolisvaram Udaiyar,-Udaiya Mahadevar t. 187, 248, 249, 250
Rajiga 2, 14
Raman, K.V. 217, 220
Ramanathar(n) Koyil 112, 113, 200, 422
Ramanathisvaram 52, 53
Ramanuja 40, 41, 50, 51
Ramesvaram Udaiyar t. 118, 266, 275
Ranastipundi 3
Ranganatha(r) t. 23, 47, 48, 79
Ranganathasvamin 40, 161, 277, 408, 409, 413
Rashtrakuta (Krishna III) 37, 294
Ratnagrahara (Ratna-Grama) 426
Ratna-Grama (see Ratnagrahara)
Ratna Sabha 32
Rattapadi-konda-Sola Mandalam 79, 80, 81
Rishabesvarar 317, 318
Rishiyur 288
RODIN 34
Rohana 7
Romapada (Oromaya Maharishi) 121
Romasa Muni 121

S

Sabhanartakan(r) 20, 75
Sabhapati 23, 24
SADASIVA PANDARATHAR 211
Sadira Vitanka Nayakar or Devar 272, 273
Sadirayan Uttamasiliyar 415
Sadvaishnava 154
Sahala Bhatta 49
Saidapuram 389
Sailendra Chudamanivarma vihara (alias Rajarajapperumpalli) 16
Saiva Darsana 333
Sakkanam (Sattanam, Usattanam) 372
Saktivarman II 2, 3
Salem, -district 268, 359, 360, 369, 380
Saliya 128
Salukki 352
Saluva Maharaja Tirumalaideva Maharaja 328
Samanta Adiyaman 81, 84
Samantha-nayaka-Ayyan 169
Sambai (Jambai) 341, 342
Sambuvaraya(n) 161, 295, 297, 304, 381
Somesvara 408, 409
Samada niyoga 423
Samudra Gopayya 363
Sanbai (same as Sembai) 27
Sandaipettai 44
Sandikkuttu 273
Sankaranarana Isvaragriham 58
Sankaresvara t. (Mulsthanam Udaiyar) 114
Saptavitanka Kshetra 189
Sarabhamurti 232, 234, 332
Saranagata-Rakshakar temple 176
Sar(a)ngapani temple 197
Sarapattanam 66
Sarasvati 25
Sarkar Periyapalayam 192
Sasi-kula-chalukki Tani-ninruvenra Vira Narasinga deva (*alias* Yadavaraya) 317
Satagopa (Sadagopan) 56, 251
Sattanathar 27
Sattamangalam 176
Sattanathasvami 27
Savirip-Perumal 56
Sahyadhri mt. 11
Sekkilar (or Sekkizhar) 68, 211, 213, 227
Sembakachchipati Nayanar 80, 84
Sembiyan Mahadevi 70, 92, 114, 149, 156, 194, 268, 286, 300, 334, 368, 415, 425

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sendamangalam 136, 168, 282, 360, 361, 363, 396, 397, 399, 402
Senga(i)ma (-Chengama) 317
Sengavur 411
Sengalunir 168
Sengeni 161, 222, 297
Sengeni Ammaiyappan Alagiyasolan 58, 319
Sengeni Ammaiyappan Attimallan Vikramasola Sambhuvarayan 84
Sengeni Ammaiyappan Pandi 419
Sengeni Ammaiyappan (Rajaraja Sambuvarayan) 217, 419
Sengeni Ammaiyappan Siyan Pallavandar (Rajanarana Sambhuvarayan) 218
Sengeni Ammaiyappan Vanniyanayan Sambhuvarayan 280
Sengeni Ammaiyappan (Vikramasola Sambuvarayan) 318
Sengeni Virasolan Attimallan (*alias* Kulottungasola Sambuvarayan) 299
Sennimangalam 140
Seraman 303
Seranur 291, 338, 339, 340
SETHURAMAN, N. 18
Sidakka-mangalam 310
Siddhisvaram 284
Siddhalinga (madam) 74, 75
Sidhanathasvamin t. 171
Siddaraisan 46
Siddharatnesvarar t. 46
Siddhesvara t. 390
Siddlaghatta tq. 100, 101, 115, 164
Silpa-Acharya (Silpa)kkani 279
Simhachalam 6
Simhana 14
Simhavishnu cvm 320, 321
Sindhuvalli 114
Singanna Dandanayaka 365
Singapperumal 325
Singarattoppu 195
Sirapuram 27
Sirkali 23, 27, 28, 57, 72, 146, 171, 193, 414
Sirramur-Udaiyan-Arayan Kambikkadan Pavalakkunran. 191
Sirrar(ru)kkadu 306, 373
Sirrinaipakkam 276
Sirringur 75, 77
Siruttondar 414
Sirukkavur Udaiyan Tyagapperumal 337, 338
Sirukottai 298
Siruvelur 74
Sitamma Deviyar 371, 324
Sitravidha Devar 84
Sittarameli Vinnagar Emperuman (Purushottama) 219
Sittiralegai-perumpalli 321
Sivakami 21, 26, 211
Sivakkolundandar, -isvarar, -Udaiya Nayanar 178
Sivakkudal 178
Sivalokam-Udaiya-Paramasvamin 300
Sivan Perundevi 190
Sivankudal 178
Sivapadasekhara Mangalam 53, 142, 143, 310
Sivapada-sekharan 326
Sivapadasekharisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar (Sri Kailasam Udaiyar) 144, 143, 344, 424
Sivapada-Sekharanallur 215, 312
SIVARAMAMURTI, C. 233
Siya Ganga(n) 84, 345
Siva Visishthadvaita 333
Siyan Pallavandan (Edirilisola Sambhuvarayan) (Rajanarayana Sambhuvarayan) 217, 218
Soditali (Chandesvarap-Peraiyar) 173
Sokkachchiyan 398
Sokkapperumal 217
Sokkiyar 344
Solakerala (cvm) 149, 150
Solakerala Mandalam 79
Solakerala Vinnagaram 352
Solakon 161, 363
Sola-kula-Rakshaka 293
Solakulavalli Pattinam 9, 16
Solapati 248, 292
Solapuram 106, 107, 112, 113, 114, 153, 156, 421, 425
Solarajya-pratishtacharya 293
Solavalavan 292
Solavichchadhira cvm 103, 281
Solendrasinga-nallur 253
Somala Devi (yar) 49, 409
Somalisvaram Udaiyar temple 409, 412
Somanatha devar 310
Somanatha cvm. 310
Somanatha mangalam, 310, 311
Somanathar (Somalingar) 199, 201
Somanathesvarar (Umaiyodu nilavina perumal) 135, 308, 309
Somanayaki 203
Somantattan 173
Somesvara *alias* Isvara Siva 333
Somesvara(I) 3, 4, 47, 382

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Somesvara II 1, 4, 5
Somisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, -nayanar 246, 247
Sonadu 135
Sonadu-Konda-Sundara-Pandyan 292, 360
Sonadu-Valangiya Sundara-Pandyan 293, 360
Soremati 80
Soumyanatha Svamin 61, 63
Soundara Nayaki 167
Souriraja Perumal 52, 54
Sribhandaram 191
Sribhuti cvm 86
Srikailasam Udaya Nayanar 247
Sri-kalatti-puranam 315
Srikantha 25
Srikantha Sambu 309, 333
Srikanthisvaram Udaiyar 311
Srikaryam Seyvar 71
Sri Lanka 7, 15, 33, 222, 248, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 275, 287, 289, 293, 294, 311, 382
Sirilango 154
Sri Mahesvararapperumpalli 10
Sri Mahesvarasthanam 143
Srinandai Adimutti Nayanar 346, 347
Sri Nandai Emperuman 346, 348
Srinandai Madhurantaka cvm 347
Srinivasa Perumal 327, 328
Srinivasapur taluk 181
Srirangam 23, 40, 41, 44, 47, 50, 51, 161, 197, 268, 277, 146, 210, 284, 360, 363, 382, 407, 408, 412
Sri Rudra Mahesvaras 279
Sri Vaishnavas 10
Srivallabha 266, 267
Srivanchiyam (Tiruvanchiyam) 260, 309
Srivaraha Alvar 88, 89
Sri Vengadam 396
Sri Vishaya 7
Sthirasundari 27, 29
Sudalaiyamarndan 26
Sugatur 163, 164
Sugrisvarar temple 192
Sundara Murti (Nayanar) 211, 302, 304
Sundara Pandya 360, 363
Sundarasolapuram 373
Sungam-Tavirtta Devar (Kulottunga I),-Solan 14, 104, 128, 335
Sungam-Tavirttu-arulina devar 336
Sundrahalli 164
Surya t. (Kulottungasola Marttanda alayam) 130, 131, 231, 374
Suryanarayana 132
Suryanarkoyil 130, 131, 132, 133, 194
Suttamalli, -cvm, (Valanadu) 7, 30, 325, 373, 386
Svami devar 69, 275, 310, 311
Svarnaghatesvarar t. 35
Svarnamukhi (r.) 314
Svarnapurisvarar t. 313, 314
Sveta (r.) 312
Svetaranyesvarar t. 69, 414, 417

T

Tadavur 312
Tadigaipadi 428
Tadigaivali 428
Tadpatri 125
Taduttatkonda-nathar 303
Tagadur (Tagadai) 15, 79, 81, 82, 83, 85, 221, 298, 367
Takkayagapparani 210, 223, 231, 252
Takkolam 331
Talaichchangadu 172, 173, 174
Talaisiyarayan 246
Talaikkadu (Talakkad, Talakkadu) 15
Talakad (see Talaikkadu) 134, 135, 298
Tambiran Tolan 173
Tamilakkuttu 422, 423
Tamra Sabha 32
Tamusiddha 60, 298
Tangattur 59, 60
Tanmisvaram Udaiya Nayanar 428
Tayilum Nalla(n) Perumal 46, 312, 313
Tayilum Nallapuram 46
Tayilum-Nalla-solisvaram 319
Tayilum Nallisvaram Udaiyar 279
Telinga-Kula-Kalapuram 388
Tellaru 136, 362, 397
Telugu-choda 290, 298, 323, 338
Tengadilanallur 350
Ten-tagadai 82
Ten-Tiruk-Kalatti mahadevar 168, 169, 170
Ten-Tiruvalangadu 312
Terramparru (Mudikondasolanallur) 89
Thousand-Pillared Hall (Mandapa) 211, 212, 213
Tidaavur 312
Tikka(n) 380
Tikka Nirupana 380
Tikkanna Somayaji 380
Tillai(ma)nagar 102, 208, 212

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tillai ambalam 382, 383
Tillai Muvayiravar 24
Tillainagar Sirappudaittaga Tirumudi Sudiya Sri Kulottunga Devar 212
Tillaiyadi 172, 176
Tillaiyalai Isvaram Udaiyar 176
Timmuru 368
Tiraimur 185
Tirthamalai 396
Tiru-Agastisvaram Udaiyar 215
Tiru-Aru-Marunda-Devar (Nandankoyil) 138
Tiruchchalal 148, 150
Tiruchchattimurram 200, 307
Tiruchchengattangudi 52
Tiruch-Chirrambalam 185, 189, 195
Tiruch-Chirrambalam (Udaiyan) 71, 185, 266
Tiruch-Chirrambalanallur 128
Tiruch-Chirrambalanallur Udaiyan Peruma(l) Nambiyan (Pallavaraiyan) 251, 252
Tiruch-Chorrut-Turai 383
Tiruch Churam Udaiya Nayanar (Dharmapurisvarar) 104, 105
Tiruch-churru Maligai 78, 194, 308
Tirugokarnam 47, 365, 407, 409
Tiru-Irumbulai (also Tiruvirumbulai) 184
Tiru-Irumbulai Udaiya Mahadevar 184
Tirujnanam-Perrapillaiyar 191, 387
Tiru-jnana-Sambanda Isvaram Udaiyar 128
Tiru-jnana-Sambanda nallur 314
Tiru-Jnana Sambandar Tirumatham 283, 284
Tiruk-Kadaiyur 67, 176
Tiruk-Kadavur 67, 68, 69
Tirukkadambur 22, 119
Tiruk-Kaikkotti Oduvar 388
Tiruk-Kalabhachchirappu 191
Tiruk-Kalahasti 315
Tiruk-Kalan-Chedi Udaiyar 195
Tirukkalar 199
Tiruk-Kalattidevar 62, 314
Tirukkala Udaiyar (Perumal) 87
Tiruk-Kalumam 29, 30
Tiruk-kamak-kottam 26, 33
Tiruk-kamak-kottam Udaiya Nachchiyar 129, 301
Tiruk-Kamak-Kottam Udaiya nam-Pirattiyar 3, 351
Tiruk-Kamisvaram Udaiya Nayanar t. 318, 319
Tiruk-Kanna-Somayaji 62
Tiruk-Kannapuram 52, 55, 321, 322
Tiruk-Kattu Udaiya Nayanar 369
Tiruk-Kodi Devar 388
Tirukodikka 194
Tiruk-Kodungunram Udaiyar 243
Tiruk-Kodungunram Udaiya Alagiya Devar 248, 249
Tiruk-Kodungunram Udaiya Keralan (Nishadarajan) 250
Tirukkotisvarar t. 194
Tirukkotiyur 94
Tiruk-kovalur 44, 78, 297, 304
Tirukkoyilur (same as Tiruk-Kovalur or Koval) 35, 44, 51, 75, 91, 96, 297, 302, 304, 349, 403
Tiruk-Kudamukku 196
Tiruk-Kudandai 196
Tiruk-Kurralam 32
Tiru-Malaik-Kadambur 388
Tiru-malai-Kadambur-Isvaram 388
Tirumalavadi (Tirumaluvadi) 47, 76, 88, 203, 288, 407
Tirumalavadi nadu 347, 365
Tirumalairayan (or rajan) 284
Tirumalisai Alvar 197
Tirumalisvaram 214
Tirumalisvaram Udaiya Nayanar 378
Tirumananjeri 301, 329
Tirumandira Olai 214, 215
Tirumangai Alvar 56, 197
Tirumangalam 73, 187, 278, 288
Tiru-manik-Kengai Udaiya Nayanar 314, 316, 317
Tirumanikkuli 84, 101, 132, 209, 212
Tirumarugal 55
Tirumayanam 86
Tiru-Mayil-Aduturai Nayanar 369
Tirumayilappil 33
Tiru-Mer-koyil-Virrirunda-Perumal 376
Tirumerrali Mahadevar 272
Tirumukkudal 140, 274
Tiru-Mula-Nathar 25
Tirumunaippadi,-nadu 35, 36, 76, 77, 151, 304, 366
Tiru-Muttam Udaiya Mahadevar 88, 89
Tirunagesvaram 57
Tirunallur 285
Tirunamanallur 209
Tiru-nandu-Devargudi 138
Tiru-nangalisvaram Udaiyar 337
Tirunaraiyur,-nadu 140, 154, 168, 171, 284, 285, 329
Tirunaraiyur Siddhisvaram 284
Tiru-Narayananallur 346, 347
Tirundu-Devangudi 138, 139, 140
Tirunelveli 11, 32

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tirunelvennai 35, 36
Tiruniravi 56
Tirunirruchcholan 14, 208–209
Tiru-Nirru-Sola-nallur 105
Tiru-nirru-Vira Magada-Solan,-pereri 342
Tiruppachchur 177
Tiruppadak-Kadudaiya Mahadevar 64
Tiruppadak-Kadudaiyar 65
Tiruppadigam, (-Vinnappam Seyvar) 233, 420
Tirup-Padirip-Puliyur 101
Tiruppadiyam 143, 168, 420
Tiruppadiyak-kani 176
Tiruppalaitturai 127, 128, 284
Tiruppalaivanam, Udaiya Mahadevar 60, 208, 298, 322, 324, 371.
Tiruppalli Eluchchi 50
Tirup-Palliyarai Nachchiyar 369
Tirup-Palliyaraip(nam)Pirattiyar 172, 260
Tiruppalturai (Adimulesvarar) t. 284
Tiruppanalvar 40
Tiruppanandal 124
Tirupparaitturai 132–133
Tirup-patangadu Udaiyar, (-Mahadevar) 90
Tiruppattur 20, 54, 133
Tirupperunturai 344
Tirup-Peruman-Anda nayanar 66
Tirupperumanam Udaiyar t. 343
Tirup-Perambalam Ponmeyndaruliya Raja-kesarivarman 208
Tiruppulippagavar (Nayanar) 75, 77, 78
Tiruppulivanam, -Udaiya Nayanar, -Udaiya Mahadevar 36, 37, 38
Tiruppuliyur 292
Tiruppugalur 52, 163
Tirusattimuttam, -Udaiyar, -Udaiya Nayanar 283, 284, 285
Tirusattimurram (Rajarajapuram) 283, 285
Tirusatti-Murrattu Mudaliyar 283
Tiruttani 31
Tiruttavatturai 45
Tirut-Tavatturai Acharyan (Tillai Nayakan) 279
Tiruttondarpuranam (Periyapuranam) 211, 227
Tirut-Tondat-Togai 227
Tirut-Tondat-Togai-isvaram 195
Tiruttondisvaram Udaiya Nayanar (t.) 30
Tiruvadigai 20, 21, 209
Tiruvadutturai 361
Tiruvagastisvaram Udaiyar 282
Tiruvahindrapuram 363
Tiruvaigavur 98, 99
Tiruvaigavudaiya Mahadevar 98
Tiruvaiyaru,-Udaiyar 284, 336
Tiruvakkarai 300, 363, 398
Tiruvallam,-udaiyar 75, 420, 421
Tiruvallur 102
Tiruvalamburi Udaiyar 172, 173
Tiruvalampuram 175
Tiruvalangadu,-Udaiyar,-Plates 16, 31, 32, 34, 324, 325, 327
Tiruvalanjuli (Udaiyar) 405
Tiruvalavoy 291
Tiruvalundur nadu 305, 335, 336
Tiruvalisvaram (Udaiyar) 182, 183, 274
Tiruvanaikka, -Udaiyar 23, 146, 284, 315, 408, 410
Tiru-anaikka Udaiya Nayanar 388
Tiruvanjiyam (Tiruvanchiyam, Srivanchiyam) 260
Tiruvanjiyam Udaiya Mahadevar 260
Tiruvanmigai (Isvaram),-udaiyar 165
Tiruvanmisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar 166
Tiruvannamalai 297, 315
Tiruvarangam 154, 268, 293
Tiruvarangulam 350
Tiruvarappalli Alvar 268
Tiruvarur 23, 146, 212, 260, 288, 315, 339, 351
Tiruvarutturai 303
Tiruvattiyur,-Alvar 145, 188
Tiruvaykkulam 426
Tiruvaykkulatt-alvar 403
Tiruvegambam Udaiya Nayanar 312, 313
Tiruvekha (Yadyotkari) 145
Tiruvellarai 260
Tiruvelvikkudi 187, 301
Tiruvembavai 306
Tiruvendipuram (Tiruvahindrapuram) 397, 398, 401
Tiruvengadam 282
Tiruvengadu,-gadar,-gattu Nangai 185, 414
Tiruvenkadu Udaiya(r) Mahadevar 69, 70, 71, 414, 416
Tiruvengaivasal (or Vayil),-Andar 272, 273
Tiruvennainallur 35, 302, 303, 304, 395, 397, 399, 402, 403, 404
Tiruvetkalam 174
Tiruvidaikali emperuman 44
Tiruvidaimarudur 6, 330
Tiruvidaitturai 47
Tiruvidaiyattam 404
Tiruvilimilalai 283
Tiruvindalur,-nadu 135, 136, 251
Tiruviramanandisvaram 52

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Tiruviramesvaram,-udaiyar 54, 275, 322
Tiruviramesvarattu Devar 275
Tiruvirattanam Udaiya(r) Mahadevar 16, 305, 306, 307
Tiruvirattanattup-Perumanadigal 67
Tiruvirkkolam (Kuvam) 280
Tiruvisalur,-Pallikonda Alvar,—Perumanadigal 138, 140, 346, 348
Tiruvottur 56, 57, 288
Tiruvoymoli 51
Tiruvoymur,-nathar,-udaiyar 189, 190
Tiruvorriyur 288
Toludur 341
Toluvur 342
Tondaimanad 331, 341
Tondaimandalam Kondarulina Pallavandar 282
Tondaimandalam Konda Pallavandar (Kadavarayan) 396
Tondaiyar-kon 25
Tondi 275
Tondaradippodi (Alvar) 40
Tondar-seer-Paravuvar 211
Toni Appar, Tonipuram,-Udaiyar 27, 28, 29
Toraisamuttiram (Dvarasamudram) 409
Trailokyam Udaiyar 416
Tribhuvana(vira) Chola deva 288, 291, 293, 307, 338, 339
Tribhuvanam 40, 171, 174, 200, 201, 203, 225, 232, 263, 291, 294, 326, 330, 337, 340
Tribhuvani 398
Tribhuvanesvarar(m) t. 171, 200, 225, 294, 340
Tribhuvana-Ma(ha)devi cvm,-cheri 70, 86, 87
Tribhuvanamalla Pandya 5
Tribhuvana-viresvaram(r) 330
Tripurantaka(m) 234, 279, 384, 395
Trisulam (Tiruch-Churam) 104, 156
Tudaiyur 153
Tukkachchi 40, 167, 169, 170, 171, 200, 202, 226, 232
Tumbaiyur 368
Tunda, chief of 306, 307
Turaiyur 377, 378
Tyagamugil Udaiyar 350
Tyagapataka 160
Tyagarajasvamin t. (Voymurnathar) 189
Tyagasamudram 160
Tyagasamudra-nallur (Mangudi) 346
Tyagasamudra-Pettai (Vimarasan) 317, 368
Tyagavalli 191
Tyagavarakara 160
Tyagavinodisvaram, -udaiyar 408, 409, 410
Tyagesa 291

U

Ubhayakula Abhayan 14
Uchchangi 135
Udaiyalur 142, 200
Udaiya Pillai (Irumadisola Pallavaraiyan) 127
Udaiyarkoyil 86, 87
Udaiyarkoyil Ponmeynda Perumal bhandaram 183
Udankuttam 253
Udavi Manikkuli 101
Udaya Marttanda Brahma-Marayan 164
Udumbara (atti) 145
Udvahanathasvamin t. 301, 367
Ukkal (Vikramabharana cvm) 215, 276
Ula 209, 223
Ulagalanda Perumal 14
Ulagalanda Sola cvm 405
Ulagamunda Perumal 44
Ulagisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, -Nayanar 181, 182, 183
Ulaguyya Nayanar 288
Ulaguyyavanda-sola valanadu 98, 99
Ulpadam Eviya Tirukkadavur 67
Uluttambadi 214
Umai Alvi 29
Uma Bhattaraki 419
Umaiyodu Nilavina Perumal (Somanathesvarar t.) 135
Umapati Deva (Jnana Siva) 275
Umapati Sivacharya(r) 195, 213
Upanishads 333
Uraiyur 40, 292, 349, 382
Urandai 366
Urangai 290, 338
Uratti 361
Urbhagangondaruliya Nayanar, -Mahadevar (Gramardhanathesvarar) 148, 149
Urdhva-Tandava 122, 309
Urrattur 46, 214
Usattanam, -udaiyar, -udaiya Nayanar 133, 372, 373, 374, 385, 386
Uttamasola(n) (Uttamachola) 132, 149, 172, 194, 268, 334, 415, 421
Uttamasola cvm 119, 347
Uttamasolaganga (Sembakatchipati Nayanar) 80, 81, 84, 246
Uttamasola mangalam 346
Uttamasolapuram 80, 81, 82, 84

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Uttara Lanka 381
Uttaramerur (or Uttaramelur, or Uttiramerur), -cvm. 36, 38, 39, 214
Uttarapatisvarar 52
Uttaravedisvarar 334, 335
Uttattur (see Urrattur) 213
Uyyakkonda(n) Valanadu 67, 168, 282, 420
Uyyakkonda Solapuram 105

V

Vachisvarar (m) 177
Vadagarai simhendra valanadu 416
Vada-Tali-Udaiya Nayanar 404, 405
Vaduvur(ali) Nayanar 306, 307
Vadugavali-12000 79
Vaidisvarar (or Isvarar) t. 150, 151
Vaidumba(s) 59, 79
Vaidyanadisvarar (Kulottunga-solisvaram) t. 151
Vaigai (Vaigavur) 82
Vaikunthaperumal t. 302, 376, 401, 403, 404, 426
Vairavana Isvaram 319
Vaippu-sthalam 305
Valakkuraitta-mandapa 304
Valisvaram Udaiya(r) Nayanar 378
Valisvarar t., -hill 152, 182, 183
Vallalisvaram 408
Vallam 281
Valmiki-Isvaram Udaiyar (Nayanar) 165, 166
Valnilai-Kandisvaram Udaiya Nayanar (Valnilaikkandan) 396, 399, 400, 402
Valuvur (or Valuvai), -Nayanar 305, 307
Vamsoddharaka-Nathar (Kulottungasolisvaram) t. 133, 338, 339
Vanadhirajan (throne) 73
Vanavan Mahadevi cvm 104
Vanchisvarar t. (Vanchinathar Vanchilingesvarar) 260
Vanduvarapati, -emberuman 426, 427
Vaniyambadi 366
Vanji 83
Varadaraja Perumal (Hastigiri) 145, 188, 192, 300, 341, 342, 345, 346, 348
Varaguna 189
Varaha (r.) 300
Varanavati (Gadilam) (r.) 363
Vasishta nadi (r.) 318
Vataranyesvarar (Urdhvatandavar) t. 324, 325
Vattanaigal pada-Nadanta Nayakar 175
Vayalaikkavur 376
Vedanta Desika (r) 41
Vedanathesvarar t. 56, 57
Vedaranyam 189, 365, 379
Vedapurisvarar t. 58
Vedavanam Udaiyan (*alias* Annan Pallavaraiyan) 29, 66, 289
Vedavanam Udaiyan Ammaiyappan (*alias* Pallavaraiyan) 33, 68
Vedavanam Udaiyan Karunakara Devan 286
Veg(h)avati 144, 274
Vellar 394
Venadu 419
Venkadu-Udaiyar 417
Vengi 2, 3, 4, 5, 15, 59, 74, 116, 161, 207, 221, 265, 290, 299
Venkatesa Makhin 284
Venkayya 149, 275
Vennai Appar 35
Vennaikkadaiyarulina Pillai (Krishna) 282
Venugopala Krishna, -shrine, -svamin 49, 378, 408, 412
Verkkanni Ammai 303
Vidugadalagisvaram Udaiyar 366
Vidugadalagiya Perumal 82, 83, 84, 85, 298, 318, 366
Vijayabahu 7
Vijayaditya VII 2, 3, 4, 5
Vijayaditya Mahabali (Mahavali) Banaraya 180
Vijaya Gandagopala (Deva) 34, 39, 178, 281, 317, 323, 381
Vijayalaya 199, 208, 287
Vijayalayasolisvaram 388
Vijaya Mangai 98
Vijayanagara 21, 32, 34, 40, 42, 49, 51, 71, 69, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 99, 103, 104, 131, 134, 146, 150, 166, 169, 198, 212, 230, 233, 276, 282, 285, 327, 328, 351, 417
Vijayapalan 328
Vijayarajendra(n) 93, 229
Vijayasamudra (Hallavura) 406, 408
Vikkalan 13
Vikkiramasolan tirumandapa 416
Vikramabharana cvm 215
Vikramaditya VI 1, 4, 14, 15, 161
Vikramaditya Mavali Vanaraya(r) 180
Vikramanka Charitam 5
Vikrama Pandya (deva) 78, 95, 289, 290
Vikramasola Brahmamarayan 327
Vikramasola cvm 193
Vikramasolak-Karuppur Udaiyan 180

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vikramasola Mandalam 129, 130, 428
Vikramasolan Tirumaligai 19, 23, 186, 194
Vikramasolan tirumandapa 416
Vikramasolan Tiruvidi 416
Vikramasolan Ula 160, 161
Vikramasolap-Pereri 188
Vikramasolap Perunteru 66
Vikrama(sola)puram 183, 206, 280
Vikramasola Vinnagara(m) Alvar 188, 189, 192, 193
Vikramasolisvarar(m) Udaiyar 69, 168, 169, 170, 171, 176, 177, 184, 187, 188, 193, 196, 200, 202, 226, 232
Vilijnam 10
Villavan Mahadeviyar 416
Vilvanathesvarar t. 98
Vimaladitya 3, 59, 116
Vingunir-turutti 335
Vinayaditya 296
Vira Ballaladeva (-II) 296, 394, 408
Vira Bokkanna Udaiyar 311
Vira Choda 5, 116, 117
Vira Cholisvaram 412
Viradhara 223
Vira Gandagopala (Manumasiddharassa II) 389, 390
Vira Narasimha 137, 293, 296, 351, 360, 361, 363, 365, 380, 397, 407
Vira Narasimha II 296, 365, 407, 409
Viranarasimha Yadavaraya 361
Vira Narasingisvaram 412
Viranarayanapuram (Ilaichchikkudi) 421, 422, 423, 424
Vira Rajendrasola Nallur 394
Vira Rajendra Solisvaram Udaiyar 394
Vira Rakshasas 381
Vira Ramanatha 47, 48, 129, 296, 347, 383, 407, 410
Vira Pandya (deva) 77, 219, 267, 289, 383
Vira Pandyan Tirumandapam 383
Virappa Nayakan Tirumaligai 23
Virapratapa Achyutayyadeva Maharaja 103
Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaya 286
Vira Somesvara 47, 63
Virattam (same as Virattanam) 305, 329
Virattanam Udaiyar, -isvarar 305, 329
Virudarajabhayankara cvm, nadu, -valanadu 14, 23, 109, 119, 139, 187, 188, 253, 279, 335, 336, 351
Visayalaya Muttaraiyan 310
Vishnu Kanchi 144, 145
Vishnuvardhana (Hoysala Deva) 15, 50, 81, 134, 296
Vishnuvardhana (Kubja) 116
Vishnuvardhana (Viraballala II) 406
Visishtadvaita Srivaishnavism 41
Visvaksena shrine 328
Vishamangalesvarar t. 153
Visvanatha devar t. 310
Vishvedhika Vivekisvaram 310
Visvesvara (deva) Shrine, -image 217, 328
Vitadaraiyan 312, 313
Vittala t. (Hampi) 233
Voymurnathar (Tyagarajasvamin) t. 189
Vriddhachalam 397, 399
Vrishabhapurisvarar t. 418
Vyaghra-Agrahara (Chidambaram) 212
Vyaghrapada-Mahamunisvaram Udaiyar 375
Vyaghrapada (-padesvarar) 75, 78
Vyaghrapurisvarar t. 36, 74, 75, 272
Vyamuktasravanojjvala 83

W

Warangal 290, 338, 359, 398
Western Chalukyas 1, 3, 5, 7

Y

Yadava (of Devagiri) 5
Yajna Bhatta 216, 217
Yajna Narayana Dikshitar 284
Yama Tirtham 98
Yannagumba (Ramesvaram Udaiyar) t. 118
Yap-Perungalak-Karigai 136
Yatipati Deva (Dandanayaka) 382

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh